

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

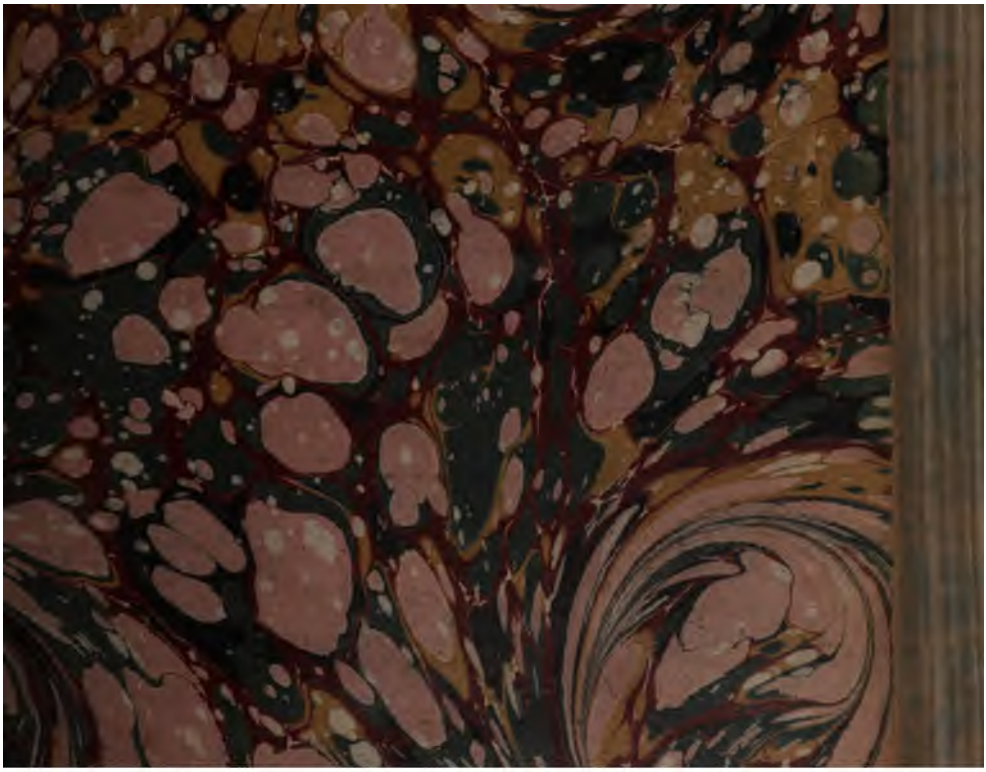
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

GRAD
DA
949
.M46
1866
BUHR

B 1,107,387



[redacted]

Good thank

mk

7/6

[redacted]



Charles Ii.

In his leaving Eton

Xmas 1866.



HISTORY

OF THE

IRISH REBELLION IN 1798;

WITH

MEMOIRS OF THE UNION,

AND

EMMETT'S INSURRECTION IN 1803.

BY

W. H. MAXWELL, Esq.,

Author of "The Life of the Duke of Wellington," &c. &c.

With Numerous Illustrations Drawn and Engraved by

GEORGE CRUIKSHANK.

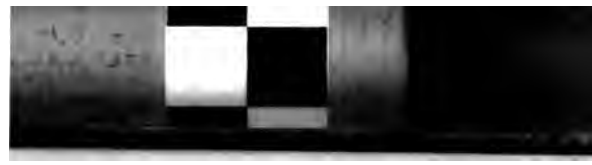
SEVENTH EDITION.

LONDON:

BELL AND DALDY, 186, FLEET STREET,

AND 6, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1866.



LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

Ir. Com. Spec. Coll (Irish)
Wall
12-27-37
35265

PREFACE.

A FEW remarks will be necessary in placing, in its completed state, before the public, a memoir already issued in a serial form. From works long since given to the world—documentary papers—manuscripts for the first time printed—and private details of men still living, and who themselves enacted a leading part during that troubled era, this history has been compiled.

The records of the Insurrection of 1798, with rare exceptions, have been written by ardent partisans—who, yielding to a political bias, have coloured the narrative of the transactions of these distracted times, and detailed events, rather as they wished they should have been, than in reality as they were. Care has been taken to collate these conflicting statements, and, by strict impartiality, reach truth as nearly as it can be arrived at. That the author has been successful in the attempt, he would infer by an Irish conclusion. Ultra partisans—Tyrian and Trojan—have expressed dissatisfaction, and impugned his impartiality; Protestant remonstrances been accompanied by Roman Catholic complaints; one party arraigning him of a secret leaning to the principles of ascendancy, met, on the other side, by a countercharge of indulgency towards the disaffected.

"Every man in Ireland is a partisan," was the observation of an intelligent foreigner—and the observation is correct. For the moderate of both sections, this work has been compiled; and, small as that section may be, their approval will be perfectly satisfactory to

THE AUTHOR.

LONDON, *March*, 1845.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I. PAGE

Introduction 1

CHAPTER II.

Brief Notices of the Leaders of the United Irishmen 12

CHAPTER III.

First French attempt at Invasion in 1796 28

CHAPTER IV.

Failure of the Dutch Expedition—Arrest at Oliver Bond's—Capture and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald 33

CHAPTER V.

Arrest of the Sheares—Outbreak of the Rebellion—Affairs in the Vicinity of the Metropolis 53

CHAPTER VI.

Cruelties committed on both Sides—Attack on Monastereven—Murders by the Rebels, and their Consequences—Affair of Old Kilcullen—Subsequent Dispersion of the Rebels near Naas 65

CHAPTER VII.

Attack on Naas—Anecdotes of the Action—Insurrection in Kildare—Rebels defeated at Carlow—Amnesty of the Insurgents—Duff's Affair on the Curragh—State of the Capital—Partial Disaffection in the Yeomanry—Roman Catholic Declaration—Battle of Tara—A Rebel Heroine .. 71

CHAPTER VIII.

Change in the Habits and Manners of the Peasantry—Anecdote—State of Wexford in '97 and '98—Insurrection breaks out—Father Murphy of Boulavogue—Atrocities committed by the Rebels 84

CHAPTER IX.

Formation of Rebel Encampments—Defeat and Destruction of the North Cork Detachment at Oulart—Notices of that Affair—Retreat on Arklow—Sufferings of the Loyalists—Attack on Enniscorthy—Rebels defeated—Garrison retire on Wexford—Observations—Progress of the Insurrection 91

CHAPTER X.

Town of Wexford—Detachment of the Meath Regiment cut to pieces—Wexford Evacuated—Walpole's Defeat at Tubbernecring—Loftus retreats on Carnew 104

PAGE

CHAPTER XI.

Battle of Ross—Massacre at Scullabogue 116

CHAPTER XII.

Consequences of the Rebel Defeat at Ross—Battle of Arklow 128

CHAPTER XIII.

Proceedings of the Rebels after their Defeat at Arklow—Action at Foulkes's-Mill—Capture of Vinegar-Hill 138

CHAPTER XIV.

Occupation of Wexford by the Rebels—Atrocities committed in that Town—Anecdotes 148

CHAPTER XV.

Lord Cornwallis appointed Viceroy—Recovery of the Town of Wexford—Trials and Executions of the Rebel Leaders 161

CHAPTER XVI.

Attack on Hacketstown—Affair at Ballyellis—Repulse at Ballyraheen—Rebels driven from the White-heaps—and afterwards Defeated and Dispersed at Ballygullen 171

CHAPTER XVII.

Attack upon Clonard—Insurrection at Castlecomer—Subsequent Movements and Final Dispersion of the Rebels 177

CHAPTER XVIII.

Suppression of the Wexford Insurrection—Party Feeling afterwards—General Holt—Destruction of Property—Moral and Military Character of the Wexford Rebels 186

CHAPTER XIX.

Political Retrospect of Ulster, from 1794 to 1798 194

CHAPTER XX.

Outbreak in Ulster—Battles of Antrim, Saintfield, and Ballynahinch .. 204

CHAPTER XXI.

Partial Outbreak in Munster—State of the Western Provinces—Landing of the French in Killally Bay 220

CHAPTER XXII.

Battle of Castlebar 228

CHAPTER XXIII.

French Occupation of Castlebar—Humbert's Movement to the North—Surrender of the French Army 237

CHAPTER XXIV.

Suppression of the Western Insurrection—Military Executions—Contrast between the Wexford and Mayo Rebels 24

CHAPTER XXV.

Private Diary of the Bishop of Killalla, from the Landing to the Surrender of the French Army 255

CHAPTER XXVI. PAGE

Review of the Western Insurrection—Partial Outbreaks—Their Suppression—Descent on Rutland Island 263

CHAPTER XXVII.

Informers—Corruption of the Soldiery—Trials of the Sheares—Executions—Death of Oliver Bond 272

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Severities of the Executive—The Wexford Leaders—Anecdote—Harvey and Grogan—Executioners—Excesses in the North 282

CHAPTER XXIX.

Compact between the Government and Prisoners of State 295

CHAPTER XXX.

Second Attempt to land Troops from France in Killalla Bay—General Humbert—False Account given of his Expedition—Bompard's Defeat off Lough Swilly—Capture, Trial, and Death of Tone 304

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Insurgents of '98—Causes of their Failure—Their Leaders—The Catholic Clergy—Espionage Informers—M'Skimmin's Narrative—Major Sirr .. 316

CHAPTER XXXII.

Proscriptions Lists—Military and Rebel Statistics—Introduction of the Legislative Union—The Temper of the Times favourable for the Attempt—First Parliamentary Division—Characters of the Marquis Cornwallis—The Earl of Clare—and Lord Castlereagh 330

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Venality of the Irish Parliament—Corruption of its Members—Progress of the Debate—Important Division—Anecdotes 343

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Progress of the Union through the British House of Commons 355

CHAPTER XXXV.

Parliamentary Progress of the Union through the Irish House of Commons—The Measure Carried 366

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Summary of the Opinions in Favour of, or Opposition to, the Union .. 378

CHAPTER XXXVII.

State of Ireland in 1801 399

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Trial of Robert Emmet 412

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Speech of the Attorney-General—Lord Norbury's Charge—Finding of the Jury—Emmet's celebrated Speech—His Execution—Concluding Remarks 418

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald	48
Surprise of the Barrack of Prosperous	61
Murder of Geo. Crawford	66
Stoppage of the Mails, and Murder of Lord Giffard	70
Plunder at the Palace of the Bishop of Ferns	82
Destruction of the Church of Enniscorthy	97
Camp on Vinegar Hill	99
Battle of Ross	112
The loyal little Drummer	115
Massacre at Scullabogue	125
Defeat at Vinegar Hill	144
Executions at Wexford Bridge	154
Lord Cornwallis	161
Rev. Mr. M'Ghee's House successfully defended	175
Father Murphy and the Heretics	180
The Rebels storming the Turret at "Lieut. Tyrrel's"	224
Heroic Conduct of the Highland Sentinel	236
Lord Lake	286
The Capture of Colclough Harvey	288
Attack on Captain Chamney's House	293
John Fane, Earl of Westmorland	295
Arthur Wolf, Viscount Kilwarden	314
John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare	346
Rebels destroying a House and Furniture	384
Robert Emmett	398
Murder of Lord Kilwarden	409
Emmett preparing for the Insurrection	416

HISTORY

OF

THE IRISH REBELLION,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

LIKE the story of a life, the history of kingdoms is generally pregnant with vicissitude. The sudden rise or rapid dissolution of a state is rarely brought about—the fall of empires is gradual—all have their era of danger or prosperity—and to avert the one and improve the other is the best test of an able and efficient executive.

The most startling period of European history will be found to embrace that stormy interval, occurring between the outbreak of the French revolution, and the legislative act, which, abolishing a faulty home government, made Ireland an integral portion of the British empire. From political evil, political good will frequently arise; and after a painful and sanguinary probation, that consolidation of British influence and power was accomplished, which enabled England in fifteen brief years afterwards to restore the tranquillity of Europe, while her own national dignity was amply vindicated, and lasting advantages secured.

For twenty years before the French revolution broke forth in all its horrors, the evil star of England had been in the ascendant. The colonies were driven into rebellion; and that discontent which bad government had induced was consummated by worse measures, and the states separated from the mother-country. The temper of the times was unfriendly to concession—when the sword was drawn the scabbard was thrown away—and sanative diplomacy was not the course resorted to by the Court of St. James to reclaim her unruly but ill-used children. To coerce, and not conciliate, was the evil policy of the personages in power—bad statesmanship did for America what her own exertions could not have achieved—and England, by rejecting their complaints, forced independence on her refractory colonists.

The successful issue of the American struggle for independence was followed by results more important, though more distant, than those involved in colonial separation. The connection already existing between Ulster and the States was intimate and affectionate: for, the colonists and the northern Protestants were not only united by the bonds of interest, but also by the ties of blood. From every rooftree numbers had emigrated: the parent, the brother, or the child, although under another sky, were striking for freedom; the very thought that ocean rolled between kindred hearts and spirits, added to the excitement with which the doubtful contest was watched at home; and those, who, under other circumstances, would have looked upon a distant struggle with indifference, ardently sympathized with the revolted colonists in defeat, and openly exulted in their victories.

It was a period (1779) when Britain was sorely pressed, and engaged in a triple conflict. In Europe, France and Spain were arrayed in arms against her; and, worse still, gallant spirits, who, beneath her meteor flag, should have bled and conquered, were banded against her in dangerous and determined hostility. With justice, therefore, the most serious alarm pervaded the empire, and none could be insensible to the danger of the times. The combined fleets of France and Spain were superior to the protecting navy of Great Britain; the Channel infested with privateers; trade was completely interrupted; the coast exposed to descent; and the regular troops drained from the kingdom, when Ireland was actually threatened with invasion. Fearful of being plundered by the numerous rovers who swarmed the British seas, and whose audacity warranted the apprehension, several of the maritime towns armed for self-defence,*—and Government, thankfully availing itself of their timely assistance, encouraged the rising spirit of national resistance. A body, instituted for passive protection at first, grew rapidly into strength and influence, physical and moral, which, in its earlier application, was admirably employed in the reformation of constitutional abuses and the extension of civil and religious liberty, but latterly, deviating from original principles, became a cloak for revolutionary designs, and eventually rendered its extinction imperative upon an executive, who felt the danger of intimidation from a body taking an armed attitude, and exchanging remonstrance for dictation.

Beyond a summary notice, the rise, progress, and suppression of that political and most influential institution, the Irish Volunteers, would be alien to a work designed to detail the consequences, rather than the causes, of those revolutionary movements, which, gradually

* "This gave rise to the Volunteers, of which numerous bodies were immediately raised, who at first supplied themselves with arms at their own expense; and Government, wishing to encourage the laudable spirit which the Irish nation shewed, distributed immense quantities among them. It is most certain, that these military associations deterred the French from attempting an invasion of the kingdom, which they meditated at that time; and they completely preserved the police of the country. To their immortal honour be it spoken, that, though self-embodied, armed, and disciplined, they not only shewed the greatest respect for the laws, but the utmost zeal in enforcing the execution of them."—*Musgrave.*

deviating from the sound constitutional principles of reform which were propounded by the delegates at Dungannon, in February, 1782, became infected with the unholy spirit of the times, and sought not the reformation of abuse, but the overturn of established government. Justice, however, to the memory of a body, still held by its few remaining members in fond remembrance, requires us to say, that before suspicion had attached itself to men who had been influenced in their formation, by principles whose purity and patriotism were unquestionable, the founders had gradually seceded. Consequences, not anticipated when enrolled, rendered the dissolution of the body most desirable; the emergency which called them into existence had passed; to the morals and the fortunes of many individuals the system proved injurious,* and executive security was seriously endangered by the proceedings of turbulent men, who still, and without a plea for its necessity, maintained a threatening position, and, like the beggar in Gil Blas demanding alms, sought concessions with loaded muskets.

The Dungannon meeting had appealed to Parliament, and its call for reform, just and temperate as it was, met very properly, with the attention it was entitled to. Emboldened by success, a fresh experiment was made in 1783—the delegates adopting the infelicitous title of the American Independents, and terming themselves "a Congress." The Government appear to have acted on this occasion with vigour and determination, and the prayer of the petition was indignantly rejected. Mortified at this unexpected failure, "the National Assembly" sought for the causes of what appeared an abated want of influence, and it required but slight inquiry to detect it. The religious prejudices of Protestants, Dissenters, and Roman Catholics, had kept the parties generally aloof. As a small section, the reformers wanted power; and unity of purpose was absolutely essential to success. The Catholics—could a political coalition be brought about—would at once secure for them a numerical preponderance—and thus existing circumstances pointed to an union of interests as the only practical and effective means† of carrying ulterior objects.

* "The volunteer institution occasioned much idleness and dissipation among the industrious part of the community, and destroyed subordination, so essential to the existence of social order; for persons of low rank, associating with their superiors, lost that respect which they had entertained for them, and were inspired with levelling principles. * * * * *

"On the 15th of May, 1784, the Belfast First Volunteer Company resolved and agreed to instruct, in the use of arms, persons of all ranks and religious persuasions, who should present themselves for that purpose; and they offered them the use of their own arms. * * * * * * *

"On the 16th of May, 1784, the builders' corps in Dublin resolved, that their drill serjeant should attend at Marlborough green, three days in the week, to teach persons of all ranks and religious persuasions the use of arms."—*Musgrave's Memoirs.*

† "As the main strength of the nation in respect to number was conceived to rest in the Romanists, who might constitute three-fourths of the whole population, to give these a proportionate weight in the system, and to interest them warmly in the plan proposed—was an object of primary magnitude with political reformers. For the removal of those legal restrictions and disqualifications by which the Romanists were deprived of what was accounted their due share of political power,

Impressed with a sincere conviction, that from many civil advantages the religious prejudices of the times had unjustly excluded them, the Irish Roman Catholics had established a committee in Dublin, to devise measures for obtaining such further concessions as should be thought desirable, but limiting the prayer of their petition to the repeal of restrictive laws.* With great moderation, they remonstrated against the perpetuation of idle and offensive disabilities, which, years before, should have been erased from the statute book. That appeal was unfortunately disregarded. To the more turbulent of the Catholic leaders, its rejection afforded an apology for loud and threatening declamation, at which the more moderate took alarm. The tide of popular approbation ran with the violent section of the committee—the nobility and gentry seceded—and wild or mercenary demagogues† took and kept their places.

Three months before, the mutual advantages which it was evident must arise from a union of political interests, had brought round a coalition between the northern republicans and the Catholic Committee. The declaration of their objects announced that they had united "'for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.' Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform were the avowed objects of their pursuit. By the former was understood a total abolition of political distinctions between Romanists and Protestants; by the latter they professed to mean a completely democratic House of Commons." Such was the origin of the society of *United Irishmen*.

In the early session of 1792 a bill passed, by which many Roman Catholic disabilities were removed. The bar and general practice of the law were opened—the absurd enactments against mixed marriages between Protestant and Catholic abrogated—and educational restrictions, foreign and domestic, totally removed. These concessions appear, however, to have had little effect in conciliating the Catholics generally, and the noble lord,‡ through whose wisdom and influence they had been obtained, was held up as a man to be doubted by his co-religionists, and his successful mediation with the Government was returned with rancorous abuse.

A sweeping measure of reform was immediately devised—one so purely republican, as to prevent the objects of those who framed it from being mistaken for a moment.§ Its effect, when promulgated,

vigorous efforts were made, and various engines put in motion."—*Gordon's History*.

* "It breathed that spirit of mildness and moderation which appeared in all their proceedings, while they were regulated by the nobility and gentry of the Roman Catholic persuasion. It was signed by the Lords Fingal, Gormanstown, Kenmare, Doctor Troy, titular Archbishop of Dublin, and by most of the landholders and respectable gentlemen of their persuasion in the kingdom."—*Musgrave*.

† January, 1792. ‡ Lord Kenmare.

§ "They proposed that the Parliament should be annual; that for the purpose of election, the whole kingdom should be divided into three hundred electorates,

had an opposite influence upon all parties. The lower orders of the Catholics, in parochial assemblies, adopted the resolutions of the delegates, and, expressing their adhesion to the Catholic Committee, declared a fixed determination to carry out the electoral reform they had recommended. The more enlightened of the Catholic body, however, rejected the scheme as destructive to the existing constitution, and, in communion with the great bulk of the Protestants, publicly thanked Parliament for rejecting a petition which had been presented the preceding session, to obtain elective franchise for members of the Church of Rome. Indeed the ulterior objects of the discontented Catholics were become perfectly apparent, and many of the warmest and most consistent of their advocates began to waver in opinion.* Acting, however, on the resolutions they had published, the committee determined to summon a convention. Circulars were issued by their leader, Edward Byrn—representatives elected in the counties—and on the 3rd of December, 1792, "the Back-lane Parliament" commenced its first session in Tailors' Hall.

The daring measure of calling together an assembly, where the delegates debated with closed doors, was followed by a still bolder demonstration. The discontented Romanists resolved upon making a display of physical force—and declared their intention to arm, to "maintain their rights and effect their objects." For this purpose large sums of money were levied, and a body was enrolled in the metropolis, under the title of "The National Guard." They were arrayed in green uniforms, with a harp without the crown displayed upon the buttons and appointments. Orders were issued for a general muster on the 9th of December; but a proclamation, issued by the Lord Lieutenant, declared the body to be dangerous to the public peace, and directed the authorities to disperse the meeting should it be attempted, and employ force were it required. Many conjectures were hazarded at the time res-

each formed by a combination of parishes, and all as nearly equal as possible in point of population; that no qualification with respect to property should be required in the elector nor in the representative; that every male of sound understanding of the full age of twenty-one, and resident in the electorate during the last six months preceding the election, should be capable of suffrage for a representative; that to be qualified for a seat in the House of Commons, a man should be twenty-five years old, resident within the kingdom, and holding neither place nor pension under Government, and that each representative should receive a reasonable stipend for his attendance in Parliament."

* Sir Hercules Langrish, in his place in the Commons, thus addressed the House—"Notwithstanding my prepossessions in favour of the Roman Catholics, I was checked for some time in my ardour to serve them, by reading of late a multitude of publications and paragraphs in the newspapers, and other public prints, circulated *gratis* with the utmost industry, purporting to convey the sentiments of the Catholics.—What was their import?—they were exhortations to the people never to be satisfied at any concession, till the state itself was conceded: they were precautions against public tranquillity; they were invitations to disorder, and covenants of discontent; they were ostentations of strength, rather than solicitations for favours; rather appeals to the powers of the people, than applications to the authority of the state; they involved the relief of the Catholic, with the revolution of the government; and were dissertations for democracy, rather than arguments for toleration."

pecting the objects of the movement; some asserted that it was merely intended, by an exhibition of numerical strength, to confirm unsteady friends and intimidate those that were opposed to them—others, however, ascribed to the National Guards more serious and sanguinary designs—"to seize even then upon the city, and commence at once a civil war." Certain it is that the Government were led to apprehend that this muster would lead to a revolutionary movement, and accordingly, the most decisive measures were taken to render it abortive.

To follow up the progress and proceedings of the United Irishmen throughout that unquiet period which intervened between the lieutenancies of Earls Westmoreland and Camden would be unnecessary. Their civil and military organization, however, shall hereafter be fully described—and a brief analysis given of their general history from the epoch where we have broken off, when the seeds of disaffection had taken a firm root, and a conspiracy was hatched, which, a few years afterwards became fatally matured, and exploded in 1798 with portentous violence.

Under the colour of volunteering, the arming and drilling of the malcontents actively continued. A proclamation, issued the 11th of March, 1793, declared these proceedings illegal, and attached penal consequences to any who should continue them.* This and the Gunpowder Act struck heavily at the military organization of the revolutionists; while the Convention Act,† subsequently passed, embarrassed the leaders of the movement so much, that an influential member of the union‡ afterwards declared, "That the bill was calculated to meet every part of the system, and the framer must have had their constitution in his hand when he was devising its provisions."

In 1794 and 95, outrages by the Defenders—a lawless confederacy, exclusively Catholic—became general, and the Protestants associated for self-defence. A conflict between the rival religionists took place at a place called "the Diamond," in the county of Armagh, in which the Defenders were signally defeated. In commemoration of this success, the first Orange lodge was formed on the 21st of September, 1795,§ and the system, slowly but steadily, gained strength, until the

* The preamble runs thus :—"Whereas certain seditious and ill-affected persons, in several parts of the north, particularly in the town of Belfast, have endeavoured to foment and encourage discontent, and to defame the Government and the Parliament, by seditious publications, circulated among the people; and that several bodies of men have been collected in armed associations, and have been levied and arrayed in the said town of Belfast; and that arms and gunpowder to a very large amount have been sent thither; and that bodies of men have been drilled and exercised by day and night, under the pretext of obtaining a redress of grievances, though the obvious intention appears to be, to overawe the Parliament and the Government, and to dictate to both."

† To prevent the election or other appointment, of conventions, or other unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions or other addresses to his Majesty, or the Parliament. ‡ Samuel Neilson.

§ "It was not established in the metropolis, though many years threatened with open rebellion, till the month of January, 1798; and many gentlemen of high character and considerable talents placed themselves at its head, to give the institution a proper direction, and to silence the calumnious clamours of traitors against it."—*Musgrave's Memoirs.*

body was considered in the north of Ireland so numerous and effective, that the general commanding at the outbreak in 1798* assured the Government, that to these ardent supporters of the constitution the safety of Ulster might be confidently entrusted.

At this period, several of the revolutionary leaders were subjected to state prosecutions for sedition. Hamilton Rowan was convicted, fined, imprisoned, but escaped in women's clothes from Newgate; Napper Tandy placed under bail, but fled the kingdom to avoid a trial; Doctor Drennan was tried and acquitted; Tone expatriated himself, and went with his family to America; but Jackson, an English clergyman, and an envoy from the French Government to the Irish revolutionists, was on the 23rd of April, 1795, capitally convicted of high treason. The unhappy man committed suicide, and poisoned himself in the bar, immediately after the foreman had announced him guilty.

At this period the recal of Lord Westmorland, and the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam, raised the sinking confidence of the Catholic party as much as it depressed the hopes of the Orangists. The well-known bias of the Earl's political opinions was warmly in favour of fresh and full concessions, and it was supposed that emancipation was at hand. While the Roman Catholics were buoyant with high expectation, arising from the noble lord's appointment to the Irish lieutenancy, a sudden recal crushed their hopes, and augmented their disaffection. From this period their hostility to any monarchical form of Government appears to have become inveterate—and the first test required of a United Irishman, one in which a reformed Parliament was distinctly recognized, was instantly exchanged for another purely democratical.†

1796 was not fated to enjoy more tranquillity than the stormy era that preceded it. A compulsory increase of military power, under the provisions of the Militia Bill, increased the general discontent, and the public uneasiness was not abated by a discovery that the French Government had undertaken to land an invading army to assist the Irish revolutionists, who, on their part, undertook to pay these auxiliaries, and eventually defray the whole expenses of the expedition. Additional powers were now demanded by the Irish executive, and the Insurrection Act,‡ which had passed in spring, was followed up by a suspension of *habeas corpus* in October.

* General Knox.

† The initiatory oath taken henceforward by the United Irishmen, was thus worded:—"In the awful presence of God, I, * * do voluntarily declare that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of *every* religious persuasion, and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of *all* the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation."

‡ This temporary act, which placed very arbitrary power in the hands of the executive, was levelled immediately against an irregular confederacy of men who, under the name of Defenders, infested the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Long-

There is no doubt that these stringent powers were afterwards sadly and frequently abused. Arrests on secret information—districts unnecessarily proclaimed—suspected persons sent, without the shadow of a trial, on board the fleet—military licence—arbitrary impressment of beasts of burden for baggage transport—abuse in billeting—a general insolence in the soldiery—all these formed constant subject for complaint—and unfortunately, it was seldom made without ample provocation.

These severities were impolitic—they reacted against the Government—and the feelings of the lower orders became exasperated, but not subdued. The most deeply marked of innate feelings in the human breast is resistance to oppression, whether it be real or imaginary. The peasantry assembled by night to drill or deprive the loyalists of their arms, whilst, by day, they collected in enormous numbers to harvest the crops of persons imprisoned for political offences, or, under the pretext of attending a funeral or a hurling-match, they paraded, in military array, with banners and martial music.

If, during their confinement, the disaffected thus evinced a warm sympathy for their imprisoned friends, by reaping their corn and securing the potato crops,* they were equally assiduous in shielding them from the penal consequences of their crimes. Bribery and intimidation were the means commonly employed, and should these fail, assassination was not infrequent. This system of terror too frequently sheltered the guilty from the punishment they deserved; for, dreading

ford, Meath, and Kildare, despoiling in the night the peaceable inhabitants of their arms, and latterly also of their money and valuable effects. By this act the Lord Lieutenant in council was authorized to proclaim, on the requisition of seven of its magistrates assembled at a sessions of the peace, any county or district thereof, as in a state of disturbance, and thereby to invest the magistrates with an extraordinary power of seizing, imprisoning, and sending aboard his Majesty's fleet, such persons as should be found at unlawful assemblies, or otherwise acting so as to threaten the public tranquillity.

* "We have hitherto abstained from mentioning the curious circumstance that has repeatedly happened of late, of multitudes of people assembling to cut down the harvest of different persons. As faithful historians of public proceedings, we give the following general view of these matters as far as we have received information of them:—

"Eldred Pottinger, Esq., of Mount Pottinger, had twelve acres of oats cut down in thirteen minutes and a half. A poor man in the same neighbourhood had two acres cut by the same reapers, during the time he was lighting his pipe. Mr. William Orr, near Antrim, at present in Carrickfergus gaol, had his entire harvest cut down by near six hundred of his neighbours in a few hours. Mr. Rowley Osborne of this town, now in Newgate, had forty ricks of hay stacked in a short time by an immense number of his neighbours, without the formality of a horse or car. Mr. William Weir, of Dunmurry, now in prison, had 2,360 stooks of grain and thirty-eight ricks of hay carried in and completely stacked and thatched in three hours. Mr. Fitzgerald, of Sandy-bay, at present in Carrickfergus gaol, had his crop cut down in a similar manner. Mrs. Clark, of Swatragh, whose son is in prison, had her harvest cut down in two hours: in the evening of the same day they returned and carried all the hay in the meadow to the stack-yard and stacked it."—*Belfast News Letter.*

"About 1,500 people assembled, and in *seven minutes* dug a field of potatoes belonging to Mr. Samuel Neilson of this town, now in Kilmainham gaol."—*Northern Star.*

the consequences of conviction, witnesses prevaricated, jurors were afraid to do their duty, and the criminal escaped.

In the spring of 1797, General Lake issued a proclamation, directing that all persons unauthorized to keep arms should surrender them forthwith to the proper authorities. It was declared that secret information where weapons were concealed should be liberally rewarded, and the full value of such arms as might be thus recovered should be given to the informant. That the quantity hidden throughout the kingdom was immense, may be conceived from the fact, that within the year, and in two provinces alone, Ulster and Leinster, 129,583 weapons of various descriptions were seized or surrendered. In this number there were 48,000 firelocks, 70,000 pikes, and 22 pieces of cannon.

At this period, it is probable that the United Irishmen, in point of numbers and organization, were almost as formidable as at the moment of the insurrection. In the northern provincial meetings, particular inquiries were made of the delegates assembled, "whether they considered themselves as being sufficiently strong to disarm the military quartered in their respective districts," and with a few exceptions, the question received an affirmative reply. Although too successful in corrupting the soldiers, they appear to have made very erroneous calculations as to the number whose allegiance had been shaken. Many, both of the line and the militia, became pretended converts to republicanism, merely to obtain the money and entertainment offered liberally by the disaffected. Some regiments, however, became seriously tainted with disloyalty; but generally, the active measures to counteract seduction adopted by the commanding officers, defeated the attempt.*

While, with the confidence which strength and union give to those who meditate a revolutionary essay, the leaders of the disaffected waited with impatience the assistance promised them through their agents by the French Directory, we will rapidly examine the civil and military organization of that formidable confederacy, whose origin and progress we have summarily described.

"The association consisted of a multitude of societies, linked closely together, and ascending in gradation, like the component parts of a pyramid or cone, to a common apex or point of union."† At its first formation, the inferior societies extended to thirty-six members, but subsequently they were limited to twelve; when any candidates above the latter number presented themselves, after initiation, they were directed to form a fresh society for themselves—an artful and effective means of adding to the strength of the order by persuading men to become revolutionary proselytes, who might otherwise, from political

* "The practice became so common, so general, and so fatal to the military, that the following, among other regiments, offered rewards for discovering and prosecuting any persons concerned in it:—The 9th dragoons, the 1st fencible cavalry the Angus-shire fencibles, the Kilkenny, Antrim, Longford, Tyrone, Wexford, and Waterford militias."—*Musgrave's Memoirs.*

† Gordon's History.

indifference, have held back from joining the society. To each of these small lodges a secretary and treasurer were attached, and the five secretaries of five inferior lodges constituted what was termed *a lower baronial committee.*

These lower baronial committees sent a member to a superior body called *the upper.* There were again, in counties and great towns, superior committees, composed of delegates from the upper baronial. These were termed *district* or *county committees.* From these latter, a few members were selected to form the *provincial directory*, to whose superintendence the societies of every gradation were confided. By these provincial committees, the *grand executive directory* was chosen. The members of this controlling body being limited to five, and the election secret and by ballot, the name of the person on whom the appointment fell was concealed, even from those who had elected him, and the provincial secretaries alone possessed a knowledge of the chosen few who exercised an arbitrary and uncontrolled authority over the whole body of the union.*

The military organization† was engrafted on the civil, and was constituted in the following manner:—"The secretary of each subordinate society, composed of twelve, was appointed their petty or non-commissioned officer. The delegate of five societies to a lower baronial committee was commonly appointed captain of a company, consisting of the five societies who had delegated him, and who made the number of sixty privates; and then the delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or district committee was commonly appointed colonel of a battalion, which was thus composed of six hundred. The colonels of battalions in each county sent in the names of three persons to the executive directory of the union, one of whom was appointed by them adjutant-general of the county, whose duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the executive to the colonels of battalions,

* "The adoption of military organization produced such an increase of robbery and assassination in the northern counties, as to induce a necessity of enforcing the insurrection law in them; and accordingly Down and Armagh were proclaimed in November, 1796, Derry and Donegal in February, 1797.

"Regular returns were made by the baronial to the county, and by the county to the provincial committee, and by them to the executive, of the quantity of arms and ammunition in their possession; and of the sums of money in their treasurers' hands.

"For this, and the manner of making the returns, the reader is referred to the Report of the Secret Committee, Appendix, II. 21.

"They had a regular chain or gradation of officers, from a general down to a sergeant; and about the latter end of the year 1797, or beginning of 1798, they instituted the office of adjutant-general.—*Vide* Report of the Secret Committee, Appendix, XVII. 142.

"They used unremitted endeavours, and spared no expense in defending the conspirators who were to be tried; for which purpose, a sub-committee attended regularly at every assizes to superintend the appropriation of the money collected for that purpose."—*Musgrave's Memoirs.*

† The organization of the Union was intended to be a complete representative system. It underwent two important changes. In 1794 the Society having been forcibly dissolved, became a secret one the beginning of 1795. Its objects extended beyond reform and emancipation; and members, on admission, were required to take an oath.

and in general to act as officer of the revolutionary staff. They were required to inform themselves of, and report the state of the rebel regiments within their respective districts, of the number of mills, the roads, rivers, bridges, and fords, the military positions, the capacity of the towns and villages to receive troops, to communicate to the executive every movement of the enemy (meaning the King's troops), to announce the first appearance of their allies (meaning the French), and immediately to collect their forces."*

Besides these, a military committee was specially appointed. Its labours were two-fold; one was to prepare a plan for a general insurrection unsupported by foreign aid;—the other, to devise the best means of co-operation with a French army, in the event of the promised descent being effected on the coast of Ireland. On this event the Directory calculated with such certainty in 1797, that a general order "to be ready" was issued through the provincial committees. Those who had the means to obtain them, were exhorted to procure firearms and ammunition—pikes were to be provided by the lower orders—and throughout three provinces the order was promptly obeyed. The organization of Connaught was fortunately still imperfect, and at the outbreak of the insurrection, the western counties were, happily for themselves, quite unprepared for action.

Having described the systems, military and political, the next preparatory notice should be directed to the persons who planned and matured a confederacy, which, for the extent to which it reached and the danger it occasioned, stands in British history without a parallel.

* Musgrave's Memoirs. Report of the Secret Committee.

CHAPTER II.

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE LEADERS OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

THE issue of the American contest—the institution of the Irish Volunteers—the overthrow of the French monarchy—the victories of the republican armies abroad, and the spread of infidel and revolutionary doctrines at home—to all these the system of the United Irishmen may be traced. That numbers of those who joined the union at its first formation, were actuated by pure and patriotic notions, cannot be denied;* but that the majority were actuated by the desire of overturning monarchy, while ostensibly seeking for reform, is equally true. To the false principles of these times local causes were not wanting to increase the general dissaffection. The northern manufacturers were ill-disposed towards the aristocracy—and many who had acquired fortunes by trade, were jealous of the preponderating influence which landed property conferred upon the owners of hereditary estates. For electioneering purposes the people were courted by some, and corrupted by others. "The virulence of opposition, in vilifying and degrading administration, and in asserting that the legislative power was more corrupt than the executive, made the people believe that a reform of parliament was necessary, and gave the republicans a specious pretext for adopting it, as an engine to overturn the constitution; and the silly timidity of the members of administration, in complimenting their accusers, gave an incredible weight to their assertions in the public mind." Nor was violence of political expression confined to parliamentary discussion;† the pulpit was desecrated by inflammatory appeals to human passions, which every feeling of a Christian minister imperiously required him to protest against.‡

* "In making war on the United Irishmen of Dublin, I attack a society, whose first establishment and principles, in their spirit and general tendency, I approved of; of which, but for some trifling accident—some lucky or unlucky circumstances, in their formation, I should myself have been a member, or proposed as such. I take liberties with a body of men, some few individuals of whom, that I have lived in a degree of intimacy with—men of considerable talents, and I believe, of much private worth—I feel a personal, and even affectionate regard for; a body, to the great majority of whom, as individuals, I attribute perfectly good intentions towards their country, and even its constitution, so far as the majority have taken the trouble or used the means to understand it."—*Joseph Pollock.*

† "On the 31st of January, 1793, an address of thanks to Lord Westmoreland was moved and carried in the House of Commons, for having issued this proclamation. In the debate on it, Lord Edward Fitzgerald arose, and said aloud, in an angry tone, 'I give my most hearty disapprobation to this; for I do think, that the Lord-Lieutenant, and the majority of this house, are the worst men in the kingdom.' The house had serious thoughts of expelling him; but with singular pusillanimity, pardoned him on making a slight excuse."—*Musgrave's Memoirs.*

‡ "On the 25th of June, 1795, the Reverend Mr. Birch, a Presbyterian minister, preached a sermon to a numerous body of dissenters at Saintfield, in which he re-

But a still more fatal inroad was made upon the morals of the people—speculative politics led to speculative religion. Baneful doctrines regarding government, were followed up by artful efforts to shake the religious convictions of the lower orders.* Virulent publications issued from the press, distracting the unsteady, and maddening the disaffected; and the loyalty of the subject and the faith of the believer were equally assailed, by the infamous admirers of those who figured in the reign of terror. The institutions which men venerated, the blessed hope of a hereafter, were equally contemned—and the overthrow of the throne, it would appear, was to be accompanied with the destruction of the altar.

The actual establishment of the United Irish society was accomplished by the Catholic committee, who, for political purposes, were anxious to enlist as many Protestant supporters as they could, and accordingly their agents were judiciously selected by those by whom the end, and not the means, were regarded. One was a man of much talent and unsteady character — the other a gentleman by birth, specious in manner and artful in address. Both were needy men—both Protestants—both mercenaries. Tone, with an unprovided family, had failed totally through sheer idleness at the bar; and Jones had damaged his fortunes by wild electioneering. Both, in Shakespear's parlance, were

"Weary with disaster, tugg'd with fortune;"

and, hence, the better suited to become able, unscrupulous, and, consequently, the more efficient agents.

Theobald Wolf Tone was the son of a coach-maker. He was designed and had prepared himself for the bar; but, from his own confessions, the instability of his character was unsuited to the profession he had selected. After having been engaged as second in a duel between two students, in which one of them was killed, he eloped with a young lady who possessed considerable personal beauty, but no fortune. The consequences of an imprudent marriage became too soon apparent, and, slighted by his wife's family, he was obliged to throw himself upon his father for support. The old man was himself in embarrassed circumstances; Tone brought the additional expenses of the maintenance of a wife and child upon a household already impoverished; and the earlier indiscretions of his life rendered the later portion of a necessitous career, a succession of desperate efforts to sur-

commended the uniting persons of every religious persuasion in one family, or brotherhood, in the bonds of philanthropy. He denominated kings butchers and scourges of the human race, who revel on the spoils of thousands, whom they have made fatherless, widows, and orphans, until the judgment of the Almighty shall come down on those monsters, and cause them who use the sword to perish by the sword."—*Ibid.*

* "A large impression of Paine's Age of Reason was struck off in Belfast, and distributed *gratis* among the United Societies. Bundles of them were thrown into meeting-house yards on Sundays, before the congregations assembled; and small parcels were left on the sides of public roads, to contaminate the minds of those who found them."—*Ibid.*

mount the pressure of poverty, and attain a position, which less talent and more prudence could have easily secured for him.

Tone appears to have been one of those mercurial characters who expend a life in popular excitement and idle speculation. When resident in the Middle Temple, after leaving a wife, (for whom he professed a romantic affection,) dependent on an indigent father-in-law, it might have been expected that a dear and double tie would have incited him to expiate the follies of "wild youth," and employ the talents and the energies of manhood in useful and profitable exertions. But his own revelations place his character in any but an amiable light. His time was wasted in unproductive labour, or utopian projects;* and after two years sojourn at the Temple, when a gleam of prosperity broke upon his lowering fortunes, which would have enabled a prudent man to take up a professional position and ultimately led to independence, he returned to his native land, to prove that wild excitement alone was germane to a disposition to which graver and dignified pursuits were perfectly unsuited.

After becoming an agent to the Catholic committee, and a principal originator of the United Irish Society, he continued their paid servant, and an active and violent demagogue, until the arrest of Jackson. His connection with the French envoy obliged him at once to leave the country. He proceeded to America—and thence, early in 1796, visited France, and became an accredited agent between the French Directory and the United Irishmen.

The other *employé* of the Catholic committee, and an original founder of the Union, was William Todd Jones. He was a man of good family and small means, and these he had heavily embarrassed. With the recklessness of a man of broken fortune, he plunged deeply into the tide of revolutionary principles, and advocated the cause of

* I wrote several articles for the *European Magazine*, mostly critical reviews of new publications. My reviews were poor performances enough; however, they were in general as good as those of my brother critics; and in two years I received, I suppose, about 50*l.* sterling for my writings, which was my main object; for, as to literary fame, I had then no great ambition to attain it."

* * * * * * *

"I likewise in conjunction with two of my friends, named Jebb and Radcliff, wrote a burlesque novel, but we could not find a bookseller who would risk the printing it, though we offered the copyright *gratis* to several.

* * * * * * *

"As I foresaw by this time that I should never be Lord Chancellor, and as my mind was naturally active, a scheme occurred to me, to the maturing of which I devoted some time and study." This was a proposal to the minister to establish a military colony in the South Seas. "I drew up a memorial on the subject, which I addressed to Mr. Pitt." The memorial remaining unattended to, Tone observes *naïvely*, that on some future opportunity he would make the minister repent it. But the most unamiable of his confessions, is his own declaration that from an unpleasant letter from his father, disclosing the embarrassment of the old man's affairs, he had resolved to desert his family. "I determined," he proceeds, "to enlist as a soldier in the India Company's service; to quit Europe for ever, and leave my wife and child to the mercy of her family;" and with this resolution he actually repaired to the India-House—offered himself as a volunteer, and was only prevented from effecting his intention, by being too late to obtain a ship. It seems difficult to reconcile professions of ardent love with deliberate desertion.

reform with more eloquence and judgment than most of his associates. As a writer, he was both an able and an artful supporter of Catholic rights. To Tone, in birth, position, and address, Jones was infinitely superior; and had his abilities assumed another bias, he might have held a very different position in after-life. A singular fatality, it would appear, attended on the leaders of the United Irishmen—and, with a few exceptions, a troublous career ended in exile and poverty, by suicide* or on the scaffold.

As among the military leaders that amiable and unfortunate enthusiast, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, stood forward with imposing superiority, so both in character and talent, Thomas Addis Emmet was unapproached by any of the individuals in private or professional life who had arrayed themselves against the Government, and advocated revolutionary principles. He was the second son of Doctor Emmet, the state physican. His elder brother, Temple,† after a brief but brilliant career at the Irish bar, died in 1788. The third and younger brother was Robert, and he, poor fellow! lived to attain a melancholy and mischievous celebrity.

Addis Emmit was intended to have followed the profession of his father, and for four years (1783 to 86) studied physic at the university of Edinburgh. The death of his brother, Temple, induced him, however, to exchange medicine for law, and in 1790 he was called to the Irish bar.

In his political principles Emmet was a determined republican, and the following passages from Tone's memoir sufficiently prove the extent to which his revolutionary opinions reached:—"In recording the names of the members of the Club, I find I have strangely omitted that of a man whom, as well for his talents as his principles, I esteem as much as any, far more than most of them, I mean Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister. He is a man completely after my own heart; of a great and comprehensive mind; of the warmest and sincerest affection for his friends; and of a firm and steady adherence to his principles, to which he has sacrificed much, as I know, and would, I am sure, if necessary sacrifice his life. His opinions and mine square exactly. In classing the men I most esteem, I would place him beside Russell, at the head of the list."

* The author was intimately acquainted with Mr. Jones, and dined in his company on the evening when the fatal accident occurred. His carriage had come to the door, and when Mr. Jones stepped in, the horses suddenly started off before the coachman could seize the reins. The avenue gate was closed—the vehicle stopped suddenly—Mr. Jones was thrown violently forward, struck against the wooden upright between the front glasses, and died from a concussion of the brain. An excellent memory, with great conversational powers, made one who had taken a leading part in the transactions of a stormy period of Irish history, a very amusing and instructive companion.

† Mr. Grattan in his "Life and Times," &c. rather over-eulogizes his talents and acquirements. "Temple Emmet, before he came to the bar, knew more law than any of the Judges on the bench; and if he had been placed on one side, and the whole bench opposed to him, he could have been examined against them, and would have surpassed them all; he would have answered better both in law and divinity than any Judge or any Bishop in the land." If true, this complimentary notice is not very flattering to "the reverend signors" who wore ermine and lawn sleeves in 1770.

Emmet's physical conformation was not robust; "he was small of stature, measured in his gait, and retiring and unobtrusive in his deportment. In his dress he was careless—almost negligent; he bestowed no attention on personal appearance. His head and features were finely formed; all the compactness that a phrenologist would look for in the head of a man of profound thought, and the accordance of the outline of the features with that precision and straightforwardness of character which the physiognomist would expect to find combined in a person of inflexible principles."*

In 1792, Emmet appears to have first become an active supporter of the Catholics, and his pen was ably employed in their behalf, although he rather avoided any public display of his political opinions. At this time he had not enrolled himself a United Irishman, but, notwithstanding, he lent them every assistance, legal and literary, and possessed the entire confidence of the body. In 1797, when the important question had divided the councils of the leaders, as to whether the revolutionary movement should be delayed until the promised assistance from the French Directory should have arrived; or that the Union, depending wholly on their own strength, should boldly declare against the Government at once, and try the issue in the field; in opposition to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Emmet combatted the attempt as dangerous, and the outbreak was consequently postponed.

A curious anecdote, related by Dr. Madden in his biographical notice of Addis Emmet, is characteristic of the extent to which political and professional enthusiasm will hurry individuals. Emmet was retained for some persons charged with the administration of unlawful oaths—at the time a capital offence—and was addressing the court in arrest of judgment.

"He took up the pleadings in which the words of the oath were recited, and read them in a very deliberate manner, and with all the gravity of a man who felt that he was binding his soul by the obligations of a solemn oath. The words were to the following effect:—'I, A.B., in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which, every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient to the freedom and happiness of this country.'

"Having read the test—defended its obligations with a power of reasoning and a display of legal knowledge, in reference to the subject of the distinction between legal and illegal oaths, which the counsel for the prosecution described as producing an extraordinary impression, he addressed the court in the following terms:—

* Barrington's Personal Sketches.

"'My Lords—Here, in the presence of this legal court, this crowded auditory—in the presence of the Being that sees and witnesses, and directs this judicial tribunal,—here, my lords, I, myself, in the presence of God, declare, I take the oath.'

"He then took the book that was on the table, kissed it, and sat down. No steps were taken by the court against the newly-sworn United Irishman: the amazement of its functionaries left them in no fit state of mind either for remonstrance or reproval. The prisoners received a very lenient sentence."

His future connection with the revolutionary proceedings of the United Irishmen, and subsequent political career, belongs to another epoch in this history.

That, with very rare exceptions, the leaders of the United Irishmen were persons of very moderate abilities, may be inferred from the popularity which Napper Tandy for a considerable period enjoyed with the disaffected. Without the recommendation of birth or fortune, his talents were common-place, his courage very questionable, "his person was ungracious, his language neither eloquent nor argumentative, his address neither graceful nor impressive; but he was sincere and persevering, and though in many instances erroneous and violent, he was considered to be honest. Like many of those persons who occasionally spring up in revolutionary periods, he acquired celebrity without being able to account for it, and possessed influence without rank or capacity."*

For breach of privilege and sedition, he was prosecuted by the solicitor-general, to whom he had previously sent an invitation to fight, which had been readily accepted. Having placed himself in a position from which no man of honourable feeling could recede a step, to the disgust of every party, his conduct was so vacillating and spiritless, that he exposed himself, justly, to a charge of cowardice, which cost him the popularity he enjoyed. He fled to the Continent, where he remained until the insurrection had broken out.†

Henry and John Shears were brothers and sons of a banker in Cork. They had received a liberal education, and both been called to the Irish bar. Travelling during the wildest period of the French revolution, they became residents of Paris while the reign of terror was at its height—and, as it has been stated, witnessed the horrible scenes enacted daily under the tyranny of Robespierre, with an apathy from which accomplished gentlemen should have recoiled. The fearless manner in which their political opinions were promulgated, exposed them to the suspicions of the executive—and shortly before the outbreak they were arrested and confined.

The personal sketches given by Sir Jonah Barrington of these unfortunate gentlemen is highly characteristic.

"Henry the elder, had a competent fortune, and was an excellent domestic character, with a most amiable family; he was not possessed of talents—plain and friendly—occasionally warm—generally credulous—and always full of prejudices—his mind was never strong enough

* Barrington's Personal Sketches. † Historic Memoirs.

to resist his feelings—and though unexceptionable in character, he had neither capacity, firmness, nor discretion for a public life. Personally he was not remarkable, except that a mark of red wine nearly covered the left cheek. The younger brother, John, was tall, fair, handsome, and of gentlemanly address. His countenance was sensible, and firm to inflexibility, but not amiable, and far from prepossessing. He was well educated, but mistook the phrases of republicanism, for a power of writing in its defence, and of being a leader in its cause. With many qualities of a tyrant, and with much more talent than his brother, he guided him at his discretion, and finally led him to his destruction. They were inseparable as brothers, and were united by almost unparalleled attachment."

Oliver Bond was a woollen-draper—the son of a dissenting minister in Donegal—and had realized a considerable fortune. Among the United Irishmen he took a prominent part, and as early as 1793, was committed to Newgate for sedition. It is said that from being a struggling trader, he rose rapidly into opulence—the party spirit of the times investing him with the mantle of political martyrdom.* He was a second time arrested, when the Leinster Delegates were surprised.

Thomas Russell's father was a retired officer, and he himself had held an ensigncy in the British service. For some years he had been placed upon half-pay—but in 1791, was appointed to the 64th, then quartered in Belfast. Too deeply imbued in revolutionary principles, he cultivated the intimacy of the United Irishmen, and sacrificed his profession to his politics. On the 16th of September, 1796, he was arrested, transmitted to Dublin, and, with Neilson and Teeling, committed to the gaol of Newgate, where Crawford, Gordon, and others of the suspected were already confined.

Russell's personal appearance was favourable, and his military setting-up gave him a marked advantage over his compatriots,† who

* When Bond and the Honourable Simon Butler were fined 500*l.* each and committed to Newgate for libel and breach of privileges, by the House of Lords—beyond restriction of personal liberty, they appear to have had little to embitter their captivity. By Musgrave's account, their dietary was unexceptionable. "While in prison, they were maintained in the following manner, by the members of the society:—They made four hundred tickets, of which a certain number were blanks, the remainder were marked with the dates of the days that the prisoners were to remain in confinement; and any person who drew one of the latter, was obliged to provide a dinner, with twelve covers, on the day specified in his ticket. Four persons were invited by each of the prisoners, and three by the person who procured the repast, who, with himself, made twelve."

† "The chief command in Down had been early assigned to Russell, and the military organization of this county was considered complete, when talent and virtue were combined in the person of its chief. The early days of Russell had been devoted to military pursuits, but the milder lessons of classic science had not been forgotten. Gentle by nature, but lofty in soul, he was enthusiastic in all his attachments; and while he bore personal privations with an heroic firmness, he felt the keenest sensibility for the misfortunes of others. A model of manly beauty, he seemed formed no less *for admiration* than command, and won by the mildness of his manners, and the purity of his heart, that marked distinction which was more the spontaneous offering to superior worth, than looked for or assumed by the unconscious possessor."—*Teeling's Personal Narrative.*

were generally very common-place-looking personages. He is described as a wild and warm-hearted enthusiast—a man in whose character there was much to admire and much to condemn.

Samuel Neilson was the son of the dissenting minister of Ballyroney, in the county of Down. He was educated by his father, bound to a woollen-draper in Belfast, and afterwards commenced business for himself. His mercantile career appears to have been so prosperous, that at one time he was reputed wealthy, but his private affairs were subsequently neglected for the less profitable pursuit of speculative reform. "Like most of the other leaders of the United Irishmen, he commenced his political career in the ranks of the volunteers." In 1791, he originated a most sedicious newspaper, called "The Northern Star." In 1795, he was an active member of the Ulster Directory, and with Tone, Teeling, and others, was occasionally engaged as a travelling mediator between the Peep-o'-day-Boys and Defenders. "The Star" was the avowed organ of the revolutionary party—and as its violence increased, a numerous proprietary retired by degrees. The stupid ruin into which political insanity will hurry individuals, was never more strongly evidenced than in the following extract from his own biographer:—

"The various persecutions carried on against it, had obliged Neilson, about this period, to dispose of all his property, and to relinquish his business, in order to meet the enormous expenses attendant on these proceedings, and the unexpected demands arising from them. The other proprietors, shortly after the prosecutions, disposed of their shares to Neilson, and thus, encompassed with peril, he became the sole proprietor of the paper. In 1792, the printer and proprietors had been prosecuted and acquitted. In January, 1793, six informations were filed in the King's Bench against them for seditious libels, and in November, 1794, they were prosecuted for publishing the address of the United Irishmen to the volunteers. In September, 1796, the office was attacked and ransacked, and Neilson and several others were arrested, conveyed to Dublin, and committed to Newgate, where they remained till the latter part of 1797. In the month of May, 1797, the office was again attacked by a military rabble, the presses broken, the types thrown into the street, and the paper finally suppressed."

These prefatory notices of Neilson will be sufficient—his subsequent proceedings as an actor in the conspiracy, being reserved for their proper place.

Another of the northern leaders was Henry McCraken. His father was master and part owner of a merchantman. In boyhood, he was taught weaving, afterwards became a cotton-spinner, and, subsequently, overseer of a calico manufactory, established by his uncles and father. With Russell, he was an original member of the first society of United Irishmen. McCraken, it would appear, was at first in very humble consideration with his party—he "was contented to do the work of the society, and leave its honours to those who sought them;" and, according to the shewing of a confederate, was rather engaged as a crimp

than a commander. A low association met in a Belfast public-house, which was employed as a fitting place wherein to introduce strangers, and tamper with the military,* and to these objects McCraken's field of action at that period appears to have been limited entirely.

McCraken's subsequent employment was to unite the opposite religionists—the Defenders and Peep-o'-day-Boys. He came under the *surveillance* of the executive, was arrested in October, 1796, transmitted to Dublin, and committed first to Newgate, and afterwards to Kilmainham.

After an imprisonment of about a year, McCraken was liberated upon bail. His health had suffered by confinement—but within a few months he once more took an active part in the insurrectionary proceedings, and was placed by the Belfast leaders in communication with the Leinster Directory. His subsequent career belongs to the more advanced period of this memoir.

Some of the Presbyterian ministers were deeply concerned in the conspiracy, and others secretly inclined to favour the revolutionary principles of the times. Generally however, a sense of religious propriety influenced the conduct of that most respectable body—and whatever might have been the extent of private opinion, very few overt exhibitions of it were made.

Among the exceptions, Kelburn, Birch, and Dickson, were most remarkable.

Sinclair Kelburn represented the revolutionary party in Belfast on the memorable occasion in 1792, when the Catholic body despatched their chairman, Edward Byrn, to form a political union with the northern malcontents, and fraternize the opposite religionists. During the succeeding years, Kelburn took a prominent part in the proceedings of the party he had attached himself to, and in 1797 he was arrested and imprisoned. The violence of Birch in and out of the pulpit exposed him also to Government persecution. Dickson, the most talented and dangerous of the three, was a bold and fluent speaker—but the "drum ecclesiastic" was beneath the flight of his ambition—he aspired to military distinction—and a man who could not direct the relief of a sentry, was actually, after Russell's arrest, advanced

* "'The Mudler's club,' of Belfast, held at a public-house in 'Sugar-House Entry,' was resorted to a good deal by strangers on coming from the country, and by townsmen of the middle class. The rules of the club were set in a frame, and left on the chimney-piece every evening. Its ostensible business was jovial amusement, its real one, extending the connection of the Society of United Irishmen, and it was visited by every man of known integrity who came on business to town; and if any of the members could not attend, it was always known where they were to be found in case of necessity. Its members were also expert in observing and frustrating the designs of the enemy. In this club many things were told in personal confidence that could not be safely communicated to the society; yet this secrecy was merely imaginary, for Hughes the informer was one of its earliest visitors. But, until Castlereagh got initiated by Jemmy Brees into the secrets of the Union, and thereby gained a knowledge of all its ramifications, there was no design of our opponents for which Henry Joy McCraken was not an overmatch. This club, on all important occasions, had the advantage also of the solid advice of Russell, and of Neilson's ability and activity."—*Madden's Lives, &c.*

from the responsible appointment of adjutant-general, and nominated commander-in-chief! No stronger proof of the miserable incapacity of the rebel leaders could be offered, than that the insurrectionary direction of 20,000 men, whose movements must, of necessity, be desultory, uncombined and irregular, and which required no common military tact and experience to systematize and render effective, should be intrusted to a noisy demagogue, whose soldiership, like Michael Cassio's, was "mere prattle without practice." And yet to the arrest of this individual the total failure of the northern rising has been attributed.*

Of the Presbyterian clergy many were so seriously implicated in the conspiracy, that three expiated their offences on the scaffold, and others were expatriated, or subjected to arrest and long imprisonment.

With a short notice of one who actually, like McCraken, commanded when the sword was unsheathed, and the brief and ill-directed outbreak in Ulster was idly made, and bloodily suppressed, we shall leave the United Irish leaders of Leinster and the North, to future notices, when their respective parts were individually enacted. The person we allude to, was the commander at Ballanahinch.

Henry Munro carried on the business of a linen-draper in Lisburn. Early in life he had been a volunteer—and from having acted as adjutant to a corps, it was supposed that he had acquired some military experience. To "play at soldiers," is one thing—to "handle troops," another. Among the rebel leaders many individuals of splendid literary and legal abilities were found; but, with a solitary exception, not a man exhibited the slightest proof of possessing military talent. I was assured by an old French officer who knew Tandy, that his strategic abilities were so mean, that he could not comprehend the simplest movements—Tone's revelations shew that he had no conception whatever of the duties of an officer—and Munro evinced a drivelling folly, which, were it credible, would place him even beneath contempt. Indeed, throughout the short and bloody struggle which attended the explosion of the conspiracy, the daring courage frequently displayed by the peasant, was generally proportionate to the imbecility exhibited by the leader.

The Southern chiefs were generally confined to priests and farmers —ignorant, bigoted, and sanguinary, the violence of their followers

* That we have not undervalued the military qualifications of the insurgent leaders, may be collected from the following passage, in which, Teeling, in his "Personal Narrative," describes the effect of the arrest of the dissenting minister:—"To supply the place of Dickson was not an easy task, nor to restore that confidence to the minds of his countrymen which his arrest had sensibly weakened. Down urged the necessity of delay, but Antrim was resolved—was already committed. Her military chiefs had assembled in council; numbers had quitted their homes for the field; they had bidden an affectionate, and some an eternal adieu to the objects of their tenderest regard. All waited orders from the first in command, when, to their inexpressible astonishment, his formal resignation was announced. There was now no safety in return, no encouraging hope in advance; the secession of the chief communicated doubt and alarm to others; mutual suspicion and mutual fears were excited in the breasts of all: the council wavered in their decisions—*they ordered and counter-ordered*, and *eventually retired to deliberate anew.*"

was rather encouraged than repressed—and hence their insurrectionary outbreak was marked by a desperate ferocity, which the few gentlemen who had unhappily been induced to accept the fatal distinction of command, found it impossible to control. A passing enumeration of the latter will be sufficient here—as with the events which are afterwards to be narrated, the other actors were too intimately connected to require any prefatory notice—

Beauchamp Bagnell Harvey, of Bargay Castle, was the son of a gentleman who had held a lucrative place in the Court of Chancery, and amassed a considerable fortune. Like many of the Irish leaders, Harvey had been called to the bar, but from easy circumstances and convivial habits, he was a lawyer but in name. According to the fashion of the times, Harvey was a confirmed duellist, fought frequently, shot a chief-justice of Ceylon, and went very nearly extending the same civility to his own godfather.*

"Harvey's person was extremely unimposing. He was about five feet four inches in height, and that ancient enemy of all beauty, the small-pox, had shewn him no mercy, every feature being sadly cramped, thereby his sharp peaked chin never approached toward a contact with his cravat, but left a thin scraggy throat, to give an impoverished hungry cast to the whole contour, by no means adapted to the mien and post of a commander of the forces. His scanty hair generally hung in straight flakes, and did not even pretend to be an ornament to his visage; his eye was quick but unmeaning; his figure thin and ill put together; his limbs short, slight, and rambling; his address cheerful, but tremulous. On the whole, a more unprepossessing or unmartial-like person was never moulded by capricious nature."†

From his position in society, it was considered desirable by the Wexford rebels to attach Harvey to their cause.‡ With very few exceptions, the

* This personage was that celebrated and eccentric character Baganel of Dunleckney. He had visited every capital of Europe, and had exhibited the native original character of the Irish gentleman at every place visited; and in the splendour of his travelling establishment, he quite eclipsed the petty potentates with whom Germany was garnished. His person was fine—his manners open and generous—his spirit high, and his liberality profuse. During his tour he had performed a variety of feats which were emblazoned in Ireland, and endeared him to his countrymen. He had fought a prince—jilted a princess—intoxicated the Doge of Venice—carried off a duchess from Madrid—scaled the walls of a convent in Italy—narrowly escaped the Inquisition at Lisbon; concluded his exploits by a celebrated fencing-match at Paris; and he returned to Ireland, with a sovereign contempt for all continental men and manners, and an inveterate antipathy to all despotic kings and arbitrary governments.

The duel alluded to was provoked by Mr. Baganel, and Mr. Barrington thus describes it:—"Mr. Baganel stood Harvey's fire, and immediately cried out to him, 'You d——d young villain, you had like to have killed your godfather!' Harvey, who had been ignorant of the latter fact, seemed surprised. 'Yes, you dog,' said Baganel, 'or your own father for any thing I know to the contrary. I only wanted to try if you were brave. Go to Dunleckney and order breakfast—I shall be home directly.'"

† Barrington's Personal Sketches.

‡ "He was considered by the heads of the United Irishmen to be well adapted—as a man of fortune and local influence in the most disaffected portion of their strongest county—to forward their objects: and he suffered his vanity so far to

Irish gentry were decided royalists, or, luke-warm supporters, at best, of the intended revolution, and held back from any public demonstration. Harvey's character, as described by contemporaries, was frivolous and good-natured, but yet not without ambition; and one who had never aspired beyond playing *buffo* to a bar-table, was intoxicated at the idea of becoming elevated, with dream-like celerity, to a chief command. The leadership of the Wexford insurgents was offered to him—and in a rash hour Harvey accepted the dangerous distinction. Short as the period was while he endured the semblance of authority, none felt more deeply the bitter slavery entailed upon a mob-command.

Another leader of the Wexford insurgents was Keogh, the governor of the town while it remained in possession of the rebels. In the American war, this gentleman had served with credit, and had retired a half-pay captain. The very opposite of Baganel Harvey, nature had been liberal to him;* and from the good feelings and good sense which Keogh had hitherto exhibited, it was a subject of general astonishment that he should have swerved from allegiance to a sovereign, whom he had for years served with fidelity and distinction. Some ascribed his subsequent disaffection to a supposed discourtesy received from the Irish chancellor. Whatever might have been the causes, he lived long enough, although the term of his elevation was so brief, to evidence the miserable uncertainty on which hangs savage popularity.

John Henry Colclough was another of the Wexford gentlemen who were unfortunately induced, or, as some say, obliged to join the insurgents. He was present at the Battle of Ross, but pleaded compulsion in extenuation. Colclough was in the prime of life, and from his amiability of manners and excellent private character elicited very general sympathy from men politically opposed to him.

Two gentlemen besides, of high family and good fortune, appear to have allowed themselves to be involved unaccountably in this wild and sanguinary insurrection. One was Grogan, of Johnstown Castle, a man of large estate, who had represented the county in Parliament, and thrice held the office of high sheriff. At the outbreak of the rebellion, Mr. Grogan was an aged and infirm man. Through a long life—for he was turned seventy at the period—he had been a hospitable and kind-hearted country gentleman, and, wealthy and unambitious, no cause could be assigned for an act that must arise only from madness, when it is remembered that his nearest relations were distinguished loyalists, who had already sealed their fidelity with their blood.†

overcome his judgment, as, without the slightest experience, to assume the command of a great army—for which purpose there were few men in Ireland so utterly unfit."—*Barrington's Sketches.*

* "He had a fine soldier-like person, above the middle size; his countenance was excellent; his features regular and engaging; his hair, rather scanty, receded from his forehead; his eyes were penetrating and expressive; and his complexion exhibited that partial ruddiness which we so frequently see in fine men approaching threescore."—*Ibid.*

† "Mr. Grogan was in person short and dark-complexioned. His countenance, however, was not disagreeable, and he had in every respect the address and manners of a man of rank. His two brothers commanded yeomanry corps. One of them

The other was Sir Edward Crosby. Like Mr. Grogan, he was well advanced in years, and from character and disposition unsuited to become an actor in scenes of turbulence and bloodshed.

With a brief and interesting memoir, our biographical notices shall end—it is that of a personage whose birth, talents, and enthusiasm obtained for him an unhappy pre-eminence among the numerous actors of the time—Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a fifth son of the Duke of Leinster.

By the maternal line Lord Edward was nobly born—his mother being daughter of Charles, Duke of Richmond. When ten years old, the Duke of Leinster died—and after a brief widowhood, his relic re-married with a Scotch gentleman, named Ogilvie—and removing to France, there Lord Edward commenced his education, which appears to have been hurried and imperfect. After remaining for a short time with the Sussex militia, he obtained a commission in the line, joined the 96th regiment, in Ireland, exchanged into the 19th, embarked for America, and, landing at Charlestown, was placed under the command of Lord Rawdon, and afterwards, attached to his staff.

Here, the young soldier had an opportunity of witnessing field service for the first time—and although certainly, American warfare was not the best school in which to acquire military science, still, in one important branch of the profession—outpost duty—it afforded frequent opportunities of exhibiting tact and *adresse*, as well as personal courage. With these Lord Edward was abundantly gifted—and the adjutant-general—the late Sir John Doyle—narrated the following anecdote to his biographer.*

The circumstances alluded to occurred in Lord Moira's (Rawdon's) attempt to relieve the garrison of "Ninety-Six," a strong fort blockaded by General Greene, and so severely pressed, as to be on the very point of surrendering.

Lord Rawdon having marched to the relief, "in approaching the position of 'Ninety-Six,'" says Sir John, "the enemy's light troops in advance became more numerous, and rendered more frequent patrols necessary upon our part.

"I was setting out upon a patrol, and sent to apprize Lord Edward; but he was nowhere to be found, and I proceeded without him, when, at the end of two miles, upon emerging from the forest, I found him engaged with *two* of the enemy's irregular horse; he had wounded one of his opponents, when his sword broke in the middle, and he must have soon fallen in the unequal contest, had not his enemies fled on perceiving the head of my column. I rated him most soundly, as you may imagine, for the undisciplined act of leaving the camp at so critical a time, without the general's permission. He was,—or pretended to be,—very penitent, and compounded for my reporting him at the head-quarters, provided I would let him accompany me, in the hope of some other enterprise."

was killed at the head of his corps (the Castletown cavalry) at the battle of Arklow; the other was wounded at the head of *his* troop (the Healtford cavalry) during Colonel Maxwell's retreat from Wexford." * Mr. Thomas Moore.

From ill-health, Lord Rawdon, shortly after the relief of "Ninety-Six," quitted Carolina for England; and Lord Edward rejoined his regiment (the 19th) when Greene attacked Stuart at Eutaw Springs, the result of which was a gallant and very doubtful action. Lord Edward was closely engaged, wounded in the leg, and left upon the field.

"In this helpless situation he was found by a poor negro, who carried him off on his back to his hut, and there nursed him most tenderly, till he was well enough of his wound to bear removing to Charlestown. This negro was no other than the 'faithful Tony,' whom, in gratitude for the honest creature's kindness, he now took into his service, and who continued devotedly attached to his noble master to the end of his career."*

After the surrender of Cornwallis's army at York Town, Lord Edward joined the staff of General O'Hara, at St. Lucia; but after a few months, he left the West Indies, returned home, and was nominated by his brother, the Duke of Leinster, member for the borough of Athy. Several years passed—his career appears to have been unsettled and undetermined—one while studying professionally at Woolwich—the next, visiting Gibraltar and Lisbon, and subsequently, the principal cities of Spain. In June, 1788, he returned again to America, landed at Halifax, and proceeded to join the 54th regiment quartered at St. John's; and in the same corps held a field officer's rank, in which the celebrated political writer, Cobbett, was then acting as sergeant-major.

Lord Edward appears to have been a man of nervous excitability. We find him occasionally enacting "Love's Slave"—and with all the ardour and inconstancy of Romeo, forgetting Rosalind for Juliet.† Had circumstances permitted, the chances are that he would have changed his military profession for the calm enjoyments of domestic happiness. But they did not—and hence probably "an uneasy mind," sent him a second time across the Atlantic, to seek in savage life employment for an ardent and impassioned spirit, which, under more fortunate circumstances, would have sought domestic and cultivated enjoyments.

The active and careless character of his pursuits may be collected from a few extracts taken from numerous letters to his mother:—

"I have been out hunting, and like it very much—it makes me *un peu sauvage*, to be sure. * * * * *

"You may guess how eager I am to try if I like the woods in winter as well as in summer. I believe I shall never again be prevailed on to live in a house. I long to teach you all how to make a good spruce bed. Three of the coldest nights we have had yet, I slept in the woods with only one blanket, and was just as comfortable as in a room. It was in a party with General Carleton, we went about twenty miles from this to look at a fine tract of land that had been passed over in winter. You may guess how I enjoyed this expedition,

* Moore's Life and Death, &c.

† Moore's Life, &c.—*Vide* pages 45, 51, 56, &c.

being where, in all probability, there had never been but one person before."

This excursion, no doubt, suggested to Lord Edward his subsequent overland journey, direct from Fredericstown to Quebec. To modern adventurers, the exploit would appear a common-place essay, but at the time the expedition was devised and accomplished, few, excepting an Indian or Backwoodsman, would have voluntarily undergone the real and imaginary hardships attendant on the journey. Lord Edward's letters announce both the design and execution:—

"I am to set out in two days for Canada; it is a journey of one hundred and seventy-five miles, and I go straight through the woods. There is an officer of the regiment goes with me. We make altogether a party of five,—Tony, two woodsmen, the officer, and myself. We take all our provision with us on tabargins. It will appear strange to you, or any people in England, to think of starting in February, with four feet snow on the ground, to march through a desert wood of one hundred and seventy-five miles; but it is nothing. You may guess we have not much baggage. It will be a charming journey, I think, and quite new. We are to keep a reckoning the same as at sea. I am to steer, but under the direction of a woodsman."

On the 13th of March, after a thirty days' pilgrimage, the young adventurer reached Quebec. A few short extracts will describe the journey:—

"The officer and I used to draw part of our baggage day about, and the other day steer, which we did so well, that we made the point we intended within ten miles. We were only wrong in computing our distances. * * * * * *

"I must, though, tell you a little more of the journey: after making the river, we fell in with some savages, and travelled with them to Quebec; they were very kind to us, and said we were 'all one brother'—all 'one Indian.' They fed us the whole time we were with them. You would have laughed to have seen me carrying an old squaw's pack, which was so heavy, I could hardly waddle under it. However, I was well paid whenever we stopped, for she always gave me the best bits, and most soup, and took as much care of me as if I had been her own son: in short, I was quite *l'enfant chéri*."

A final expedition he made, *viâ* Detroit and Michilimackinack, to New Orleans, from which port he subsequently embarked for Europe, seems to have confirmed his Indian predilections, and led to his adoption into the Bear Tribe—an honour upon which Lord Edward, it is said, prided himself no little.

Three years of his short and adventurous career passed in England and Ireland, without any important occurrence to mark them. In 1792, when France declared herself a republic, "Lord Edward, unwilling to lose such a spectacle of moral and political excitement, hastened over to Paris, without communicating his intentions even to the duchess," and to that fatal visit his subsequent misfortunes may be traced.

His wild and hasty attachment to French principles—his introduc-

tion to Madame de Sillery (de Genlis)—his marriage to Pamela, her daughter, by the Duke of Orleans—his dismissal from the British army—his return to Ireland with the fair Frenchwoman, his bride—are matters of mere personal memoir.

One extract from a letter we will add, and accompany it with the comment of his biographer.* The picture is both sad and beautiful.

"My little place is much improved by a few things I have done, and by all my *planting*;—by the bye, I doubt if I told you of my flower-garden,—I got a great deal from Frescati. I have been at Kildare since Pam's lying-in, and it looked delightful, though all the leaves were off the trees,—but so comfortable and snug. I think I shall pass a delightful winter there. I have got two fine large clumps of turf, which look both comfortable and pretty. I have paled in my little flower-garden before my hall door, with a lath paling, like the cottage, and stuck it full of roses, sweetbrier, honeysuckles, and Spanish broom. I have got all my beds ready for my flowers; so you may guess how I long to be down to plant them. The little fellow will be a great addition to the party. I think when I am down there with Pam and child, of a blustering evening, with a good turf fire, and a pleasant book,—coming in, after seeing my poultry put up, my garden settled,—flower-beds and plants covered for fear of frost,—the place looking comfortable, and taken care of, I shall be as happy as possible; and sure I am I shall regret nothing but not being nearer my dearest mother, and her not being of our party. It is, indeed, a drawback and a great one, our not being more together. Dear Malvern! how pleasant we were there: you can't think how this time of year puts me in mind of it. Love always your affectionate son.

"E. F."

"In reading these simple and,—to an almost feminine degree,—fond letters, it is impossible not to feel how strange and touching is the contrast between those pictures of a happy home which they so unaffectedly exhibit, and that dark and troubled sea of conspiracy and revolt into which the amiable writer of them so soon afterwards plunged; nor can we easily bring ourselves to believe that the joyous tenant of this little Lodge, the happy husband and father, dividing the day between his child and his flowers, could be the same man who, but a year or two after, placed himself at the head of the rebel myriads, negotiated on the frontiers of France for an alliance against England, and but seldom laid down his head on his pillow at night without a prospect of being summoned thence to the scaffold or the field."

* Moore's Life, &c.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST FRENCH ATTEMPT AT INVASION IN 1796.

It has been asserted, that before the United Irishmen entered into any correspondence with the French Directory, the Defenders had been anxious to obtain foreign assistance, and had applied to the authorities in Paris, through some members of their society, who had been obliged to expatriate themselves and seek refuge abroad. Many circumstances go to prove that the application to the Directory had been made, but, as the agents were not accredited, the overtures were rejected. One of the obligatory stipulations in the Defenders' oath was, that the person who took the test "should join the French if they invaded Ireland;" and Jackson's mission to Ireland, in 1794, had no immediate reference to the United Irishmen, although he corresponded with several members of that society. In 1796, the leaders of the Union first turned their attention seriously to the advantages they would derive from an alliance with the Republic, and consequently, Lord Edward Fitzgerald held a conference with General Hoche, in Switzerland, to induce the Directory to supply an invading army, the munitions of war, and money to maintain it. Ten thousand men, forty thousand stand of arms, and a loan of three hundred thousand pounds, were required.

Previous to the mission of Lord Edward, Tone had landed from America, presented letters of introduction to La Croix, the foreign minister, and placed himself in communication with the secretary, an Irish refugee, called Madgett. In a subsequent interview with Carnot, the state and strength of parties were discussed, and a memorial to the Directory recommended. The result did not meet Tone's expectations —the assistance offered by the French Executive was totally insufficient—and the attempt was to be merely a stolen march.* But although every consideration, military and political, pointed out the absurdity of a paltry demonstration, and proved that ruin must have resulted, the weak but ambitious envoy of the United Irishmen appears to have desired little beyond an *emeute*, no matter how disastrous that wild and unorganised outbreak should prove to the country and the cause.†

* "Madgett in the horrors. He tells me he has had a discourse yesterday for two hours with the minister, and that the succours he expected will fall very short of what he thought. That the marine of France is in such a state that Government will not hazard a large fleet; and, consequently, that we must be content to steal a march: that they will give 2,000 of their best troops, and arms for 20,000 men; that they cannot spare Pichegru nor Jourdan; that they will give any quantity of artillery; and, I think he added, what money might be necessary. He also said they would first send proper persons among the Irish prisoners of war, to sound them, and exchange them on the first opportunity. To all this, at which I am not disappointed, I answered, that as to 2,000 men, they might as well send twenty." —*Tone's Memoirs.*

† As to the project of La Croix, Tone had a sufficiency of common sense to con

Subsequent communications with the French authorities induced them to enlarge their offers of assistance. A field-park of thirty guns, a brigade—say 7,000 men—and 50,000 stand of arms, were tendered and accepted—and Lazarus Hoche, one of the best of the revolutionary generals, was appointed to command the expedition.

The defective condition of the French marine delayed the equipment of the fleet, and the attempt, therefore, could not be promptly carried into execution. Villaret, then in chief command of the squadrons intended for the Irish descent, displayed so much indifference, that on Hoche's remonstrance, he was superseded, and succeeded by Morard de Galles. indeed, the marine authorities appear to have taken small interest in the outfit of the expedition, and the most flimsy excuses were resorted to. The following extract from Tone's Journal speaks little for the activity of the Port admiral: "He (Colonél Shee) also, says that Bruix, who is charged with the execution of the naval department, and in whose zeal the General had great confidence, has cooled exceedingly within these few days, so much, that to-day, when the General called on him, and was pressing him on our affair, Bruix, instead of answering him, was *dandling one of his little children*. The excuse now is, that we are waiting for some charts or plans, *which must be washed in water-colours and will take two days.*" At last, on the second of December, the preparations were announced to be complete, and the embarkation commenced,—the expedition numbering 15 sail-of-the-line, 10 frigates, and 7 transports, which were afterwards augmented,—the whole comprising 15,000 troops, with 40,000 extra stand of arms, a field-park of 29 pieces, 60,000 barrels of powder, and 7,000,000 cartridges.

The few days which elapsed between the commencement of the embarkation, and the expedition putting to sea, afforded Tone leisure to devise another project—and it affords another proof of the wildness and inconsistency of his character. When Madgett had proposed to despatch 2,000 men and 20,000 stand of arms to Ireland, Tone very properly replied, that the Directory "might as well send twenty." In the very teeth of that declaration, he made the following proposal to the commander of the expedition:—

vince him that such an effort would be ruinous. But as an Irishman formerly would *row*, although aware that it would eventuate in his being personally consigned to a watch-house, Tone, from his own revelations, preferred the outbreak to the end. The frivolous indifference with which he would have consented to forego the object of his mission—and instead of inducing the French Executive to make an imposing descent, be contented with a Buccaneering expedition, proves as little in favour of his diplomatic efficiency, as the means by which he would have covered physical weakness, speak for his humanity. These are his own words—

"For one, then, I am decided. We have, at all events, the strength of numbers, and *if our lever be too short, we must only apply the greater power.* If the landing be effected on the present plan, *we must instantly have recourse to the strongest revolutionary measures, and put, if necessary, man, woman, and child, money, horses, and arms, stores and provisions, in requisition:* 'The King shall eat, though all mankind be starved.' *No consideration must be permitted to stand a moment against the establishment of our independence.* I do not wish for all this, if it can be avoided, but *liberty must be purchased at any price;* so 'Lay on, Macduff, and damned be he who first cries—Hold, enough!' We must strike the ball hard, and take the chance of the tables."

"That three, or, at most, four sail of the fastest going ships should take advantage of the first favourable movement (as a dark night and a strong gale from the north-east), and slip out with as many troops as they can carry, including, at least, a company of the *Artillerie legère*, steering such a course as, though somewhat longer, should be most out of the way of the English fleet; that they should proceed round the coast of Ireland, keeping a good offing for fear of accidents, and land the men in the North, as near Belfast as possible. If we could land 2,000 men in this manner, with as many stand of arms as we could carry besides, I have no doubt but in a week we would have possession of the entire North of Ireland, and we could certainly maintain ourselves there for a considerable time, against all the forces which could be sent against us."

Of course, Morard de Galles refused to entertain a proposition which would have idly endangered part of a fleet, already inferior in strength and number to that which was cruising to intercept it—and on the 16th of December, the ships got under weigh.

The departure of the expedition was attended with events of evil augury. In standing out of the Goulet, with the wind right aft, several line-of-battle ships fouled each other—and in running through the Raz passage in the night, the Seduisant, a seventy-four, with 550 troops on board, struck on a sunken rock, and scarcely a hundred, including crew and officers, were saved. On the 17th the fleet were separated, and the general *en chef* and two admirals were reported missing.* On the 18th, the weather continued thick, and according to orders, the French captains opened their letters of instruction. By these, in case of separation, they were ordered to cruise five days off Mizen Head—thence proceed to the Shannon—and in the event of not uniting the fleet or receiving further orders, the respective commanders were directed to run for the coast of France, and make Brest harbour if they could.

On the 21st of December, the French fleet (thirty-four sail) opened Bantry Bay, the place of rendezvous pointed out in the sealed orders of the captains. And a few extracts from Tone's journal will tell the history of the unaccountable failure which subsequently attended an expedition, which, with the exception of half-a-dozen ships, had actually reached the point for action that it aimed at.

21st. "Stood in for the coast till twelve, when we were near enough to toss a biscuit ashore; at twelve tacked and stood out again, so now we have begun our cruise of five days in all its forms, and shall, in obedience to the letter of our instructions, ruin the expedition, and destroy

* Admiral Gardiner was watching De Galles with eighteen sail-of-the-line—and the reasons assigned by the French commander for rejecting Tone's advice were very conclusive. "First, if our little squadron fell in with the enemy, *we must, to a moral certainty, be taken.* Next, if we got even clear, and that the remainder of the squadron fell in with the enemy and was beaten, *which would most probably be the case*, the whole fault would be laid on him, as having weakened the main force by the detachment. And, lastly, that from the state of our preparations, being victualled and furnished for a short period, we must speedily sail, *coute qui coute.*"

the remnant of the French navy, with a precision and punctuality which will be truly edifying."

22nd. "This morning, at eight, we had neared Bantry Bay considerably, but the fleet is terribly scattered; no news of the Fraternité; I believe it is the first instance of an admiral in a clean frigate, with moderate weather, and moonlight nights, parting company with his fleet. Captain Grammont, our first lieutenant, told me his opinion is that she is either taken or lost, and, in either event, it is a terrible blow to us. All rests now upon Grouchy, and I hope he may turn out well; he has a glorious game in his hands, if he has spirits and talent to play it. If he succeeds, it will immortalize him."

On the night of the 23rd,* it blew a gale of wind, and in the morning, half the fleet were missing, it being the fourth separation from leaving the Bay de Camaret. Tone thus notices the occurrence:—

"Sixteen sail, including nine or ten of the line, with Bouvet and Grouchy, are at anchor with us, and about twenty are blown to sea; luckily, the gale set from the shore, so I am in hopes no mischief will ensue. The wind is still high, and, as usual, right a-head; and I dread a visit from the English, and altogether I am in great uneasiness. Oh! that we were once ashore, let what might ensue after; I am sick to the very soul of this suspense. It is curious to see how things are managed in this 'best of all possible worlds." We are here, sixteen sail, great and small, scattered up and down in a noble bay, and so dispersed that there are not two together in any spot, save in one instance, and there they are now *so close*, that if it blows to-night as it did last night, they will inevitably run foul of each other, unless one of them prefers driving on shore. We lie in this disorder, expecting a visit from the English every hour, without taking a single step for our defence, even to the common one of having a look-out frigate in the harbour's mouth."

December the 24th.—A deputation, consisting of Tone and two staff-officers, waited on Grouchy, the second in command, to urge the necessity of an instant landing—and orders were given for the fleet to beat up the bay, and debark the troops, about six or seven thousand in number. The wind was right a-head—the fleet made little progress—the fifth day of cruising in Bantry Bay passed—and on the evening of Christmas, the admiral slipped his cable, and ordered the fleet to run for the coast of France. The subsequent proceedings, and *finale* of the intended descent, are thus described by Tone:—

In his journals, Tone mentions, that as a last and desperate alternative to returning to the coast of France, without even attempting to carry out the objects of the expedition, he had proposed to run up the Shannon, land the troops still hanging on the coast, surprise Limerick, and move northward afterwards by forced marches. This plan, feasible or not,

* "This morning, to my infinite mortification and anxiety, we are but eighteen sail in company, instead of forty-three, which is our number. We conjecture, however, that the remaining twenty-five have made their way through the Yroise."

he was not enabled even to propose to the commanders,* and the following day concluded the history of the expedition.

On the 26th, the morning after the admiral had issued orders to cut the cables and put to sea, Tone thus describes the position in which the remnant of the invading expedition found itself. It is sufficiently graphic:—

"The morning is now come, the gale continues, and the fog is so thick, that we cannot see a ship's length a-head; so here we lie in the utmost uncertainty and anxiety. In all probability we are now left without admiral or general; if so, Cherin will command the troops, and Bedout, the fleet; but, at all events, there is an end of the expedition. Certainly we have been persecuted by a strange fatality, from the very night of our departure to this hour. We have lost two commanders-in-chief; of four admirals, not one remains; we have lost one ship of the line that we know of, and probably many others of which we know nothing; we have been now six days in Bantry Bay, within 500 yards of the shore, without being able to effect a landing; we have been dispersed four times in four days; and at this moment, of forty-three sail, of which the expedition consisted, we can muster of all sizes but fourteen. There only wants our falling in with the English to complete our destruction."

On the 27th, the weather continued stormy. Several ships were obliged to cut and run—the fleet was reduced to seven sail-of-the-line and a frigate—the troops to 4,200 men—and the artillery to two four-pounders. As a last effort, this miserable remnant of the expedition determined to seek the Shannon, which had been named as the place of rendezvous. During the whole gale which blew on the night of the 28th, a sixth separation occurred, and three seventy-fours and a frigate parted company. On the 29th, the commodore signalized the other captains to steer for France—and the last ship of an expedition intended to overthrow the British monarchy quitted the shores of Ireland, without having landed a single soldier, communicated with the disaffected, or thrown a musquet on the shore.

On the 1st of January, the Indomitable, with her three consorts, made Ushant, and anchored the same evening in Brest harbour. The run back to France, contrary to general expectation, had been fortunately uninterrupted—from the night they left the Raz passage, until they entered the Goulet on their return, although the sea swarmed with British cruisers, the French fleet had never seen a man-of-war.

* "We find it impossible to communicate with the general and admiral, who are in the Immortalité, nearly two leagues a-head, and the wind is now so high and foul, and the sea so rough, that no boat can live; so all communication is impracticable, and to-morrow morning it will, most probably, be too late; and on this circumstance perhaps the fate of the expedition and the liberty of Ireland depend. I cannot conceive for what reason the two commanders-in-chief are shut up together in a frigate. Surely they should be on board the flag-ship."

CHAPTER IV.

FAILURE OF THE DUTCH EXPEDITION—ARREST AT OLIVER BOND'S—CAPTURE AND DEATH OF LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD.

THE failure of the first attempt at an invasion was a fatal disappointment to the Irish unionists; and although hopes were held out that a second armament would be fitted out by the French Directory without delay, the financial and political embarrassments of the republic, gave little promise that it would or could be effected. Hoche, who did not reach France for fifteen days after Grouchy, was nominated soon after to the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. This appointment was heavily regretted by the agents of the United Irishmen, for there is no doubt that Ireland was to Hoche the favourite field of ambition that Egypt was afterwards to Bonaparte; and undoubtedly he was sincere in his expressed intentions of making the second effort at invasion,* but "*dis aliter*" and death prevented it.†

In the meantime, Paris became filled with Irish refugees; and their petty jealousies and cabals, as well as the discordant statements and conflicting opinions they gave to the authorities, diminished the confidence hitherto held by the Directory in the success of an Irish descent. So far did this feeling extend, that a serious question arose whether England or Scotland would not be a better part of the United Kingdom on which to debark an invading army. In sooth, the reports of the Irish agents tended little to encourage a fresh attempt—the gasconade of some presenting a ridiculous contrast to the gloomy disclosures of the remainder.‡

From another quarter, however, the Irish revolutionists obtained both sympathy and support—Lewines, the chief agent of the United Irishmen, had been accredited to Spain and Holland to request assistance. From the Spanish government he received, generally, an en-

* "The affair," replied he, "is but suspended. You know our difficulties for money; the repair of our fleet, and the necessary preparations, require some considerable time, and, in the meantime, there are 15,000 men lying idle below, and, in fact, we cannot even feed them there. The Directory has resolved, in the meantime, to employ them usefully elsewhere, and has accepted my services; but be assured, the moment the enterprise is resumed, that I will return with the first *patrouille* which embarks."—*Hoche to Tone.*

† Hoche died of rapid consumption, 19th September, 1797, in command of the united armies of the Rhine and Sambre and Meuse.

‡ "I have seen lately in the paper called the *Bien Informé*, two articles relating to Napper Tandy, which are most ridiculous rhodomontades. They describe him as an Irish general to whose standard 30,000 United Irishmen will fly the moment he displays it, and other trash of the like nature. This must come directly or indirectly from himself; for I remember some time ago, at a dinner given to him, Madgett, and myself, by Aherne, as soon as he got warm with wine, he asserted he would answer, himself, for raising all the yeomanry of Ireland, who were at least 30,000 men—precisely the number above stated. This is sad pitiful work, puffing a man s elf in this manner, especially when it is *not true*."—*Tone's Memoirs.*

couraging answer to his memorial; and from the Batavian executive a positive assurance of prompt and powerful co-operation from the Dutch republicans—a promise that was faithfully redeemed.

It was an awful epoch in British history; and it would have been difficult to say, whether at home or abroad, the political position of England was more embarrassed and portentous. Conquest had attended the onward march of the Republicans, and victory had succeeded victory; and while Ireland was ready to explode, public confidence was shaken to its centre, for that stay of Britain—her fleet—had failed her in this trying hour, and broken into open mutiny. Such was the ominous aspect, foreign and domestic, when the Batavian government determined to strike a blow, that, if fortunately delivered, might have gone far to dismember that island empire which had wrung from her the dominion of the seas.

Holland was a power to be dreaded. France threatened and intended a descent, but she possessed the wish, rather than the power, to effect it. Her naval executive was wretchedly defective—her marine and monetary resources limited and precarious; and while the dockyard authorities declared that eight weeks would be sufficient to fit out a second expedition, it was probable—and so it proved—that as many months must elapse before a fleet could be sent afloat. With the Dutch republic, matters were in a different state. In the Texel, five-and-twenty line-of-battle ships and frigates were lying, manned, equipped, and ready for sea; 15,000 troops were ordered for instant embarkation; and with a quantity of spare arms, a large artillery-parc, and plenty of money to subsist the troops when landed, the Batavian armament undauntedly determined to push out of harbour with the first fair wind, elude the blockading squadron if they could, or, if intercepted, stand an action with the British Admiral, and redeem the honour of a flag that once had been feared and respected.

The Dutch government proved their sincerity of intention by the selection they made for the command of the expedition. The naval department was intrusted to De Winter, an officer of distinguished reputation—while the troops were placed under the direction of Daendels, a man justly considered to be the best General in the service of the republic. The feelings of the Batavian executive towards the Irish revolutionists were ardent and disinterested,* and nothing could surpass the enthusiastic spirit which pervaded both the military and marine.

But it would appear that against invasive efforts, fortune had declared herself an enemy—and the same wind that prevented the landing

* "General Daendels shewed me to-day his instructions from the Dutch government. They are fair and honest, and I have no doubt he will act up to them. The spirit of them is, always to maintain the character of a faithful ally, and not to interfere in the domestic concerns of the people; to aid them, by every means in his power, to establish their liberty and independence, and to expect no condition in return, but that we should throw off the English yoke, and that, when all was settled on that score, we should arrange our future commerce with the Dutch republic, on the basis of reciprocal advantage and accommodation." — *Tone's Memoirs.*

of a French armament, as obstinately resisted the sailing of the Dutch one. Day after day, fifteen sail of the line, eight frigates, and thirty transports lay at single anchor locked up in the Texel, while a breeze, any point to northward, would have carried them to sea with eighteen battalions of infantry, four of chasseurs, eight squadrons of cavalry, and eleven companies of artillery—the whole forming an efficient and well-appointed army of 14,000 men—a force more than sufficient, under happy auspices, to have changed an empire's fate.*

Foul winds continued. The spirit of troops, cooped up a month on ship-board, gradually abated, and golden opportunities slipped away. Even the most sanguine began to doubt—a coolness arose between the commanders—and De Winter at last memorialized his government, and intimated that the expedition, as far as its original destination was concerned, must be abandoned for the present. The document stated that July had been named for the attempt—and that on the 9th all was ready—that the English fleet at that time consisted, at the very most, of thirteen sail of the line, which could not make any effectual opposition—that contrary winds having prevailed ever since, without an hour's intermission, the enemy had had time to reinforce himself to the number of seventeen sail of the line, so that he had now a superiority in force over the Dutch fleet, which, of course, rendered the issue of an engagement, to a certain degree, doubtful—that, by this unforeseen delay, which might, and probably would, continue still longer, a great additional consumption of provisions had taken place, so that in a very few days, there would be barely sufficient for the voyage north-about—that the season was now rapidly passing away, and, if the foul wind continued a fortnight longer, the voyage would become highly dangerous, if not utterly impracticable, with a fleet encumbered with so many transports, and amounting to nearly seventy sail of all kinds—and that, in consequence, even a successful action with the English would not ensure the success of the enterprise, which the very season would negative—that, for all these reasons, his opinion was, that the present plan was no longer advisable, and in consequence, he proposed that it should be industriously published that the expedition was given up—that the troops should be disembarked, except from 2500 to 3000 men of the *élite* of the army, who, with twenty or thirty pieces of artillery, and all the arms and ammunition, should remain on board the frigates, and one or two of the fastest-sailing transports—that, as the vigilance of the enemy would probably be relaxed in consequence, this flotilla

* With a due abatement from the ardent and mercurial manner in which Tone conceived and delivered his opinions, the annexed extract from his diary presents a picture, and one not much overdrawn, of what might have resulted, had wind, and tide seconded human efforts:—"There never was, and never will be," he says, "such an expedition as ours, if it succeeds; it is not merely to determine which of two despots shall sit upon a throne, or whether an island shall belong to this or that state; it is to change the destiny of Europe—to emancipate one, perhaps three, nations; to open the sea to the commerce of the world; to found a new empire; to demolish an ancient one; to subvert a tyranny of six hundred years. And all this hangs to-day upon the wind! I cannot express the anxiety I feel. Well, no matter! I can do nothing to help myself, and that aggravates my rage."

should profit by the first favourable moment to put to sea, and push for their original destination, where they should land the men, arms, and artillery, and he would charge himself with the execution of this plan—that by this means, even if they failed, the Republic would be at no very great loss, and, if they succeeded, must gain exceedingly—that she would preserve her grand fleet, which was now her last stake, and, during the winter, would be able to augment it, so as to open the next campaign—in case peace was not made *ad interim*—with twenty sail of the line in the North Sea. These were, most certainly, very strong reasons, and unfortunately the wind gave them, every hour, fresh weight.

In accordance with De Winter's advice, the troops were landed, and the attempt on Ireland virtually abandoned—for, although it was ordered that the invading army should be so cantoned, that it could be concentrated instantly for embarkation, its future destination was changed, and the north of Scotland was declared a fitter place for the attempt than the Irish coast. But this design was never carried out. On the 11th of October De Winter put to sea, and the memorable action of Camperdown resulted. Both fleets, in number, men, and metal, were much the same, and though the Dutch vessels were skilfully handled and most gallantly fought, their defeat was so decisive, that with this crushing blow the marine power of the States was finally extinguished.

The failure of the Batavian government in giving their promised assistance to the Irish malcontents, proved, in many respects, most injurious to the success of the conspiracy. The ardent expectations of succour from abroad, so long and ardently expected, vanished with the crowning victory of Camperdown. This heavy and irremediable disaster abated the confidence of the most sanguine, distracted the deliberations of the leaders, and hurried the lower classes into overt acts of violence, which irritated the royalists, and provoked a fearful retaliation. Indeed, on both sides, exasperated feelings had produced cruelty, and, as a consequence, barbarous reaction. The troops, with the impunity attendant upon martial law, made a plea of disaffection the excuse for license and exaction; and upon the innocent and guilty, too frequently the vengeance of the executive was indiscriminately directed. The summary infliction of corporal and capital punishment—the destruction of property—the severity attached to charges of sedition, when secret enmity and vile espionage would bring ruin on the unoffending, and suspicion was held synonymous with guilt—all these severities, equally illegal and injudicious, kindled a ferocity of feeling between parties which milder measures might have allayed—accustomed men to acts of violence, from which otherwise they would have revolted—and reconciled them to the terrible barbarities attendant upon civil war.

Nor is it to be denied that cruelty in the authorities found much extenuation in the crimes committed by the disaffected. That accursed crime, so alien to British feeling, became every day more prevalent; and secret assassination was perpetrated by the ignorant, and encouraged

by the most infamous prints which ever damned a cause. *The Union Star* * headed its columns with a broad encouragement to murder, and individuals were regularly branded for the knife. *The Press* was equally violent, but its sedition was modified—the treasonable doctrines of the one being levelled generally against public securities†—while a malignant hatred to the person, inculcated, in the leading article of the other, the assassination of those who were obnoxious.‡ Both these inflammatory prints were eventually prosecuted and put down; and while no publications ever called for the intervention of the law-officers more imperiously, in justice we must add, that none were more uncon

* "*The Union Star* appeared at regular periods, was printed on one side of the paper to fit it for being pasted on walls, and frequently second editions were published of the same numbers. It chiefly consisted of names and abusive characters of persons supposed to have been informers against United Irishmen, or active opposers of their designs; and to such lists were generally added the most furious exhortations to the populace to rise and take vengeance."—*Gordon.*

† "In our opinion the issuer of these notes is a bankrupt, who in all likelihood must shortly shut up and run away. When the Government goes down, these fine notes of theirs, with stamps of hundreds and thousands upon them, will not fetch a penny a pound in a snuff-shop."—*The Press.*

‡ "As *The Union Star* is an official paper, the managers promise the public, that no characters shall be hazarded, but such as are denounced by authority, as being the partners and creatures of Pitt, and his sanguinary journeyman Luttrell (Lord Carhampton). The *Star* offers to public justice the following detestable traitors as spies and perjured informers. Perhaps some arm more lucky than the rest, may reach his heart, and free the world from bondage."

The length to which *The Union Star* proceeded in its denouncements may be imagined from a solitary extract:—"Let the indignation of man be raised against the impious wretch who profanely assumes the title of *reigning by the grace of God*, and impudently tells the world *he can do no wrong*. Irishmen! is granting a patent, and offering premiums to murderers, to depopulate your country, and take your properties, no wrong? Is taking part of the spoil no wrong? Is the foreign despot incapable of wrong, who sharpens the sword that deprives you of life, and exposes your children to poverty and all its consequent calamities? Oh, man! or rather less, O king! will the smothered groans of my countrymen, who in thy name fill the innumerable dungeons you have made, for asserting the rights of man, be considered no wrongs? Will enlightened Irishmen believe you incapable of wrong, who offer up the most amiable of mankind daily on the scaffold or the gibbet to thy insatiable ambition? Is burning the villages of what you call your people, and shooting the trembling sufferers, no wrong? Is taking the church into partnership, and encouraging its idle and voluptuous drones to despoil industry of its reward, and teach a lying doctrine to sanction their injustice, no wrong? Are the continual wars you engender and provoke to destroy mankind, no wrong? Go, impious blasphemer, and your hypocritical sorcerers, to the fate philosophy, justice, and liberty consign thee. It is inevitable; thy impositions are detected. Thy kind have been brought to justice. The first professor of thy trade has recently bled for the crimes of the craft: his idle and vile followers, who escaped the national axe, are walking memorials of justice, begging a miserable livelihood over those countries, whose tottering thrones encourage but an uncertain asylum. Ere the grave, which is opening for thy despised person, embosoms thee, make one atonement for the vices of thy predecessors; resist not the claims of a people reduced to every misery; in thy name give back the properties that thy nation wrested from a suffering people; and let the descendants of those English ruffians restore to Irishmen their country, and to their country, liberty: 'tis rather late to trifle; one fortunate breeze may do it; and then, woe to him who was a tyrant, or who is unjust!"—*Appendix to the Report, &c., No.* 27.

stitutionally disposed of—a military mob demolished the one—the civil authorities arbitrarily suppressed the other.

To the cause which they ardently but unwisely advocated, these prints were fatally mischievous. There were two great parties in the kingdom; one—the Roman Catholics—had serious reasons for discontent; for statutory enactments excluded them from civil rights—with the Protestants it was different—they had much to reform, but nothing to obtain. In the north of Ireland and part of Leinster, as it does at present, the wealth, the moral character, and hence the moral influence of the kingdom might be considered as being concentrated; and, as it will ever be, the intelligence of the minor section of the Irish people overbalanced the physical superiority of the other. To one object—wild and imaginative—the efforts of the Protestant party were directed.* To another, vague, bigoted, and impracticable, the Romanists addressed themselves. Hence the combination of interests and feelings was easily disorganized—and within six months after an eternity of union had been announced as existing between religionists hitherto virulently opposed, the discrepancy of intention had severed the Roman Catholics and Dissenters so completely, that the conviction exists, had the issue come to trial, nineteen out of twenty of the northern republicans would have eventually joined the royal banner.†

To follow out the intervening history of the time, omitting constant repetition of violence on the one part, and secret atrocities on the other, we will only refer to a last and most patriotic effort that was attempted—and unhappily it failed—to avert the calamity that impended. This was the conciliatory visit of Lord Moira to Ireland.

Time tests the truth of all things, and statemanship is no exception. Lord Moira's objects were as sincere, as, from the spirit of the day, they

* "The Catholics and Presbyterians are united in indissoluble ties, like dying martyrs, in a common cause, priding themselves in mutual good offices, and for ever abjuring the barbarous fanaticism that made them hate each other. From the Protestants of the establishment, every man of worth, of talent, or of honour, has ranged himself by their side; and nothing now remains, against Irish union, but twenty-five thousand, as near as may be, of bigots, hirelings, and dependents; just enough to furnish the Lord Lieutenant with addresses."—*The Press, 26th December*, 1797.

† "When Dickey, a rebel leader, and a Dissenter, was on the point of being hanged at Belfast, he declared, that the eyes of the Presbyterians had been opened too late; and that they were convinced by the massacres perpetrated by the Romanists in the province of Leinster, that they must have had to contend with them, if they had succeeded in overturning the constitution."—*Musgrave's Memoirs.*

A similar declaration was made by Bacon, when about to suffer. He had commenced his political career as a volunteer—and closed it, unfortunately, as a traitor. "Though deeply concerned in the conspiracy for some years, he declared, in his last moments, to Major Sandys and other gentlemen, that he did not discover, till the rebellion broke out and the massacre of Protestants took place, that religious bigotry had a prevailing influence in it; and that he meant for that reason to have withdrawn himself from it. He was bred a Protestant, and died in that profession. He was reputed an honest man, and in extensive business, till volunteering made him an ider and a speculatist in politics—and at last, a rage for political innovation led him from a peaceful industrious sphere into the vortex of rebellion."—*Ibid.*

were likely to prove unsuccessful. He came to recommend temperate measures, rather than severe—abolish coercive policy—and, by the removal of their disabilities, allay Catholic discontent, while by parliamentary reform the disaffected Protestants should also be propitiated. "On the 19th of February, he made a motion in the House of Lords, that an humble address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, to state, that, as Parliament had confided to his Excellency extraordinary powers in order to support the laws and defeat traitorous combinations in this country, we feel it our duty, as these powers have not produced the desired effect, to recommend the adoption of such conciliatory measures as may allay apprehension and discontent." His lordship's motion was negatived on a division by thirty-five to ten.

On the 5th of March, a similar proposition was introduced by Sir Lawrence Parsons to the Commons, and failed as signally; the division of the House negativing the motion by a most decisive majority: the dissentients being one hundred and fifty-six; the supporters only nineteen.

Advanced as the conspiracy was, it is very doubtful whether the period for concession had not passed, but still, it is to be lamented that the experiment was not tried. The crisis was hurrying rapidly—the signs of the times were not equivocal—pikes were fabricated even in day-light,* and leaden gutters stripped from the houses wherewith to cast bullets. But the plot was on the eve of being disclosed—and the treachery of some, and the imprudence of others, by premature discovery, destroyed the unity of an insurrectionary movement, and threw the last chances of the revolutionists away.

While the failure of the attempts on Ireland by France and Holland had thus depressed the spirits of the disaffected, from domestic treachery the conspiracy was about to receive a stunning blow, still more fatal in its consequences. From time to time individual arrests had taken place: but though the prisons of the capital were filled with men implicated in the plot, and active and influential agents, those who directed the coming storm continued at large and undiscovered, and the executive department of the United Irishmen remained intact, and in full and secret operation. Another effort to hurry assistance promised by the French Directory had been made; and, in conjunction with two members of the Corresponding Society of London, Arthur O'Connor, and

* "On Wednesday, the 9th of May, Sheriff Hone seized some pike-heads in the house of Mr. Sweetman, who had been so long the secretary of the Catholic Committee.

"On the night of May the 11th, Justice Swan, Major Sirr, and Captain Ryan discovered and seized five pieces of cannon, two six-pounders, and three four-pounders, in a brewer's yard in North King-street; and on Thursday preceding, Major Sirr seized in Bridgefoot-street, five hundred pike-handles, from nine to fourteen feet long.

"It was observed that the conspirators kept the pike-heads and the handles separate, at least in the metropolis, as they could mount them with the utmost celerity; and the loss of one did not involve that of the other."—*Musgrave's Memoirs.*

a Roman Catholic priest, called Quickly, left London on a secret mission, and endeavoured to obtain a passage across Channel undiscovered. The attempt miscarried—some say through treachery, others from the *mal-adresse* of the agents themselves. At Whitstable, their luggage attracted the attention of the Custom-house officers, and to avoid a closer investigation, on the 28th of February they crossed the country to Margate, where they were arrested, transmitted to London, examined by the Privy Council—afterwards committed to the Tower—and eventually tried by special commission at Maidstone.

While the arrest of O'Connor and his companions had seriously disconcerted the Irish leaders, a greater misfortune was impending. The profound secrecy in which the Executive Directory of the Union had involved their persons and proceedings, had hitherto been impenetrable to the authorities—and the most intelligent of their agents failed in obtaining any clew which might lead to their detection. From the complicated machinery of the system, and the numerous functionaries who formed and kept up the chain of communication between the lower societies and the central board, the fidelity of one individual would have rendered nugatory the treachery of the rest. To reach the source, the chain of information must be continuous—for a broken link destroyed all traces which could lead to a discovery. Save to a chosen few, the higher executive was veiled in mystery—the revelations of common traitors would therefore prove unavailing—and he who could denounce the Secret Directory must be a member himself. At last such a one was found; and a man of infamous celebrity betrayed his associates, and dissolved the elements of the conspiracy.

The private history of this individual, and his connection with the plot which he afterwards betrayed, is thus given by Sir Richard Musgrave. The sketch is evidently drawn by a partial hand, anxious to extenuate treachery under a false plea of principle:*—

* "Documents, whose authenticity cannot be called in question, are in existence, and furnish irrefragable proof of Mr. T. Reynolds having received for his disclosures, not £500 only, but the sum of £5,000, in four payments, at the following dates, and in the following amounts:—

'1798,	Sept. 29,	Mr. T. Reynolds received	£1,000
,,	Nov. 16	,, ,, ...	2,000
1799,	Jan. 19	,, ,, ...	1,000
,,	March 4	,, ,, ...	1,000

'—to complete £5,000.'—And, moreover, on the 14th of June, 1799, Mr. Reynolds received his annuity of £1,000, 'in full to the 25th of March, 1799;' from which period till his death, the 18th of August, 1836, his pension continued to be paid to him.

"The amount of that pension was £1,000 Irish, or £920 British: he received it for a term of thirty-seven years.

"The gross amount for the above period, at £920 per annum, is	£34,040
Gratuity before the trials of Bond, M'Cann, and Byrne ..	500
Gratuities between Sept. 1798, and March 4th, 1799	5,000
Consulship at Lisbon, four years at £1,400 per annum ...	5,600
,, Iceland, two years at £300 ,, ...	600
	£45,740"

—*Lives of United Irishmen.*

"Mr. Thomas Reynolds, of the county of Kildare, where he had numerous and respectable connections, was bred to the business of a silk manufacturer, which he followed very extensively for many years in the city of Dublin; but having acquired a landed property at Kilkea castle, in his native county, he retired and resided there some years previous to the rebellion, and had considerable influence among the Romanists.

"Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Oliver Bond, two leaders in the conspiracy, having for these reasons considered him a proper person to assist in forwarding their treasonable designs, practised every art of seduction to attach him to their cause; and having at last succeeded, he was sworn a United Irishman at the house of Oliver Bond, in Dublin; in the beginning of the year 1797, was induced to accept the commission of colonel, the offices of treasurer and representative of the county of Kildare, and at last that of delegate for the province of Leinster.

"Soon after he was raised to this elevated situation in the Union, having discovered that the conspirators, instead of intending to reform the abuses of the State, and to abolish all religious distinctions, which was their professed object at first, meditated the subversion of the constitution, the massacre of the leading members of Government, and of such persons as should oppose their designs, he resolved to defeat them, by embracing the first opportunity of communicating them to some person in whom he could confide.

"He had very great friendship and respect for Mr. Cope, an eminent merchant of the city of Dublin, who, having lamented to him, in the course of conversation, the crimes and atrocities which were constantly committed, and which were undoubted symptoms of an approaching rebellion, Mr. Reynolds, upon whom his conversation made a very deep impression, said, 'That he knew a person connected with the United Irishmen, who, he believed, would defeat their nefarious projects, by communicating them to Government, in order to make an atonement for the crime he had committed in joining them.' Mr. Cope assured him that such a person would obtain the highest honours and pecuniary rewards that the administration could confer; and that he would be admired and applauded by the most virtuous and valuable portion of society. But Mr. Reynolds said that nothing could tempt him to come forward and avow himself. However, after the most earnest and pressing solicitations repeatedly made on the part of Mr. Cope, for whom he had filial reverence, he said, that his friend would appear in person and disclose the particulars of the plot on the following conditions: That he should not prosecute any United Irishmen; that the channel through which the information came should be kept a secret, at least for a time; that as his life would be in danger upon its being known, and he must leave the country and go to England till matters were settled, which would derange his affairs, and put him to considerable expense, he expected to receive some compensation. Mr. Cope then told him that he might draw on him for any sum not exceeding five hundred guineas. On that, he told Mr. Cope that the Leinster delegates were to meet at Oliver Bond's, on the 12th of March, to concert measures for an insurrection."

The result of Reynolds' information was the arrest of the whole provincial committee, consisting of fifteen members, delegates from different societies. They had assembled at the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street, on the 12th of March, and were completely surprised by Captain Swan, attended by a dozen soldiers, in coloured clothes. Several important papers were found upon the persons of the conspirators—some written by Byrne, and others by John McCann—and both these unfortunate men subsequently underwent the extreme penalty of the law.

The arrest at Bond's was followed up by many others, and most of the Leinster delegates were promptly seized and imprisoned, while others were denounced. Among the former were Emmet, Sweetman, Jackson, and Macnevin—among the latter, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Sampson, and McCormick. The consequences of the fatal occurrence can be readily imagined. The loss of their leaders created confusion and distrust—that they had been betrayed was evident, and yet none could point to the betrayer. No wonder that men implicated in the conspiracy trembled for themselves—treason was abroad—and what added terror to that knowledge was, that none could name the individual*—and hence all was vague apprehension, more heart-depressing than actual but open danger.

The effect of this fatal discovery was equally injurious to the interests of the Union abroad.

"I have read," says Tone in his diary, "news of the most disastrous and afflicting kind, as well for me individually, as for the country at large. The English Government has arrested the whole committee of United Irishmen for the province of Leinster, including almost every man I know and esteem in the city of Dublin. It is by far the most terrible blow which the cause of liberty in Ireland has yet sustained. I know not whether in the whole party it would be possible to replace the energy, talents, and integrity, of which we are deprived by this most unfortunate of events. I have not received such a shock from all that has passed since I left Ireland. What a triumph at this moment for Fitzgibbon! (Lord Clare). These arrestations, following so close on that of O'Connor, give rise to very strong suspicions of treachery in my mind. I cannot bear to write or think longer on this dreadful event."

The first care of such of the leaders as remained at liberty was to fill up the vacancies in their executive; and while the shaken confidence of the unionists should be re-established, they endeavoured, by

* "In making his terms with the Government, it was one of the conditions insisted upon by Reynolds, that the channel through which the information came should remain for some time a secret;—a stipulation in which his employers were no less interested than himself, as, by wearing still the mask of a friend, he could retain still the confidence of those he was betraying, and whatever victims his first aim had missed might, from the same ambush, be made sure of afterwards. In pursuance of this policy, we find him, as he himself admits, paying a friendly visit to Mrs. Bond, two or three days after he had marked her husband for death; and even to Lord Edward, whose place of concealment, at this moment, was kept secret, as we have seen, from his own family, this man, under the trust reposed in him, found ready admittance."

a cautionary address, to repress any premature explosion, and issued on the 17th of March the following document, which was circulated throughout the kingdom with inconceivable rapidity. After alluding to the arrests on the 12th, the address thus proceeds:—

"For us, the keen but momentary anxiety, occasioned by the situation of our invaluable friends, subsided, on learning all the circumstances of the case, into a calm tranquillity, a consoling conviction of mind, that they are as safe as innocence can make them now; and to these sentiments were quickly added a redoubled energy, a tenfold activity of exertion, which has already produced the happiest effects. The organization of the capital is perfect. No vacancies existing, arrangements have been made, and are still making, to secure for our oppressed brethren, whose trials approach, the benefit of legal defence; and the sentinels whom you have appointed to watch over your interests, stand firm at their posts, vigilant of events, and prompt to give you notice and advice, which, on every occasion at all requiring it, rely on receiving. This recital, Irishmen, is meant to guard those of you who are remote from the scene of the late events, against the consequences of misrepresentation and mistake. The most unfounded rumours have been set afloat, fabricated for the double purpose of delusion and intimidation. Your enemies talk of treachery, in the vain and fallacious hope of creating it; but you, who scorn equally to be their dupes or their slaves, will meet their forgeries with dignified contempt, incapable of being either goaded into untimely violence, or sunk into pusillanimous despondency. Be firm, Irishmen—but be cool and cautious; be patient yet a while; trust to no unauthorized communications; and above all, we warn you—again and again we warn you—against doing the work of your tyrants, by premature, by partial, or divided exertion. If Ireland shall be forced to throw away the scabbard, let it be at her own time, not at theirs."*

A month wore on—every day the chances of a successful rising became more gloomy—disclosures were hourly made—and it became quite evident to the revolutionary leaders, that the Government had penetrated their most secret plans, and were prepared to crush the conspiracy. As the arms and ammunition of the malcontents were detected and seized, the hands of the executive were proportionally strengthened as the offensive power of the disaffected became less formidable. Supplementary corps of loyalists were armed and embodied; and those to whom the destinies of Ireland were intrusted assumed now an attitude of stern determination, equally inflexible and appalling to the guilty. Daily a French invasion appeared a more improbable event—at last the truth became apparent that it was hopeless to expect foreign assistance—and the blow must be struck by the conspirators, unaided and alone. Accordingly, the night of the 23rd of May was appointed for a general insurrection; and the signal for a rising *en masse* was to be the destruction or detention of the mail coaches, after they had left the metropolis.

While the counties and districts were left generally to the direction

* Report, No. 25.

of local leaders, the insurrectionary movement in the capital embraced a simultaneous attack on the Castle, the prisons, and military posts—the artillery barracks at Chapelizod—and the camp at Laughlinstown, seven miles south of Dublin.

At this, the crisis of the conspiracy, the hopes of the disaffected almost centred in an individual—one who has left a memory behind which commands the admiration of many—the pity, I believe, of all. His earlier history we have already sketched—and the more painful duty of describing its hurried and unhappy close now devolves upon us. We need scarcely say, the person we allude to was Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Whether the high estimation in which his military character was held by the United Irishmen was justly merited or not, is a question that can never be determined. He had many essential qualities to command popular respect, and fit him to become a revolutionary leader—high birth, family influence, singleness of purpose, devotion not to be mistaken, and courage beyond a doubt. But he seems to have been a self-willed and most imprudent man; and if his biography may be credited, the last person upon earth to whose absolute direction, a nation's fate, and the fortunes of a mighty and complicated movement, should have been intrusted.*

It was perfectly notorious to the Government that Lord Edward was deeply implicated in the conspiracy; that he was the life and spirit of the plot, the hope of the revolutionists, and the selected leader of the intended insurrection. When the arrests at Bond's had fallen like the stroke of a thunderbolt upon the Union,† and paralyzed the boldest, it

* "*Sir J. Parnel.*—Mr. Emmet, while you and the executive were philosophizing, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was arming and disciplining the people?

"*Emmet.*—Lord Edward was a military man, and if he was doing so, he probably thought that was the way in which he could be most useful to his country; but I am sure, that if those with whom he acted were convinced that the grievances of the people were redressed, and that force was become unnecessary, he would have been persuaded to drop all arming and disciplining.

"*Mr. J. C. Beresford.*—I knew Lord Edward well, and always found him very obstinate.

"*Emmet.*—I knew Lord Edward right well, and have done a great deal of business with him, and have always found, when he had a reliance on the integrity and talents of the person he acted with, he was one of the most persuadable men alive; but if he thought a man meant dishonestly or unfairly by him, he was as obstinate as a mule."—*Emmet's Examination by the Secret Committee, 14th August*, 1798.

† "It is, indeed, not the least singular feature of this singular piece of history, that with a Government, strongly intrenched both in power and will, resolved to crush its opponents, and not scrupulous as to the means, there should now have elapsed two whole years of all but open rebellion, under their very eyes, without their being able, either by force or money, to obtain sufficient information to place a single one of the many chiefs of the confederacy in their power. Even now, so far from their vigilance being instrumental in the discovery, it was but to the mere accidental circumstance of a worthless member of the conspiracy being pressed for a sum of money to discharge some debts, that the Government was indebted for the treachery that, at once, laid the whole plot at their feet,—delivered up to them at one seizure almost all its leaders; and thus disorganizing, by rendering it headless, the entire body of the Union, was the means, it is not too much to say, of saving the country to Great Britain."—*Moore's Life, &c.*

was whispered in that gloomy hour that Lord Edward had escaped, and therefore, that the cause was not altogether desperate. That he had not been found at the secret meeting of the Leinster Committee was a heavy disappointment to the executive. It was true that in the seizure of the delegates, the conspiracy had received a stunning blow—but it was "scotched, not killed." Lord Edward was at liberty, and consequently the master-spirit was abroad. On the score of humanity—of policy—or both—it had been hinted by the Irish government that his escape would be connived at, and the ports left open if he would secretly quit the kingdom.* The offer was conveyed to him and rejected; and no course remained but to apprehend him if possible, and thus deprive the hydra of its head. Among others he was afterwards denounced by proclamation, dated the 11th of May, and £1000 offered for such secret information as might lead to his arrest.

On quitting Leinster House, the first place where Lord Edward sought concealment was the domicile of a widow lady, situated on the banks of the canal. Thither, three nights after the surprise of the Leinster Committee, he was conveyed in disguise—and there he remained a month undiscovered, although, with an imprudence not pardonable in a leader on whose personal safety a mighty movement hinged, he too frequently exposed himself to detection. For the feelings of the lover-husband, that would induce him to risk every thing to visit an idolized wife and the children, even a callous heart would find or frame an apology;† but circumstanced as he was, unnecessary exposure was unpardonable. His person might be considered a sort of public property—and yet we find him walking, most nights, along the banks of the canal—jumping in and out of boats to amuse a child he had made his companion—and afterwards, by sheer recklessness, falsifying the incognito of an assumed name.‡

* "In an interview which he, Mr. Ogilvie, had, shortly after his arrival, with Lord Clare, that nobleman expressed himself with the most friendly warmth on the subject, saying, 'For God's sake get this young man out of the country; the ports shall be thrown open to you, and no hindrance whatever offered.'"—*Ibid.*

† "Her ladyship had, immediately on the disappearance of Lord Edward, removed from the Duke of Leinster's to a house in Denzel-street, taking with her an attached female servant, and her husband's favourite, Tony. The two latter believed, as did most people, that their master had fled to France; and it was therefore with no small surprise that the maid-servant (as she herself told the person from whom I heard the anecdote) saw, on going into her lady's room late in the evening, his Lordship and Lady Edward sitting together by the light of the fire. The youngest child had, at his desire, been brought down out of its bed for him to see it, and both he and Lady Edward were, as the maid thought, in tears."—*Moore's Life, &c.*

‡ "On retiring to the lady's house, he had taken the name of Jameson—but before he was two days in the house, an occurrence took place which instances singular imprudence and fidelity. A pair of his boots having been left outside his door to be cleaned, the man-servant, to whom they had been given for that purpose, told his mistress afterwards that he knew 'who the gentleman up-stairs was—but that she need not fear, for he would die to save him.' He then shewed her Lord Edward's name written at full length in one of his boots. Thinking it possible that, after such a discovery, her guest might deem it dangerous to remain, Mrs. Risk mentioned the circumstance to him. But his fears were not easily awakened—'What a noble fellow!' he exclaimed. 'I should like to have some talk with him.' In the

How Lord Edward could have evaded detection so long appears astonishing. An enormous reward was offered for his detection, and as the plot became further unfolded, the alarm of the Government for their own existence superseded every other thought, and all considerations of mercy were lost in their fears. At the period, therefore, where we are now arrived, the search after his lordship was, by the emissaries of authority, pursued with as much eagerness as political zeal, urged by fear and revenge, could inspire.

Lord Edward at last seemed awakened to his danger, and it was considered by himself and friends, that a longer residence where he was, might be hazardous and lead to a discovery. Another asylum was accordingly provided for him at a feather-merchant's house in Thomas-street; and at Murphy's, as the owner was called, he remained for several days in safety.

On the 30th of March, the kingdom was declared by proclamation to be "in actual rebellion," and the troops were directed to act without magisterial authority, whenever their own officers deemed it proper. That fearful order loosed a licentious soldiery upon the country, and every hope of averting bloodshed ended.

As the great object of the revolutionary leaders, was to prevent a premature explosion, agents were despatched to hold out encouragement to the disaffected, that a French invasion would speedily be re-attempted. But a double failure had damped the expectations of the Directory; Hoche was in his grave; Bonaparte, bent on other objects, and unfriendly to an Irish demonstration; and, without foreign assistance, it became evident to the conspirators, that "themselves must strike the blow."

For the following fortnight, Lord Edward made Murphy's house his place of concealment. Even there he received company, walked out at night, and, in woman's clothes, visited Lady Edward in Denzel-street. He then changed his residence, and sought shelter in the houses of tradesmen in the same street, named Moore and Cormick. Some circumstances gave alarm to his friends, and Lord Edward a second time was conducted to his suburban retreat, and placed again in charge of his former hostess. On the 11th of May the proclamation that offered £1000 for his apprehension appeared; the day for the insurrection was appointed; John Sheares despatched to Cork to raise the southern rebels; and, for the purpose of holding a closer communion with the Dublin leaders, Lord Edward quitted the house of his faithful protectress on the 13th of May, and on the 18th he re-entered Murphy's, and only left it on the 19th for a cell, wherein to linger out a few miserable days, and expire in the common jail, without a friend or relative to watch "the spirit's parting!"

On the night preceding the 18th, it had been arranged that Lord Edward should have resumed his former residence in Thomas-street,

hope that it might be an incitement to the man's fidelity, the lady told him his lordship's wish, but he answered, 'No, I will not look at him, for if they should take me up I can then, you know, swear that I never saw him.'"—*Ibid.*

and he set out accordingly, under an escort of the disaffected. One of those affrays, of common occurrence in these days of terror, resulted.

It is quite evident from this occurrence that he had been already betrayed, although even yet the name of the traitor remains unknown. Of Lord Edward's intended movement, Sirr, the town-major, received certain information. To the same point, two ways would have conducted Lord Edward—and so correctly had Sirr been apprized of the route of his intended captive, that he divided his party, and with one section occupied Watling-street, and posted the other in Dirty-lane.

"A similar plan having happened to be adopted by Lord Edward's escort, there took place, in each of these two streets, a conflict between the parties; and Major Sirr, who had almost alone to bear the brunt in his quarter, was near losing his life. In defending himself with a sword which he had snatched from one of his assailants, he lost his footing and fell; and had not those with whom he was engaged been much more occupied with their noble charge than with him, he could hardly have escaped. But, their chief object being Lord Edward's safety, after snapping a pistol or two at Sirr, they hurried away."*

On the following morning, a uniform—dark green, faced with scarlet—was delivered by an old woman to Murphy. This his "already nervous host" concealed under goat skins in his warehouse. At noon, a party of soldiers suddenly entered the street, and very suspiciously halted before Moore's house, the man who had formerly sheltered him. Alarmed for the safety of his guest, the feather-merchant conveyed him by a trap-door to the roof of his warehouse, and in one of the valleys which ran between the houses, Lord Edward remained for two or three hours, until the alarm had subsided, and the soldiers had left the street.†

At the usual hour dinner was served, and Neilson, a constant and most imprudent visitor, was invited to join Murphy and his noble guest.

Whoever was the betrayer of Lord Edward, the conduct of Neilson, on the fatal day of the arrest, afforded grounds for rendering him a suspected one. "The cloth," says Moore, "had not been many minutes removed, when Neilson, as if suddenly recollecting something, hurried out of the room and left the house; shortly after which, Mr. Murphy, seeing that his guest was not inclined to drink any wine, went downstairs. In a few minutes, however, returning, he found that his lordship had, in the interim, gone up to his bed-room, and, on following him thither, saw him lying, without his coat, upon the bed. There had now elapsed, from the time of Neilson's departure, not more than ten minutes, and it is asserted that he had, in going out, left the hall door open."

* In this street affair, John McCabe, a very active member of the Union, was made prisoner, and afterwards tried, convicted, and executed.

† During the excitement produced in the neighbourhood by the appearance of the soldiers, Lord Edward's friend, Neilson, was, in his usual flighty and inconsiderate manner, walking up and down the street, saying occasionally, as he passed, to Murphy, who was standing in his gateway,—"Is he safe?—Look sharp."—*Moore's Life.*

At this moment, Major Sirr, who had but just received an intimation from the Castle of the place where Lord Edward was concealed, proceeded in hackney-coaches to arrest him, attended by eight soldiers in coloured clothes, and accompanied by Captains Swan and Ryan. While Sirr was disposing the soldiers below to prevent any chance of escape, Swan hurried up-stairs, entered the apartment, and, approaching the bed, told Lord Edward that he was a prisoner. Lord Edward jumped out of bed, and Swan perceiving that he was determined on resistance, snapped, or, as others say, discharged a pistol ineffectually, and then, closing with his antagonist, both rolled upon the bed. In the struggle which ensued, Lord Edward stabbed his opponent in the hand and body repeatedly, when Ryan entered the chamber, and rushed to the assistance of his companion, lounging at Lord Edward with a cane-sword, which, however, turned on the ribs, and only inflicted a flesh-wound. All three fell on the floor together—in the *mêlée* which followed, Ryan received a mortal stab—and when Sirr entered, he found Lord Edward on his feet endeavouring to reach the door, while Swan and Ryan held on desperately by the legs to prevent it. "Threatened as he was with a fate similar to his companions, Sirr had no alternative but to fire, and aiming his pistol deliberately, he lodged the contents in Lord Edward's right arm, near the shoulder. The wound for a moment staggered him; but, as he again rallied, and was pushing towards the door, Major Sirr called up the soldiers, and so desperate were their captive's struggles, that they found it necessary to lay their firelocks across him before he could be disarmed or bound so as to prevent further mischief."

An eminent surgeon was immmediately brought to the assistance of the wounded men. Ryan's injury was pronounced the most dangerous—Swan's wounds, though numerous, were not severe—and on examination, Dr. Adreen expressed an opinion that Lord Edward's were not mortal.* The surgeon's communication elicited a brief remark—"I am sorry, doctor, to hear it!"

On the arrival of a cavalry picket and the Rainsford-street guard, the wounded men were removed; and Lord Edward was taken to the Castle in a sedan, and carried into the office of the Secretary for the War department. On his arrest being communicated to Lord Camden, orders were given that the state surgeon should instantly examine and dress his wounds; while, with a feeling honourable to his well-established humanity, the Viceroy transmitted by his own secretary, a private message to the noble prisoner, giving him an assurance of receiving every indulgence consistent with personal safety. The message was

* Mr. Moore, in his biography, makes a statement which I have reason to believe is incorrect—he says, "It was during one of these instinctive efforts of courage that the opportunity was, as I understand, taken by a wretched drummer to give him a wound in the back of the neck, which, although slight, yet, from its position, contributed not a little to aggravate the uneasiness of his last hours." An authority, on whose veracity *I can depend*, informs me that no such thing took place—no drum-boy was present at the time—and, certainly, it is not very probable, that such an agent would have been selected by Sirr, to assist him in the arrest of a daring and desperate man.



George Cruikshanks

The Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald



conveyed by Mr. Watson—and the delicacy with which it was communicated, at least absolves the Lord-Lieutenant from being party to the harshness, with which the authorities were subsequently charged.*

After a delay of some hours, during which time his wounds had been carefully attended to, Lord Edward was removed to Newgate under a strong military guard, and placed in Lord Aldborough's room. As the carriage and escort passed from the castle to the prison the countenances and demeanour of the disaffected, indicated how deeply they felt the loss of the leader on whom they had placed so much dependence. To attempt a rescue was determined—and, in a full assurance that the effort would be made, the garrison remained under arms throughout the night.

On the 31st of May, Captain Ryan died of his wounds—but it was considered, although the heat of the weather was against him, that Lord Edward would recover. Attended by a kind-hearted militia officer named Stone, and visited constantly by the State surgeon, there is no doubt that the severity attendant on his confinement, and imputed to the authorities, was exaggerated. Still, the refusal of permission to visit a dying brother, appears harsh, impolitic, and unnecessary; and the reasons assigned by the Chancellor for declining Lord Henry's request, though they may indicate the perilous state of the times, evince a rigour on the part of the executive, carried to an unwarrantable extent.†

Lord Edward lingered to the 1st of June, when his wounds assumed an unhealthy appearance, and fever set in. There is no doubt that the death of Captain Ryan had transpired—and the knowledge that his victim was no more, added poignant sorrow to a mind already excited too seriously. It is said that the confusion and noise attendant on the execution of a young man named Clinch, increased this

* Mr. Watson's account of the melancholy interview is graphic and interesting: "I found Lord Edward leaning back on a couple of chairs, in the office of the secretary in the war department, his arm extended, and supported by the surgeon, who was dressing his wound. His countenance was pallid, but serene; and when I told him, in a low voice, not to be overheard, my Commission from the Lord-Lieutenant, and that I was going to break the intelligence of what had occurred to Lady Edward, asking him, with every assurance of my fidelity and secrecy, whether there was any confidential communication he wished to be made to her ladyship, or whether I could undertake any other personal act of kindness in his service—he answered merely, but collectedly, 'No, no—thank you—nothing, nothing—only break it to her tenderly.'"

† "Be assured that it is not in my power to procure admission for you to Lord Edward. You will readily believe that Lord Camden's situation is critical in the extreme. The extent and enormity of the treason which has occasioned so many arrests make it essentially necessary, for the preservation of the State, that access should be denied to the friends of all the persons now in confinement for treason. Judge then, my dear lord, the situation in which Lord Camden will be placed, if this rule is dispensed with in one instance. Mr. Stewart has just now left me, and from his account of Lord Edward, he is in a situation which threatens his life. Perhaps, if he should get into such a state as will justify it, your request may be complied with; and believe me, it will give me singular satisfaction if you can be gratified. You may rest assured that his wound is as well attended to as it can be.

"Yours always truly, my dear lord,

"CLARE."

mental irritation. On the 2nd of June, Lord Edward became delirious, and the attendance of a keeper from a madhouse was deemed necessary. On the 3rd, reason returned, but his strength had sunk completely. Then, the authorities gave a tardy assent for his brother and sister to visit him; and the last interview between relatives who appear to have been most devotedly attached, is so touchingly detailed in a letter from Lady Louisa Conolly, that we are tempted to give an extract:—

"Thanks to the great God! our visit was timed to the moment that the wretched situation allowed of. His mind had been agitated for two days, and the feeling was enough gone, not to be overcome by the sight of his brother and me. We had the consolation of seeing and feeling that it was a pleasure to him. I first approached his bed: he looked at me, knew me, kissed me, and said (what will never depart from my ears), 'It is heaven to me to see you!' and, shortly after, turning to the other side of his bed, he said, 'I can't see you.' I went round, and he soon after kissed my hand, and smiled at me, which I shall never forget, though I saw death in his dear face at the time. I then told him that Henry was come. He said nothing that marked surprise at his being in Ireland, but expressed joy at hearing it, and said, 'Where is he, dear fellow?'

"Henry then took my place, and the two dear brothers frequently embraced each other, to the melting a heart of stone; and yet God enabled both Henry and myself to remain quite composed. As every one left the room, we told him we only were with him. He said, 'That is very pleasant.' However, he remained silent, and I then brought in the subject of Lady Edward, and told him that I had not left her until I saw her on board; and Henry told him of having met her on the road well. He said, 'And the children, too?—She is a charming woman:' and then became silent again. That expression about Lady Edward proved to me, that his senses were much lulled, and that he did not feel his situation to be what it was; but, thank God! they were enough alive to receive pleasure from seeing his brother and me. Dear Henry, in particular, he looked at continually with an expression of pleasure."

Immediately after Lord Henry and his sister had taken leave, convulsions came on violently—and at two o'clock on the morning of the 4th, a gallant, generous, and enthusiastic spirit—would that it had been better directed!—parted.

After an inquest, the body was interred in the cemetery of St. Werburgh—the funeral being conducted as privately as possible, to prevent any exhibition of popular feeling, which, had it been more public, would have been certain to occur.

As when Orr was executed, the hair cut from him after death, and even shreds of the clothes in which he suffered, were considered sacred relics by the disaffected,* so every thing connected with the latter

* Orr was executed for administering unlawful oaths, and it was currently reported that some of the jury, by whom he was convicted, were intoxicated when

actions and the end of this amiable but most dangerous enthusiast, will still be interesting to all, no matter whether they may admire or condemn him. From some valuable information forwarded to me by a friend,* I have selected the following extract:—

"It has been observed, that the year 1797 was one rather of preparation than of incident. The exertions of Lord E. Fitzgerald at that period were unceasing, and one of his modes of proceeding was not generally known. Whoever has traversed the county of Kildare, as I have done, must have been struck with the great number of ball-courts, or the remains of them, still to be found in every part of that district. Ball-playing was, at the time, a favourite amusement with the young men of Kildare, as hurling is in other counties. Lord Edward took advantage of this, and found means to have these ball-courts erected—and here, under pretext of enjoying a harmless amusement, the men of the vicinity assembled without creating any suspicion; the young to play, the elders to deliberate, and promote general organization. Lord Edward was not unfrequently a spectator on these occasions; and though his words and actions were then tolerably guarded, a word or a sign, adroitly conveyed to some ready agent, produced the effect of volumes of orders, and were promptly attended to. Michael Reynolds, who led the attack upon Naas on the night of the 23rd of May, was a celebrated ball-player, and went round these places ostensibly to exhibit his skill, but really, to carry out the views of Lord Edward. This was easily effected—for in those days there was no police to mingle with the persons thus assembled, and note the progress of the conspiracy."

In describing the arrest at Murphy's, Musgrave asserts that Lord Edward snapped a pistol† at Captain Swan. I am inclined to think

they returned their verdict. A leading witness afterwards declared that he had committed perjury; and as the jury had recommended him to mercy, and a respite had been given, it was generally expected that a pardon would have resulted, and Orr have been saved. His execution was therefore considered an act of ruthless severity by his partisans: and his behaviour when the sentence of law was carried into effect, enhanced the regret of his friends, and, consequently, he died in the odour of martyrdom. Sampson, an Irish fugitive to the United States, at a public dinner given him in Philadelphia, described Orr's last moments thus:—

"Upon the scaffold, nearest to him, and by his side, stood a Roman Catholic domestic, faithful and attached to him. Manacled and pinioned, he directed him to take from his pocket the watch that he had worn till now that time had ceased for him, and hours and minutes were no longer to be measures of his existence. 'You, my friend, and I must now part; our stations here on earth have been a little different, and our modes of worshipping the Almighty Being that we both adore. Before his presence we shall stand both equal; farewell, *Remember Orr!*"

* A retired lieutenant-colonel, who was actively employed with his regiment in suppressing the insurrection.

† When an under-graduate in the Dublin University, I received from a fellow-student the present of a screw-barrelled pocket-pistol, which had been picked up from the floor after the affray at Murphy's. The handle was inlaid with silver—but it was an old-fashioned and useless weapon. That it was found in the apartment, and probably had been used on the occasion, the near connection of the donor with *a principal actor* in the scene, leaves me no reason to doubt.

that in this statement Sir Richard is incorrect, and that Moore's version of the affair is more authentic :—

"In the desperate resistance which he made, Lord Edward had no other weapon than a dagger, and the number of wounds he is said to have inflicted with it on his two adversaries is such as almost to exceed belief. This dagger was given by Lord Clare, a day or two after the arrest, to Mr. Brown, a gentleman well known and still living in Dublin, who has, by some accident, lost it. He describes it to me, however, as being about the length of a large case knife, with a common buck-handle,—the blade, which was two-edged, being of a waved shape, like that of the sword represented in the hands of the angel in the common prints, prefixed to the last book of Paradise Lost.

"The rebel uniform, belonging to his lordship, which was found at Murphy's, passed afterwards into the hands of Mr. Watson Taylor, in whose possession it remained for some time; but the late Duke of York, who had always been much attached to Lord Edward, and had even offered, when made Commander-in-Chief, to restore him to his rank in the army, having expressed a wish to possess so curious a relic of his noble friend, Mr. Watson Taylor presented it to his Royal Highness, and what has become of it since the Duke's death, I have not been able to ascertain."*

* Moore's Life, &c.

CHAPTER V.

ARREST OF THE SHEARES—OUTBREAK OF THE REBELLION—AFFAIRS IN THE VICINITY OF THE METROPOLIS.

THE capture of Lord Edward Fitzgerald was followed up by the arrest of the brothers Sheares; and had the Government required documentary evidence to establish the ruthless spirit with which the ends of the conspiracy would have been carried out, a military memoir found in the writing-desk of the ill-directed young nobleman, and a sanguinary manifesto* in the handwriting of John Sheares, and discovered in the house of his brother Henry, would have been amply sufficient. Lord Edward's document was purely military—and, although highly mischievous, it was defensible; but the proclamation to be issued on the 24th of May, betrayed a ferocity of intention which no circumstances could palliate. Every paragraph seemed traced in blood; and while the sanguinary course of action which it inculcated, deprived the unhappy author of that sympathy which his fate might have otherwise obtained, those who would rescue his memory from the odium of savage purpose, have wisely grounded its defence upon the only pardonable excuse—insanity.†

* "Irishmen, your country is free, and you are about to be avenged. That vile Government, which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more. Some of its most atrocious monsters *have already paid the forfeit of their lives* and the rest are in our hands. The national flag, the *sacred green*, is at this moment flying over the ruins of despotism!

* * * * * * *

"As for those degenerate wretches who turn their swords against their native country, the national vengeance awaits them. *Let them find no quarter*, unless they shall prove their repentance by speedily exchanging the standard of slavery for that of freedom. * * * * * *

"Under the conduct of your chosen leaders march with a steady step to victory. Heed not the glare of hired soldiery or aristocratic yeomanry: they cannot stand the vigorous shock of freedom. Their trappings and their arms will soon be yours; and the detested Government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn, that the treasures it exhausts on its accoutred slaves, for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but *further enable us to turn their swords on its devoted head*. Attack them in every direction by day and by night; avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, and with which you are better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harass their rear and their flanks; cut off their provisions and magazines, and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces; let whatever moments you cannot devote to fighting for your country, be passed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war—for war, war alone must occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland, until its long-oppressed soil be purged of all its enemies. Vengeance, Irishmen, vengeance on your oppressors. Remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their merciless orders—Remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their legal murders—Remember Orr!"

† "In regard to the proclamation found in his desk, I believe he was the writer of it; though that was never fully proved. At the time when it was supposed to

Many attempts had been made to corrupt the students of Trinity College; some of them had adopted and endeavoured to disseminate the mischievous doctrines of the revolutionary party, but, generally, their loyalty was firm and devoted; and having embodied themselves for self-protection, and to assist the executive at the approaching *émeute*—no corps was more efficient, and none more formidable to the disaffected, than that of the University. From the construction and position of the College, next to the Castle, it was probably the strongest *place d'armes* in the metropolis; and although not generally known, the seizure of the College and the destruction of its young, daring, and dreaded garrison, formed another of the insurrectionary objects. From one of the MS. journals, placed kindly at my disposal by a friend, then a young, ardent, and intelligent actor in the passing scenes, the following extract will not be uninteresting:—

"The loyalists of the College were in the habit of meeting in my rooms, No. 27, Library-square. An atrocious attempt at maiming some of them was made one evening in the month of February. Between twenty and thirty young men were sitting sociably together, when a loud noise and striking at the windows, as of breaking them in, was heard—and a voice challenged the 'Orange rascals' to come out if they dare. A partial rush instantly took place; the young man nearest the door and first out was a Mr. Burton, an extremely active young fellow, who fortunately, instead of running downstairs in the ordinary way, seized the banister, and flung himself right to the bottom at once, calling out as he did so for the others to stop. On examination it appeared that a number of the lamplighters' ladders had been collected, and sawed into lengths fitting the breadth of the stairs, and then placed transversely across them; so that a number of persons rushing down hastily, as was anticipated on the alarm being given at the window, must have broken their legs. A more cowardly attempt can hardly be imagined.

"A feather points out the direction of the wind, and this paltry but malignant effort at injury was but the forerunner of one more extensive and diabolical. A plan was laid for the surprise of the College, and the destruction of the students, in which one of the porters, named Ward, was mainly concerned. In those days there was a postern door, leading from the rear of the printing-house into some blind alleys and unfrequented lanes of the lowest description. Through this door, Ward was to have admitted a chosen band of desperate fellows, armed with pikes prepared for the occasion, with handles not more than five feet long, and calculated for in-door work.

"The plan having been discovered by Major Sirr, and information given us, I was one of the party who went in search of the depôt, and in an old cow-house near the postern door we found it sure enough. A large grave-like excavation had been dug immediately behind the

have been written, he appeared so altered, that those who used to delight in listening to him would scarce know him. His mind seemed to have *lost its balance.*"—*Memoir of the Shearers, by Maria Steel.*

bales or stakes to which the cows' heads were made fast, extending across the whole house; and in this we discovered nearly 200 pikes, neatly packed. They were covered about six inches deep with clay, above which was laid hay for the cows; they were of a superior workmanship, and the handles painted dark brown. Ward absconded, and we never heard of him afterwards."

In the meanwhile the crisis hurried rapidly. On the morning of the 21st, the Viceroy officially announced to the Lord Mayor, and on the next day, through Lord Castlereagh, apprized the House of Commons, "that his Excellency had received information that the disaffected had been daring enough to form a plan for the purpose of possessing themselves, in the course of the present week, of the metropolis, of seizing the seat of government, and those in authority within the city; that, in consequence of that information, he had directed every military precaution to be taken which seemed expedient; that he had made full communication to the magistrates, for the direction of their efforts; and that he had not a doubt, by the measures which would be pursued, the designs of the rebellious would be effectually and entirely crushed."

A spirited and dutiful answer was voted by the Commons—"the Speaker and all the members immediately waited on his Excellency with the address; and to shew their zeal, and to increase the solemnity of the proceeding, they walked through the streets on foot, two and two, preceded by the speaker, the serjeant-at-arms, and all the officers of the house."

The 23rd of May, a day that must ever carry with it deplorable recollections, dawned upon a city, destined before another sun should rise, to undergo every horror that attends on civil war. A gloom overspread the countenance of the royalists. Enough had been communicated by the executive to convince the most sceptical that the long-portending thunder-cloud was on the eve of bursting—and still the moment of actual insurrection continued veiled in impenetrable mystery.

Evening came—and no positive information of the revolutionary outbreak as yet had reached the Castle. A government spy, late in the day, communicated authentic intelligence, that the picket of yeomanry cavalry at Rathfarnham, would that night be surprised and cut off; and, consequently, instead of a serjeant's party, the whole troop mounted for patrol. After narrowly escaping an ambush, Lieutenant La Touche ascertained that the rebels had actually risen, and an express* was immediately despatched to apprize the Lord-Lieutenant of the insurrection. The duty was truly perilous—for the rebels in great numbers were collecting in the road and adjacent fields in the vicinity of Dublin. In the city, particularly the suburbs, the yeoman saw a great number of rebels with pikes, in the gateways, alleys,

* It was carried by a private of the troop, called Bennett, and offered one of the many instances of the zeal and personal gallantry, with which the Irish yeomanry evidenced their fealty and devotion to the Government.

and stable-lanes, waiting the beat of their drums, and the approach of rebel columns from the country, which they were expecting; and as he passed, they frequently cried out, animating each other, "Come on, boys! who's afraid?"*

Immediately, the garrison and yeomanry drums beat to arms, and the latter hurried to their alarm-posts. The North Cork Militia were formed in Stephen's Green—and the bridges of the canals which stretch along the city, north and south, were occupied by strong pickets. Those crossing the Liffey were also secured, and the communications completely interrupted.

In the rambling, but well-authenticated narrative of Musgrave, many indications of want of union, as well as want of prudence, on the part of the leaders of the disaffected will appear, and particularly in the course of action which preceded and attended the insurrectionary attempt upon the capital.

"For some nights previous to the 23rd of May, fires were seen on the Wicklow mountains, whose luminous appearance by night, and whose smoke by day, served as signals to the disaffected in the metropolis, and in all the adjacent country. The same practice took place on all the mountains which extend from the Scalp in the county of Wicklow, to Mount Leinster in the county of Wexford."

Where existed any necessity for this idle and unnecessary display, when all was organized and ready; and any striking exhibition must naturally add to an alarm, which every prudential motive should have allayed? Why increase the fears, and consequently, the vigilance of the executive? In secrecy of purpose lay success, and all was in favour of it, could the authorities be lulled into a false and fatal security. The yeomanry corps, which in a few days afterwards were purified of traitors, at the moment of the outbreak abounded in United Irishmen, on whom not a shadow of suspicion had fallen yet.† The domestic servants were deeply engaged in the conspiracy, and hence every action of their employers was revealed, and the safety of every house was compromised. Even the lamp-lighters lent their assistance—and darkness was prearranged to assist—as it would do most effectively—a sudden outburst, by neutralizing the advantages which daylight secures to disciplined troops in a conflict with fierce but tumultuary assailants.

* Musgrave's Memoirs.

† "It was discovered that near nine-tenths of the Roman Catholics in the yeomanry corps were United Irishmen, and had taken an oath to be true to the rebels, in direct contradiction to their sworn allegiance; and that many of them, after having taken the united oath, had, by deliberate and predetermined perjury, joined the yeomanry corps for the purpose of getting arms in their hands, learning the use of them, and turning them against the loyalists, perhaps in the very moment of danger."

I firmly believe that, in this statement, Sir Richard Musgrave is not correct. Many Roman Catholic gentlemen and their tenantry held themselves aloof from the revolutionists; and there were not a few instances, in which those who had incorporated themselves in Protestant companies, equally distinguished themselves for gallantry and fidelity.

It has been already mentioned, that the stoppage of the mail-coaches was to be the signal for a general rising. On the evening of the 23rd, at Santry, the Belfast mail was burned—the Limerick stopped on the Curragh of Kildare, and both guard and coachman murdered—the Athlone coach was destroyed at Lucan, and the Cork mail at Naas.

A number of petty affairs followed the instant outbreak of the rebellion, all tinged in a lesser or greater degree with the atrocity attendant upon civil war. In these affairs the rebels were generally repulsed; but in a few they unhappily succeeded, and always by surprise, treachery, or the imprudence of the royalists. To these we shall return more particularly, when the transactions which immediately accompanied the outbreak in the metropolis shall have been rapidly detailed.

The capture of Dublin was the grand and primary object at which the conspirators aimed; and a simultaneous movement on the capital by the Kildare rebels, was to have seconded the efforts of the disaffected within the city. Every thing was in favour of success; and as the garrison was almost drained of regular troops, and its safety intrusted to the yeomanry, that circumstance was not overlooked by the rebel leaders. In barracks, soldiers cannot be easily surprised; a few taps upon the drum, and a very few minutes are quite sufficient to place a regiment in battle order; but to collect irregulars, dispersed, and distant from the alarm-posts they have been directed to assemble at, is a work of time, and equally difficult and precarious—as, in an attempt to reach the posts assigned, individuals and isolated parties are readily intercepted and overpowered.

This was the great design of the insurgents, and nothing could have been more easily effected, when aided by the darkness of night, and the intricacies of a city crowded with houses, and intersected by narrow lanes.

By an unaccountable oversight, the canals which covered two sides of Dublin had been left open, when, by stockading the bridges, they could have been easily rendered defensible, and have thus placed an impassable obstruction to any bodies who might approach the city from Kildare. Before the royalists occupied the bridges, numbers of insurgents from the country had crossed over; and it was computed that, by one northern turnpike, more than two thousand strangers had entered the city during the evening and succeeding night.

Of the chief plans propounded by the rebel leaders, the capture of the Castle, with the high authorities it contained—the cutting off the royalists in detached parties,* as they hurried to their respective alarm-posts at the beat to arms of the rebel drums—with an attack on the jail of Newgate, and the liberation of the State prisoners there incar-

* "Southwell McClune, a rebel colonel, who had surrendered himself to government, and obtained his pardon, declared upon oath, that Neilson had assembled at a house in Church-lane, a noted rendezvous for rebels, fifteen colonels; and having produced a map of Dublin, assigned to each the post which he and his regiment were to occupy that night."—*Ibid.*

cerated—formed the grand objects of the midnight movement. On these plans of action there was, however, a division of opinion among the leaders. John Sheares confined the intended operations of his followers to the two former; while Neilson determined to attack the jail. Whether the latter would have persevered, although Sheares' opposition went so far as to threaten a denouncement of the intention to the Government, it is difficult to guess. Accident interfered; and the leader found himself at midnight the inmate of a prison, from which he had falsely calculated that he should have succeeded in liberating his confederates.

At ten o'clock, Neilson,* having a body of rebels collected in some fields then contiguous to Eccles-street, proceeded to reconnoitre Newgate, and determine on the best points of attack. Escalade, supported by a commanding fire of musketry, was to be the plan adopted—and from the manner in which the prison was domineered, the attempt might have easily succeeded.

Some waste ground, then covered with heaps of market-offal, and close to the prison, enabled a person to examine the building unperceived; and of this advantage, Neilson, already well acquainted with the locality, had availed himself. In the darkness he trod upon a child, and the outcry brought its mother to the spot. The woman was drunk—an angry altercation followed—and no apology which Neilson could offer would conciliate the irritated *poissarde*. The noise naturally attracted attention; persons hastened to the spot; and among others Mr. Gregg, the jailer. Neilson, having already been in his custody, was perfectly familiar to Gregg. The latter immediately arrested him—a desperate resistance was offered—a pistol snapped, and a doubtful struggle ensued. Under a belief that Gregg's assault on Neilson was occasioned by his resentment of the injury offered to her child, the fish-woman so far contributed by her clamour to mystify the affray, that the line of posts which Neilson had established between Newgate and Eccles-street, thought the noise only a squabble of drunken fish-women, and waited in idle expectation for Neilson's return and orders to advance, until his capture transpired in an hour or two, and the party took alarm and disbanded.†

In a popular movement, failure or success at first generally decides its fortunes. The attempt on the capital signally miscarried. The master-spirit was wanting at the hour of action, and he who might have given a fatal direction to efforts ill-directed and uncombined, was, with his abler associates, immured within the walls of a prison. Upon individuals, alike wanting in courage and ability, the hurried choice of revolutionary leadership had fallen. If Neilson's imprudent visits to Lord Edward before the arrest, subjected him to a charge of

* "Neilson, in his attack upon Newgate, was to have been seconded by a large body of rebels, headed by one Seagrave, who was to have taken possession of Mr. Halpin's distillery, at the corner of Petticoat-lane, the windows of which flanked it and they were to have kept up a constant fire on the front of the prison, while another party scaled its walls in a different quarter."—*Ibid.*

† MS. Journal of a Field Officer

treachery afterwards, his conduct, on the night he reconnoitred Newgate, proves him to have been quite unfitted for command. That a man known to every turnkey, should have personally examined a building in which he had been so long confined, appeared, from its extreme rashness, almost to indicate indifference to the consequences of discovery. The Sheares, when the hour of action came, appeared to have literally done nothing—and yet both were men of overweening vanity as to their own abilities, and blind to the superior qualifications of their confederates. They forgot that the pen may pave the way for revolutionary action; but the hand which effects the final movement must grasp the sword.* Hence, the private papers of Lord Edward and John Shears stand out in powerful contrast. One ably pointed to his followers the means by which the object could be achieved; the other, leaving more active spirits to effect it, proved amply that, by whomsoever gained, success would be unscrupulously employed.

On the morning of the 24th, two Proclamations were issued, the one from General Lake, the other from Alderman Fleming—both were stringent—but the circumstances of the times admitted of no temporizing measures:—

"Lieutenant-General Lake, commanding his Majesty's forces in this kingdom, having received from his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant full powers to put down the rebellion, and to punish rebels in the most summary manner, according to martial law, does hereby give notice to all his Majesty's subjects, that he is determined to exert the powers intrusted to him in the most vigorous manner for the immediate suppression of the same; and that all persons acting in the present rebellion, or in anywise aiding or assisting therein, will be treated by him as rebels, and punished accordingly.

"And Lieutenant-General Lake hereby requires all the inhabitants of the city of Dublin (the great officers of state, members of the houses of parliament, privy councillors, magistrates, and military persons in uniform excepted) to remain within their respective dwellings from nine o'clock at night, till five in the morning, under pain of punishment.

The Lord Mayor's Proclamation was equally strong, and equally judicious:—

"Whereas, the circumstances of the present crisis demand every possible precaution: these are therefore to desire all persons who have registered arms, forthwith to give in, in writing, an exact list or inventory of such arms at the town clerk's office, who will file and enter the same in a book to be kept for that purpose. And all persons who have not registered their arms are hereby required forthwith to deliver up to me, or some other of the magistrates of this city, all arms and ammunition of every kind in their possession. And if, after this Pro-

* "Lord Edward Fitzgerald and John were not intimately acquainted. He thought Lord Edward's talents were only military. I doubt if either of the brothers was highly in the confidence of Lord Edward. They thought him ardent and sincere; but both spoke impatiently on the subject of his talents as a leader—and more than impatiently!"—*Notices of the Sheares, by Miss Steel.*

clamation, any person having registered arms shall be found not to have given in a true list or inventory of such arms; or if any person who has not registered, shall be found to have in their power or possession any arms or ammunition whatever, such person or persons will, on such arms being discovered, be forthwith sent on board his Majesty's navy, as by law directed.

"And I do hereby desire, that all housekeepers do place upon the outside of their doors, a list of all persons in their respective houses, distinguishing such as are strangers from those who actually make part of their family; but as there may happen to be persons who, from pecuniary embarrassments, are obliged to conceal themselves, I do not require such names to be placed on the outside of the door, provided their names are sent to me. And I hereby call upon his Majesty's subjects, within the county of the city of Dublin, immediately to comply with this regulation, as calculated for the public security; as those persons who shall wilfully neglect a regulation so easy and salutary, as well as persons giving false statements of the inmates of their houses, must, in the present crisis, abide the consequences of such neglect."

We now turn to the outbreak in the immediate vicinity of the capital. Slight affairs occurred on the night of the 23rd, and upon the following day. At Rathfarnham, Lucan, Lusk, Collon, and Baltinglass, the royalists and rebels came in contact, and the latter were repulsed. At Dunboyne and Barretstown the escorts of some baggage (Reay and Suffolk Fencibles) were surprised. On the succeeding day Clane, Naas, Ballymore Eustace, Kilcullen, and Prosperous were attacked—and with the exception of the latter, in every effort the rebels were unsuccessful.

Prosperous, a small but thriving town, then generally inhabited by persons employed in manufacturing cottons, is seventeen miles from Dublin. It was garrisoned by a detachment of the North Cork Militia, some forty men under Captain Swayne, with a lieutenant and twenty of the Ancient British cavalry. The infantry occupied a temporary barrack; half the cavalry were quartered in an opposite house, and the remainder in single billets. On the Sunday (20th) previous to the outbreak, Swayne arrived in Prosperous with his detachment. He attended at the chapel with Dr. Esmond—a man of great local influence—and then implored the people there assembled, to deliver up any arms which might be concealed, return to their allegiance, and receive the protection he was authorized to grant them. This exhortation proved ineffectual: some coercive measures—such as the seizure of cattle, then warranted by martial law—were resorted to; and on the 23rd, it was intimated that fear had hitherto prevented the peasantry from bringing the concealed arms to the town; and that should they be permitted to enter after dark, unchallenged and unmolested, on the following night, pikes and fire-arms would be brought in and deposited in the streets.

It is difficult to decide whether the stupidity of Swayne, or the treachery of Esmond, were most to be condemned. A man, individually, may trifle with himself—but for him who turns right or left from the



George Cruikshank

Surprise of the Barrack of Prosperous.

plain path which duty points to, and compromises the safety of those committed to his charge, there can be no extenuation. For Swayne's folly there can be no apology—his pickets should have been doubled—a cart—a ladder—drawn across the street would have marked sufficiently where those who came to surrender arms might approach with full security. A step beyond it, if the challenge failed, the advanced sentry shot the intruder, and the garrison was at once alarmed. So much for Swayne—his weakness was inexcusable—he died its victim—ignobly, certainly, but still by the weapon of a foeman: Esmond met the doom he merited—a halter.

Musgrave's account of the surprise is, I believe, perfectly authentic.

"About two o'clock on Thursday morning, the 24th of May, the two sentinels were surprised and killed; and both the barracks were assaulted while the soldiers were fast asleep. The barracks of the Cork company consisted of a hall, an apartment on each side, the same in the next story, and under-ground offices. A party of the rebels rushed into Captain Swayne's apartment, which was on the ground-floor, and murdered him. Some soldiers, who slept in the opposite apartment, alarmed at the noise, came forth with their firelocks and expelled those ruffians from the barrack after having killed two or three of them.

"The house was at that time surrounded with a great number of rebels variously armed. A fierce conflict ensued between the assailants and the besieged; but it was soon put an end to by the following malignant device of the former. There was a great quantity of straw in the under-ground office, to which the rebels set fire—and to increase the flame, introduced some faggots into it. The soldiers were soon in a state of suffocation; and the heat being so great that they could not endure it, they retreated to their comrades in the upper story—but the flames and smoke soon reached them there, as the rebels continued to introduce lighted faggots into the apartments under them. Enveloped with thick smoke, and overcome with heat, some of them leaped out of the windows, but were immediately received on the pikes of the assailants, who gave a dreadful yell whenever that occurred.

"At last, the barrack being in a state of conflagration, the soldiers resolved to rush forward and fight their way through their assailants; but they, who were very numerous, formed a half-moon round the front of the barrack, and received them on their pikes, so that but few of them escaped."

Nothing could have been more detestable than Esmond's treachery. He wore the royal uniform, and yet was false to the monarch to whom he had sworn allegiance. When men of desperate fortunes swerve from the paths of honour, poverty may be pleaded to extenuate, though not excuse. Esmond had no plea to offer—he was wealthy, well born, and respected. He might have proved a rebel, but why play the traitor? When in the house of God, loyalty was on his lips, while the heart was contemplating bloodshed. Even the tie a savage venerates could not turn him from his truculent design—and while he had devoted him to death, he shared his victim's hospitality—dined with Captain Swayne "at an inn on the 23rd day of May, and continued

to enjoy the glow of social mirth with him, till a few hours before the perpetration of that bloody scene, which he had for some time meditated."

The work of death at Prosperous was interrupted by intelligence conveyed to the insurgents, that at Clane, three miles off, their friends had been defeated—for although partly surprised, that little garrison succeeded in beating off their assailants.

Clane was occupied by a company of the Armagh militia and some yeomanry cavalry. Early on the morning of the 24th, a large body of armed rebels stole into the street. Fortunately there was just time to beat to arms, although such of the soldiers as were at single billets in the town, were attacked as they issued from the houses where they had been quartered, and several of them killed and wounded before they could join their comrades. The guard, however, with great gallantry held the rebels in check, until their comrades hastily turned out and formed. A few well-directed volleys routed the rebels, and they were driven with considerable loss from the town; but deeming pursuit imprudent, the royalists returned, and again formed in the street.

At five in the morning the rebels made a second attempt, and, supported by a column of pikemen and musketeers, a party, mounted on the horses and furnished with the arms of the Ancient Britons, whom they had cut off at Prosperous, charged boldly into Clane. A rolling volley from the royalists brought down half the party, and dispersed the rest. They retired at a gallop upon the rebel column, which, from previous success and superior numbers, cut a strange but formidable appearance.

An affair highly honourable to the royalists resulted. "As they were not strong enough to attack so numerous a party, and thinking it dishonourable to retreat, the captain, Griffiths, in concurrence with the militia officers, resolved to take post on an elevated spot near the Commons, where they could not be surrounded or outflanked; and there they waited for the enemy, who began a smart fire on them, but without effect, as the elevation was too great. Our troops, having returned the fire, killed and wounded a considerable number of them, on which they fled in great dismay, and were charged by the captain and his sixteen yeomen, who cut down many of those whose heads were ornamented with the helmets of the Ancient Britons, or the hats of the Cork regiment."

A disorderly flight succeeded—the rebels totally disbanding, and throwing away their own ruder weapon, the pike, with the fire-arms and sabres they had captured in the morning, and held in but brief possession.

On re-entering Clane, Captain Griffiths was privately informed by a soldier named Philip Mite,* that his own treacherous lieutenant had actually commanded at the rebel surprise of Prosperous. Having been

* The detestation of the lower Irish to an informer is proverbial; and no matter how black the crime, those who assist in bringing the offender to justice are held up

ordered to march to Naas, at the moment when the troop were mounting, Esmond, in full accoutrements, joined it. The rash confidence that his treason was unsuspected, proved ruinous to the unhappy man. He was arrested, forwarded to Dublin, tried, convicted, and hanged on Carlisle bridge, on the 14th of June.

The insurrectionary occurrences at Ballymore Eustace and Dunlavin, simultaneously with those we have described, offer fearful pictures of the atrocious spirit with which a civil war is carried through. To the former town, a strong detachment of dragoons and militia, under the command of Captian Beevor, had proceeded to enforce a surrender of arms. An immense quantity were consequently given up—and under a belief that the peasantry had renounced their rebellious intentions, Captain Beevor, who was living at free quarters, determined to relieve the peasantry from the burden of supporting the troops,—and, retaining only forty men, sent off the remainder of his garrison. This act was more creditable to his humanity than his prudence.

On the night of the general insurrection, he was roused at midnight by an outcry, and two men instantly sprang into his bed-room, one discharging a pistol without effect. Him the Captain shot. While reaching for a second pistol, the other assassin closed to prevent it. A struggle ensued, and the captain had well nigh been forced out of the room to the staircase, where several pikemen were waiting to despatch him.

In this perilous situation, by a desperate effort of strength, Captain Beevor overpowered the ruffian, and dragged him back into the bed-chamber. There, a cowardly or treacherous yeoman was standing with a drawn sword, an idle looker-on, and never attempted to assist his officer. Lieutenant Patrickson, however, rushed into the apartment, and ran the rebel through. Thirty dragoons had, in the meantime, got together and joined their captain—the other poor fellows being cut off, and killed or wounded in the attempt. Although the rebels fired several houses, and, under cover of the smoke, persevered for two hours in their attack upon the barrack, they were eventually repulsed by the small and gallant band, and driven from the town after sustaining a heavy loss.*

to execration for life. The following anecdote will shew how the people cherished their feeling on the subject:—

"Nine years after (in 1807), I marched into Naas, and while sitting at the window of the Hotel, I heard this conversation—several men and women were on the spot, when one came hastily up and announced that 'Phil. Mite's mother had just been drowned in the Liffey'—there was an immediate rejoinder of 'The devil's cure to him! what better could he expect after hanging the fine gentleman?'—here one of the party caught a glimpse of my uniform, and they made off."—*MS. Journ. of a Field Officer.*

* "Next morning they took a rebel prisoner, who gave the following information, as to their number and their mode of attack:—The soldiers were quartered in eight different houses, each of which was to be attacked at the same moment by the signal of a gun fired in the churchyard. The number of the assailants were 800. They lost three captains, and near 100 men. Captain Beevor's servant was shot in his bed. He, Lieutenant Patrickson, Cornet Maxwell, and all the privates of the dragoons and the militia, displayed singular spirit and intrepidity against so great a superiority of numbers."—*Musgrave's Memoirs.*

The insurrection in the vicinity of Dunlavin produced a sad and terrible example of the extent to which stern necessity will urge men's actions, when civil relations are overturned, and the only alternative is the sword. When the rising took place in the neighbourhood of Dunlavin, the Wicklow light company and a cavalry troop of yeomanry garrisoned the place. The rebels were advancing in force, and the royalists marched boldly out to meet them. Numbers prevailed—and after losing a few men, the little garrison fell back and re-occupied the town. A double danger was impending. Without, the rebels, in twenty-fold numbers were threatening an instant attack; within, the disaffected prisoners in custody, in gross amount exceeded the garrison. Now, mark the horrors attendant upon civil war—and thus Musgrave narrates the transaction:—

"The officers, having conferred for some time, were of opinion, that some of the yeomen who had been disarmed, and were at that time in prison for being notorious traitors, should be shot. Nineteen therefore of the Saunders-grove corps, and nine of the Narromore, were immediately led out and suffered death.

"It may be said, in excuse for this act of severe and summary justice, that they would have joined the numerous bodies of rebels who were moving round, and at that time threatened the town. At the same time they discharged the greater part of the prisoners, in consideration of their former good characters."

Gracious God! what a picture of the times! Eight-and-twenty men led out of prison, "unannealed and unforgiven," and coolly shot to death by those whom they had once known in social intercourse! A horrible alternative!—and yet who will deny that martial law and existing circumstances might not possibly have justified the act? Although but one plea—a doubtful one, I think, can be offered to extenuate it. The man who differs from another politically—no matter how wild and how false his opinions may be—may claim a charitable construction; no matter how imprudent, he may be honest: but he who bands himself with men professing principles opposite to his own—swears fealty to a cause he secretly opposes—avows publicly to support, what in private he is bent on overturning—the first may be an enthusiast or fool—the latter, of necessity a villain without the pale of pity. Circumstances might have required, and martial law justified the act—but who can now contemplate the instant execution of eight-and-twenty fellow-men, and not shudder at the horrors of civil war?

CHAPTER VI.

CRUELTIES COMMITTED ON BOTH SIDES—ATTACK ON MONASTEREVEN—MURDERS BY THE REBELS, AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES—AFFAIR OF OLD KILCULLEN—SUBSEQUENT DISPERSION OF THE REBELS NEAR NAAS.

The terrible occurrence at Dunlavin, where so many unhappy men were hurried from existence, was probably the most savage of the barbarous necessities forced upon the royalists, during the brief continuation of the insurrection. The character of the transaction appears additionally revolting, because it was the result of deliberation; and, although heated by a recent conflict, still common humanity might have suggested some alternative less horrible, than the wholesale execution of unresisting men.

Uncompromising severity does not always produce the intended effect. On some, example may strike terror—in others it will excite undying hatred, and foster the worst spirit of the human heart—a thirst for vengeance. Of this truth, a retrospect of the events of these calamitous days gives evidence enough; and it is difficult now to determine to which side the excess of cruelty should be awarded. Assassination on one side, was met upon the other with military executions; the royalist extenuating the act under a plea of necessity, while the rebel proclaimed that his murders were committed only from revenge.

When admitting that a similar savageness of purpose might in many cases be charged against both sides, there, all comparison must cease. No matter what the acts might be, the causes which produced them were totally dissimilar. The royalist took arms for the protection of home and altar, which the fanaticism of Popery, or the accursed doctrines of the French revolutionists, were alike bent upon overturning. Allegiance to his king, and the maintenance of social order and an established government, urged the former to come forward; thousands perilled life and property from the purest motives—and, when the insurrection was suppressed, sheathed the sword, drawn in the support of a matchless constitution, unstained by any act save those which resistance to rebellion had imperatively demanded. Those who have led a soldier's life, and seen service in the field, know that men become the creatures of circumstances. Let the gentlest spirit—and such are frequently united to the boldest heart—one that would not tread upon a worm or harm a sparrow—let him crown a defended breach, and he will use the bayonet unscrupulously. The feelings are influenced by the times; and if the royalist were sanguinary and unsparing, he could point to the atrocities of the insurgents, and bring forward established facts, so truculent and unwarranted, as to place those who could commit them almost without the pale of mercy.

Making every allowance for the political colouring given to his history of these times by Musgrave, and recollecting that he felt and

wrote as a partisan, Sir Richard Musgrave narrates two well-authenticated instances of unprovoked cruelty among the many that marked the rebel outbreak in Kildare, which will sufficiently exhibit to the reader the ferocious spirit of the insurgents from the moment they flew to arms:—

"The following horrid circumstances," says the historian, "attended the murder of George Crawford and his grandchild, a girl only fourteen years of age. He had formerly served in the 5th Dragoons, retired on a pension, and was a permanent serjeant in Captain Taylor's corps of yeomen cavalry. He, his wife, and granddaughter, were stopped by a party of the rebels, as they were endeavouring to escape, and were reproached with the appellation of heretics, because they were of the Protestant religion. One of them struck his wife with a musket, and another gave her a stab of a pike in the back, with an intent of murdering her. Her husband, having endeavoured to save her, was knocked down, and received several blows of a firelock, which disabled him from making his escape. While they were disputing whether they should kill them, his wife stole behind a hedge, and concealed herself. They then massacred her husband with pikes; and her granddaughter, having thrown herself on his body to protect him, received so many wounds that she instantly expired. These circumstances of atrocity have been verified by affidavit, sworn by Crawford's widow, the 20th day of August, 1798. The fidelity of a large dog, belonging to this poor man, deserves to be recorded—as he attacked these sanguinary monsters, and fought most bravely in defence of his master, till he fell by his side, perforated with pikes."

The second murder occurred on the same night. About eleven o'clock, the Limerick mail was stopped by a numerous banditti—and a gentleman was slaughtered under circumstances which elicited a lively sympathy. The sufferer was Lieutenant William Giffard, of the 82nd regiment, son to Captain John Giffard of the Dublin regiment. "The savages having shot one of the horses so as effectually to prevent the coach from proceeding, demanded of Lieutenant Giffard who and what he was: to which he answered, without hesitation, that he was an officer, proceeding to Chatham, in obedience to orders he had received. They demanded whether he was a Protestant; and being answered in the affirmative, they held a moment's consultation, and then told him that they wanted officers, that if he would take an oath to be true to them, and join them in an attack to be made next morning upon Monastereven, they would give him a command, but that otherwise he must die. To this the gallant youth replied, 'That he had already sworn allegiance to the king, that he would never offend God Almighty by a breach of that oath, nor would he disgrace himself by turning a deserter and joining the king's enemies; that he could not suppose a body of men would be so cruel, as to murder an individual who had never injured them, and who was merely passing through them to a country from whence, possibly, he never might return; but if they insisted on their proposal, he must die, for he never would consent to it.' This heroic answer, which would have kindled sentiments of humanity in any breasts but



Murder of George Crawford and his grandaughter



those of Irish rebels, had the contrary effect, and with the utmost fury they assaulted him. He had a case of pistols, which natural courage and love of life, though hopeless, prompted him to use with effect; and being uncommonly active, he burst from them, vaulted over a six-feet wall, and made towards a house where he saw a light, and heard people talking. Alas! it afforded no refuge! it was the house of poor Crawford, whom, with his granddaughter, they had just piked. A band of barbarians, returning from this exploit, met Lieutenant Giffard—there he fell, covered with wounds and with glory; and his mangled body was thrown into the same ditch with honest Crawford and his innocent grandchild.* Thus expired, at the age of seventeen, a gallant youth—the martyr to religion and honour—leaving a memory behind that will ever be respected by the virtuous and the brave."

A course of cowardly assassination thus commenced, was continued by the insurgents in their progress to attack Monastereven. Their numbers had increased to ten or twelve hundred men, and they were commanded by a ruffian called McGarry. Such Protestants, as they unfortunately met with, were put to death—and a solitary dragoon, seized as he crossed the Curragh, and inhumanly murdered. About four in the morning they approached the town, and made their preparations for attacking it.

On the 24th of May there was not a regular soldier in Monastereven; and an infantry company, with a troop of horse, both yeomanry, formed the little garrison. After a feint by the canal, and a movement by the high road, which was repulsed by a charge of cavalry, they pushed boldly into the town, and a warm conflict took place in the main street. The well-sustained musketry of the infantry threw the head of the rebel column into confusion—when the cavalry charged home, and the rout was complete. Fifty bodies were found lifeless in the town; and as the horsemen followed the flying rebels vigorously, as many more were cut up in the pursuit. The repulse of this attack was most honourable to the defenders of Monastereven—the gallant action was achieved by loyalists alone—and of the brave men who fought and bled that day fourteen of the troop were Roman Catholics.

The outbreak of the 23rd of May was attended with many acts of cruelty inflicted upon isolated families, who, either from mistaken confidence, or inability to reach a place of safety, exposed themselves to the fury of savages, whose natural truculence was often inflamed to madness by intoxication. Many individuals of great worth and respectability perished thus. Mr. Stamers, the chief proprietor of the town of Prosperous, was torn from the house of a lady where he had obtained a temporary shelter, and murdered in cold blood. Rathangan was, indeed, a scene of extensive butchery.—Mr. Spenser† and Mr. Moore were slaughtered there, although they had surrendered their

* When Sir James Duff's moveable column entered Kildare, it passed close to the scene of slaughter, and poor young Giffard's body was removed from the ditch, and interred with military honours.

† "Thus this worthy gentleman, who was an active and intelligent magistrate, and as remarkable for the amiableness and affability of his manners as the benevolence of

arms on the assurance of being protected; they were murdered in the open street—and their wives, one of whom had been confined only a day or two before, had the horrible assurance that, with the shots they heard, the existence of their beloved partners had terminated. A number of other victims were immolated by these blood-thirsty savages—and, until relieved by Colonel Longfield, on the morning of the 28th, Rathangan was a constant scene of atrocity, in which even woman forgot her sex, and barbarously participated.*

The murders at Rathangan, while they exasperated the royalists to acts of desperate retaliation, operated against the perpetrators in another and an unexpected way. The few Protestants in Leinster, and the South,

his heart, fell a sacrifice to the fanaticism of those savages to whom he had been unremittingly a kind and generous benefactor.

"As his house was a short distance from the town, Mrs. Spenser, who was led to it in the midst of these monsters, had the anguish to see the mangled corpse of her husband lying at his door."—*Musgrave.*

In alluding to the barbarities perpetrated at Rathangan, my gallant friend, Colonel ———, who, some years after the suppression of the rebellion, was employed professionally in this part of the country, gives the following interesting anecdote connected with the murder of Mr. Spenser:—

"On the preceding day I halted in Rathangan, and was shewn, in the churchyard, the tomb of Mr. Spenser, who was so brutally murdered at his own hall-door. I could not help remarking, that there was no allusion on the tomb to the mode of his death, and was informed that it arose from the fear of giving offence!!

"One of the principal actors in that tragedy was a ruffian named Doorley. Three years after the rebellion he was in the jail of Longford—and as it was part of the duty of the captain of the day to visit the prison, it afforded me and other officers an opportunity of conversing with him, which he seemed rather to like, and a more reckless ruffian can hardly be imagined. He was a gaunt, spare, squalid-looking creature, evidently formed for great activity, but worn down by long and various efforts to escape the law. In fact, he had been hunted down like a wolf; and acknowledged to seven murders, not that he called them by that name. In fact, he seemed to make a merit of putting an end to what he termed an Orangeman, real or fancied. He was hanged soon after I last visited him."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

* The barbarous treatment of Michael Shenstone, a Protestant, deserves to be circumstantially related. He was led into the street with the other unfortunate Protestants, and received eighteen stabs of pikes. "A woman of the name of Farrel, who was infamously active in this sanguinary business, informed them that they did not know how to kill Orangemen, on which a ruffian stepped forward, and trampled on the dead and dying. He then put a pistol close to Shenstone's head, and the ball entering near the ear, came out under the eye, having fractured the cheek-bone in a most shocking manner. In some hours after, he was put into a cart with the bodies of seventeen Protestants who had been murdered, and was conveyed to the churchyard to be interred; but some alarm preventing it, he remained among the dead that night. Next morning, at the intercession of some of the rebels, his body was delivered to his wife, by whose care, and with proper medical assistance, he recovered, and regained the use of his limbs. These facts were related to me by a gentleman who saw Shenstone soon after; and they have been verified by his affidavit, sworn before Oliver Nelson, a magistrate, and by Mr. Bayly, curate of Rathangan, and by Mr. Pym, his landlord."

I have appended this extract from Musgrave, not so much from the singular deliverance from death which it records, but to affirm that, in the wildest hours of excitement and excess, woman rarely forgot her gentlest attributes, gentleness and pity for the wretched. Many a royalist has been succoured in his hour of danger by some fair Romanist—and females have sheltered the hunted rebel, and in the very house of him, who, at the moment, was bent on the destruction of the denounced one.

who had mixed themselves with the conspiracy, suddenly became alarmed—for the war had now assumed a religious, rather than a revolutionary complexion. Suspicion once aroused, finds abundant causes to confirm it—and while some Protestants quietly seceded from their fellow-traitors, not a few sought favour with the Government by a secret betrayal of their guilty companions.*

In the course of this history nothing will be more apparent, than the incompetency, military and diplomatic, of many of the functionaries to whom extensive powers were confided. One while, unnecessary severity was employed—and at another, mistaken lenity marred every advantage which stringent measures might have effected. In military conduct, the royalist commanders were too often found deficient—and, almost in every instance, either to imprudence or imbecility, the insurgents were alone indebted for moments of doubtful and evanescent success. The affair at Old Kilcullen, was about one of the worst military offences committed by an incompetent commander. Yeomanry officers always behaved with boldness, and frequently displayed both tact and talent when left to their own resources while many from whose high military rank and standing something like ability might have been looked for, proved the truism of the adage, "that as the cowl does not make the monk," neither does an aiguilette constitute a general.

Learning that some three hundred well-appointed rebels had assembled at Old Kilcullen, and that they had entrenched themselves in the church-yard, General Dundas proceeded to dislodge them. His force consisted only of forty dragoons, and some twenty Suffolk militiamen. The rebel position was on a height—one side protected by a high wall—the other secured by a double fence—a hedge with a dike in front.

Would it be credited, that an English general could be mad enough to assail three hundred men thus posted, with forty dragoons? Musgrave thus narrates the transaction, and his account has been considered by those engaged to be perfectly correct:—

"General Dundas ordered the Romneys and the 9th dragoons to charge the rebels, though it was up-hill, though the ground was broken, and many of the rebels were in a road close to the church-yard, in which not more than six of the cavalry could advance in front.

"They however charged with great spirit, though their destruction was considered by all the spectators to be the certain and inevitable

* "I shall mention here an incident which throws light on the spirit of the conspiracy and rebellion, and the secret designs of the great body of the rebels.—One Dennis, an apothecary and a Protestant, was the county delegate, and the chief conductor of the plot in the King's county, which was to have exploded in a few days; but the wanton massacre of Protestants at Prosperous and Rathangan having convinced him that their extirpation was the main object of the Romanists, though they had, with singular dissimulation, concealed it from him who was their leader, he repaired to Tullamore to General Dunn, who commanded that district, threw himself on the mercy of Government, exposed the whole plot, and betrayed the names of the captains, who were immediately arrested. He said to the General, 'I see, Sir, that it will soon be my own fate.'"—*Musgrave.*

consequence of it; for what could cavalry do, thus broken and divided, against a firm phalanx of rebels, armed with long pikes? Nevertheless, they made three charges, but were repulsed in each; and at every repulse the general urged them to renew the attack.

"It was with the utmost difficulty that Captain Cooks and Captain Erskine could prevail upon their men to renew the charge, after the first defeat. In the last charge, Captain Cooks, to inspire his men with courage by his example, advanced some yards before them; when his horse having received many wounds, fell upon his knees; and while in that situation, the body of that brave officer was perforated with pikes; and he, Captain Erskine, and twenty-two privates, were killed on the spot, and ten so badly wounded, that most of them died soon after."

Shamefully discomfited, Dundas fell back on the village of Kilcullen bridge, and occupied a pass in every respect defensible. So thought the successful peasants who had garrisoned the church-yard, and deforced an English general. They prudently declined any attempt to force the bridge—forded the Liffey at Castlemartin—and took up a position between Naas and Kilcullen; thus cutting off General Dundas's communication with the capital.

Nothing remained for the royalist commander but to drive them from these grounds, and open his road to Naas. He advanced accordingly, found them in line three deep, and with his cavalry in hand, boldly attacked the position with half a company of the gallant Suffolks. Small as the party was, three rounds broke the rebels. The cavalry charged—and the same body, which had so recently inflicted a severe repulse, were scattered like a flock of sheep, leaving the ground covered with their dead and wounded.

After a brief but bloody pursuit, Dundas marched on Naas, to concentrate his troops and assist in covering the capital.



Stoppage of the Mail and Murder of Lieut. Giffard.



CHAPTER VII.

ATTACK ON NAAS—ANECDOTES OF THE ACTION—INSURRECTION IN KILDARE—REBELS DEFEATED AT CARLOW—AMNESTY TO THE INSURGENTS—DUFF'S AFFAIR ON THE CURRAGH—STATE OF THE CAPITAL—PARTIAL DISAFFECTION IN THE YEOMANRY—ROMAN CATHOLIC DECLARATION—BATTLE OF TARA—A REBEL HEROINE.

"If one can imagine such a thing as a tableau, or bird's-eye view of the rebellion from the 23rd to the 30th of May, the appearance it would present would be this. Seven or eight comparatively minor explosions, lighting up the atmosphere for a short space and then going gradually out, viz. one in Meath (Tara), one in Wicklow (Mount Kennedy), a good blaze in Carlow, and four or five in Kildare, which its being Lord Edward's own county accounts for—these were Naas, Prosperous, Kilcullen, and Rathangan. The eye should then be drawn to the mighty and absorbing eruption of Wexford—and taking Vinegar Hill as its crater, it would observe two streams of lava pouring forth, one due west, to Ross—one due north, towards Wicklow—and a third, of somewhat less importance, north-west to Newtown Barry. I rather think the first shot was fired by my regiment at Naas, as Mick Reynolds, who led the rebels, was one of the promptest of the insurgent leaders."*

The garrison of the latter town consisted of one hundred and fifty of the Armagh militia, with two battalion guns, and seventy-five cavalry, comprising small detachments of the Fourth Dragoons, Ancient Britons, and sixteen mounted yeomen. The whole were under the command of Colonel Lord Gosford.

On the evening of the general insurrection (the 23rd of May), anonymous letters were received by the commanding officer, apprizing him that a night attack would be made upon the town by a numerous body of well-armed rebels, and necessary dispositions of the garrison were made to receive the threatened assault. The guards were doubled, the outskirts of the town carefully patrolled, and a plan of defence pre-arranged, to prevent any confusion when the hour for action came.

Midnight passed without any thing occurring to cause alarm, and as morning dawned, it was believed that the information received the preceding evening had been incorrect, and the officers retired to their quarters. At half-past two, however, an outlying dragoon galloped in, announcing the advance of a numerous body of rebels; the drums beat to arms, and the garrison occupied their alarm posts.

The rebels, who had assembled at the quarries of Tipper, advanced on the town in four divisions, each entering by a different approach;

* MS. Journal of a Field Officer.

and the heaviest column moving by the Johnstown road. The latter was commanded by Michael Reynolds, and it made a bold effort to carry the jail, in front of which a party of the Armagh militia, the Ancient Britons, and a battalion gun were posted. But the attack was completely repulsed, and the rebel loss would have been more considerable, had not the cavalry, irritated by the fall of their officer* who had been piked, charged too prematurely, and interrupted the play of the gun.† For forty minutes, however, desultory firing continued.

"Large parties of the rebels, who stole unnoticed into the town, through the houses and narrow lanes, fought some time in the streets, and stood three volleys from a party of the Armagh militia, posted opposite to the barrack, before they gave way; at last they fled precipitately in every direction, when the cavalry charged, and killed a great number of them in the pursuit. Thirty of the rebels were killed in the streets; and, from the numbers found dead in back houses and in the adjacent fields, a few days after, it is imagined that no less than three hundred must have fallen.

"They dropped in their flight a great quantity of pikes, and other arms, of which a number were found in pits near the town, where also three men with green cockades were seized, and instantly hanged in the public streets. Another prisoner was spared in consequence of useful information which he gave. He informed the commanding officer that the rebel party was above one thousand strong, and was commanded by Michael Reynolds, who was well mounted, and dressed in yeoman uniform. He made his escape, but his horse fell into the hands of our troops."‡

"Lord Gosford had a very narrow escape. His lodging was situated on the summit of the hill, which the Dublin road ascends. The sentinel at his door, having his attention attracted by the entrance of the rebel columns at the foot of the hill, was so far off his guard as to allow two pikemen, belonging to the town, to slip into the hall, where they were ready to receive his lordship with their pikes as he hurried from his chamber on the alarm. And they were very near succeeding —but the sentinel turning about at the critical moment, shot one, and bayoneted the other, just as his lordship was rushing down the stairs. The sentinel's name was John Sandford; he was afterwards made a serjeant, and his son a drummer. He died about four or five and twenty years afterwards, in the humble station of a Dublin watchman, which I obtained for him and several others on the final reduction of the regiment."

"A very singular exhibition of desperate sternness took place in

* Captain Davis.—He died of his wounds the following day.

† The execution of the gun was so trifling compared to what it should have produced upon a body in close column, and at canister range, that it was ascribed rather to treachery than want of skill.

"One of the rebels concerned in the attack, who obtained the royal mercy by surrendering himself under the proclamation, informed me that one of the gunners, who directed the cannon at the gaol, having been seduced by the rebels, elevated it so much as not to injure the assailants."—*Musgrave.*

‡ Musgrave.

Naas on this occasion. About the centre of the town lived a widow gentlewoman in somewhat independent circumstances. She had a son of three or four and twenty years old, who was a rebel, and headed a party who made their way into the main street, where he was shot, and lay almost opposite his mother's house. A maid-servant recognized the body in the morning, and running back into the house announced that 'Master John lay dead in the street.' The mother came out, and in the presence of some of our officers turned over the corpse, coolly observing to the woman, 'How dare you say my son is lying here? my son went to America two months ago!' and then returned to the house.

"Within a mile of Naas on the Limerick road stands the unfinished mansion of Jigginstown, the work of the unfortunate Lord Strafford. Intended for a viceregal residence, it owes its permanency to the fact, that it was found cheaper to quarry stones or burn brick for building, than attempt to separate those bricks of which it is built, and which had been imported from Holland. The vaults beneath this pile are extensive—and the exquisite hardness of the plaster has kept it wonderfully perfect to the present hour. Into these vaults a number of wounded wretches made their way, when the rebels were driven out of the town, and there they died. Several years after, the mouldering remains of many were found in the remotest corners."*

The entire of the county of Kildare was now in open insurrection, and not less than six rebel encampments were formed, and multitudes of the peasantry flocked to them. The houses were almost entirely deserted. Of the Protestant clergy not a man remained; and, indeed, the ferocity of party feeling had attained an intensity of violence which now can scarcely be imagined or believed. An infernal spirit actuated the opposite religionists. On one side, Catholics were too generally regarded with hatred and distrust; on the other, Protestant and Orangeman were held synonymous—and to all who dissented from the Church of Rome the most abominable feelings and intentions were attributed.

Individual occurrences point generally the state of public feeling pretty accurately; and the eventful history of the life of a private gentleman of Kildare, during three brief months, will present a graphic but faithful picture of these deplorable times. The occurrences have been duly authenticated; and in whatever instances besides Musgrave may have been led astray, in the following narrative his statements are correct:—

"An attempt was made on the life of Mr. Darragh, of Eagle-hill, in the county of Kildare, an active magistrate, who was so obnoxious to the rebels on account of his zealous loyalty, that many plots were formed against his life; and in order to provoke the vengeance of the disaffected, a report was circulated that he had taken an oath not to desist in his exertions, till he had waded up to his ankles in the blood of Roman Catholics. This report was propagated while he was absent in England. At his return he publicly made an affidavit, that he had

* MS. Journal, &c. &c.

never harboured such a sentiment. But this would not do—and he was condemned to die by a committee of assassination that sat in the neighbourhood.

"When walking in his lawn, in the month of March, a man in the guise of a suppliant presented him a paper, under the pretext of seeking for justice; and when he was engaged in perusing it, drew a pistol, and fired at him, the ball entering his groin; and while in that disabled state, and writhing with pain, the wretch drew another pistol, and discharged it into his back, with the muzzle so close that both the ball and the wadding entered his body, and have never since been extracted."

In this miserable condition the unhappy gentleman lay when the insurrection broke out. A friend, who commanded a troop of yeomanry cavalry, visited Eagle-hill on the 23rd of May, and offered to escort the wounded man to some place of security, but he was in too excruciating pain to bear removal, and reluctantly he was left at his own house, isolated from all assistance, there to abide the fury of the insurgents. He had two chances of escape. The sufferings which he had already undergone might satisfy the malignant spirit of a demon; and, from the insecurity of the times, he had fortified and garrisoned his house. To the former—compassion—he would have trusted, as it turned out, in vain; and to the precaution of rendering his house defensible, he owed his escape from being slaughtered.

Early on the 24th a numerous body of insurgents, from their camp at Knockawlin, proceeded to attack the house of this devoted gentleman. Mr. Darragh's brother-in-law and surgeon, with six other individuals, formed the little garrison. With savage yells, the rebels approached the house and commenced a furious attack, which was as desperately repelled by those within. The lawn windows had been securely barricaded, and they resisted every effort to break them in; while the galling fire of the defenders ultimately repulsed their assailants, after killing and wounding a great number.

"The rebels carried off all the killed, except one ruffian, who fell when endeavouring to break open a window near the hall. He had in his pocket Captain Swayne's protection, in consequence of having taken the oath of allegiance and surrendering a pike a few days before; and, also, the following prayer:—

"My God, I offer unto thee my sleep, submitting it with a pure intention to thy holy will; and that I may recover new vigour to serve thee. I wish that every breath I am to take this night may be an act of praise and love of the Divine Majesty, like the happy breathings of the saints and angels, who never sleep; and so I compose myself to sleep in the arms of my Saviour."

This wretch lived about a mile and a half from Eagle-hill, and had a short time before been brought through a malignant fever, and his life saved, by the benevolent assistance of Mrs. Darragh, who supplied him with medicines, wine, and other necessaries and comforts."*

What a horrible picture! It shews to what foul purposes the name of religion may be distorted, when he who contemplated murder would dare to address a God of Mercy, and offer up his accursed homage!

* Musgrave's Memoir.

In the mean time the insurgents turned their intentions to Carlow. The attack upon the town was delayed a day later than those we have been generally describing, as the stoppage of the mail-coach could not be there ascertained until the 24th. Before day break, however, on the 25th, a large body of rebels assembled, under the command of a leader named Roach, in the demesne of Sir Edward Crosbie, scarcely two miles distance from the town.

The garrison, commanded by Colonel Mahon, of the 9th Dragoons, mustered about five hundred men of all arms. It comprised two troops of the 9th, Sir Charles Burton's yeomanry cavalry, the light company of the North Cork, a detachment of the Louth Militia, and some fifty volunteers. The rebel force, in round numbers, might be set down at twelve or fifteen hundred men.*

The troops were skilfully disposed to receive the attack of the rebel column, which was made without order or combination. Before they entered the town, they had been joined by numbers of its disaffected inhabitants; and from their report touching the unsuspecting attitude of the garrison, they counted upon taking it by surprise. The result proved, that in this they were fatally mistaken.†

* An error into which Sir Richard Musgrave frequently falls, is an over-estimate of rebel numbers, as well as an exaggerated return of their losses. Doubtless his statements were framed from reports of individuals engaged in the different affairs; but, generally, they were not military men; and a practised eye alone can form a correct idea of the number of men moving in masses, or drawn out in lines.

† "One of the *completest* things during the rebellion, was the defeat of the rebels at Carlow, in which a company of my regiment had a share. There was full information of the intended attack, but 'not a drum was heard.' The soldiers—who were chiefly in billets—were allowed to repair to their quarters as usual, and remain there until it was ascertained that the town rebels had quitted it to join their fellows and arm themselves, which they did about two miles from the town. A number of serjeants then went round, and the men were brought to their posts without the least alarm. The rebel column entered Carlow, by Tullow-street, unopposed—the street terminating in a place, or open space, where stood the horse-barracks and jail. Arrived here, they raised a loud shout, or yell, and it was fearfully responded to by a destructive fire, which opened upon them from different points. Seized with a panic at this unexpected reception, they endeavoured to escape in various directions. The greater part retraced their steps through Tullow-street, but a picket had by this time occupied the further end of it, and opened a withering fire. They now sought refuge in the houses: these the soldiers set fire to; a number were shot in attempting to escape the flames; but a great many of the unfortunate wretches perished in them. A gate belonging to the Roman Catholic seminary was thrown open, and afforded egress to the greater number of those who escaped. Adjoining the jail there was (and I believe still *is*) a narrow passage, about sixty yards in length, and scarcely three feet wide; and at the end of this two sentinels were posted—one a private of the 9th Dragoons, the other an Armagh man, named James Daly. Many of the rebels attempted this passage; while Daly fired twenty-four rounds, and *twenty-three rebels were found killed or wounded.* In fact, there was no chance of missing them. Daly was of course promoted, and there is some interest about the latter part of his history. No man could be more respected by his officers, and he felt it. He had five brothers in the regiment, and the youngest, a fine boy, had been given into James's special care by their mother. The lad thought fit to volunteer into the 74th—and James had a feeling of duty which told him to accompany his young brother, and he did so. He served through the Peninsular war as serjeant—and returning with an excellent character, a pension, and a wooden leg, died near my residence a very few years back."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

Had not the utter worthlessness of an armed mob been tested a thousand times, Carlow might be adduced to prove it. They had expected to surprise the garrison, and yet they shot a man, who refused to accompany them, at the very entrance of the town. With the main body of the garrison they never came in contact. The fire of the sentries, and an occasional fusilade from the windows of the loyalists, checked their advance; and the very report that two guns were laid upon the Graigue-bridge, where they were to have united with the Queen's County insurgents, deterred them from making the attempt.

The *finale* of the rebel attempt on Carlow, presents a terrible picture of what too frequently occurs, when the amenities of civilized warfare are forbidden, and *væ victis* is pronounced. After describing their stupid advance and total discomfiture, Gordon thus proceeds:—

"Finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, where they found a miserable exit, these being immediately fired by the soldiery. About eighty houses were consumed in this conflagration; and for some days, the roasted remains of unhappy men were falling down the chimneys in which they had perished. As about half this column of assailants had arrived within the town, and few escaped from that situation, their loss can hardly be estimated at less than four hundred; while not a man was even wounded on the side of the loyalists."

This estimate is, I am inclined to think, short of the actual amount considerably. They were panic-stricken when too late to fly, and hence the slaughter was excessive. Paralyzed by the fire of sentries, and that maintained by loyalists dispersedly from the houses, "they cried out," says Musgrave, "that they were surrounded by the soldiers, threw down their arms, and, in the greatest consternation, endeavoured to retreat by the road through which they had at first advanced; but, fearing to meet the army in that direction, numbers of them retired into the houses in Tullow-street, which it is believed were inhabited by their associates; for when the soldiers set fire to them, to make the rebels bolt, there was not a woman or child in any of them. Some rushed out through the flames, and were shot or bayoneted; others remained in the houses till they were consumed. The other rebels who had taken different routes, were shot by the loyal inhabitants from their windows; while such of them as escaped, were pursued and killed by the soldiers and yeomanry; so that the streets, the roads, and fields contiguous to the town, were strewed with carcasses. That evening, and all next day, nineteen carts were constantly employed in conveying the dead bodies to the other side of Graigue-bridge, where four hundred and seventeen bodies were buried in three gravel-pits, and covered with quick lime. On the whole, it was believed, that no less than six hundred of the unfortunate wretches perished, including those who were consumed in the houses, and those who fell in the roads and fields, and were secretly interred by their friends."

It is to be lamented that a bloodless victory, and an enormous loss of life already inflicted on the delinquents, should not have been con-

sidered, more than sufficient to meet the ends of justice, but unhappily it was not.

"After the defeat, executions commenced, as elsewhere in this calamitous period, and about *two hundred* in a short time were hanged or shot, according to martial law. Among the earliest victims were Sir Edward Crosbie, and one Heydon, a yeoman of Sir Charles Burton's troop. The latter is believed to have been the leader of the rebel column, to have conducted the assailants into the town, and on their ill success, to have abandoned them. He had certainly in that crisis taken his place as a yeoman, and joined in the slaughter of the assailants. Sir Edward, at whose house the rebel column had assembled, but who certainly had not accompanied them in their march, was condemned and shot as a United Irishman. I can say nothing from my own knowledge of this unfortunate baronet, with whom I had never any acquaintance; but his friends affirm, and I sincerely believe with truth, that he fell a sacrifice to the confusion which necessarily attends a trial by military law, in the rage of a rebellion; and that his innocence would be manifest, were certain circumstances made public, which they choose to withhold for a time, through respect to an administration, then dangerously situated. Very probably the whole of his guilt consisted in his having given way to a tide of theoretic politics, which many speculative men had not sufficient clearness of judgment to correct, or duplicity to conceal, though they might utterly abhor the consequences of an attempt to reduce these theories to practice by force of arms.*"

It will be here necessary to mention that in Kildare, within a few days after the outbreak, an amnesty for the past was solicited by many of the rebels, and, with the consent of Government, the generals commanding in that county entered into negotiations with their chiefs.

* Gordon's History.

The letter appended was addressed to the author, and he thinks it a duty to give it *verbatim*. His conviction is, that however imprudent Sir Edward might have been in expression, he was guiltless of any overt act of rebellion, and was therefore unjustly and unnecessarily sacrificed:—

"I have read the first and second numbers of your 'History of the Rebellion in Ireland in 1798.' In your 'brief notices of the leaders of the United Irishmen' you mention the name of Sir Edward Crosbie, as a 'gentleman of high family and fortune, who appears to have allowed himself to be involved unaccountably in this sanguinary insurrection;' and you proceed to state that, 'from character and disposition, he was unsuited to become an actor in scenes of turbulence and bloodshed.' I have in my possession most numerous proofs, that my father, Sir Edward Crosbie, Bart., was totally unconnected with the rebellion. I have no doubt that, as an historian, you are anxious to state the truth: I will, therefore, forward to you, on the receipt of your reply, the affidavit of Arthur O'Connor—a document that must be conclusive. I beg, on your publishing this, that you will give my name as your authority—taking care to state that I *reserve* many other documents for the perusal of her Majesty's ministers. All that I ask is their impartial consideration. I have suffered long and deeply from this imputation on my family honour; and I know that I have a case which *nothing* can overthrow, if I obtain a hearing.

"I am, Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

"W. Crosbie, Bart.

"W. H. Maxwell, Esq." Capt. H.P. unattached."

How far this was a prudent measure is questionable. In the spirit of the proclamations issued—with arms in their hands, rebels should have been placed without the pale of treaty; while, at the same time, the most extensive forgiveness should have been extended to such as should disband themselves, and re-occupy their abandoned dwellings. In diplomatic, as well as in field abilities, the royal generals were defective, and the amnesty produced nothing but treachery and bloodshed. The former charge, rests with the insurgents; the latter, must be laid at the hands of the royalists.

Premising that, sickened with defeat, the rebels began to see the folly of the outbreak; and that from the camp at Knockawlin, a communication was made to General Dundas, through a gentleman called Kelly, that a change had come over the spirit of the insurgents, and that they were solicitous to turn the sword to the ploughshare, and abandon the wild projects, whose fallacy and impracticability had now become tolerably apparent. "The purport of this message was, that Perkins' men should surrender their arms, on condition of their being permitted to retire unmolested to their habitations, and of the liberation of their leader's brother from the jail of Naas. The general, having sent a messenger for advice to Dublin, and received permission, assented to the terms—and approaching the post of Knockawlin on the 31st, received the personal surrendry of Perkins and a few of his associates; the rest dispersing homeward in all directions with shouts of joy, and leaving thirteen cart-loads of pikes behind.

This disposition to surrender, which good policy should have encouraged, was blasted three days after by military ardour—which, when it eludes the salutary restraints of discipline, and is exerted against an unresisting object, ceases to be laudable. Major-General Sir James Duff, who had made a rapid march from Limerick with six hundred men, to open the communication of the metropolis with that quarter, received intelligence that a large body of men had assembled at a place called Gibbit-rath, on the Curragh, for the purpose of surrendry, to which they had been admitted by General Dundas. Unfortunately, as the troops advanced near the insurgents to receive their arms, one of the latter, foolishly swearing that he would not deliver his gun otherwise than empty, discharged it with the muzzle upwards. The soldiers instantly, pretending to consider this as an act of hostility, fired on the unresisting multitude, who fled with the utmost precipitation, and were pursued with slaughter by a company of fencible cavalry denominated Lord Jocelyn's fox-hunters. Above two hundred of the insurgents fell upon this occasion—and a far greater number would have shared their fate, if a retreat had not been sounded with all possible despatch, agreeably to the instructions of General Dundas, who had sent an express from his quarters at Kilcullen to prevent the accident. In the public prints, this body of insurgents is asserted to have assembled for the purpose of battle, and to have actually fired on the troops; but the truth ought to be related without respect of persons or party. The affair is well known to have been otherwise; and the rebels were

crowded in a place neither fit for defence nor escape—a wide plain without hedge, ditch, or bog—quite contrary to their constantly practised modes of warfare."

Such is the account given by Gordon—while according to Musgrave, the rebels provoked an attack which had not been intended. General Wilford had been deputed by General Dundas to receive their submission; but, unfortunately for the rebels, Sir James Duff appeared half an hour before him.

"The general, on his arrival, after having disposed his army in order of battle, sent a serjeant and twelve of the cavalry to the rebels, to desire they would quietly surrender their arms; but they wantonly and without provocation fired on the King's troops, of whom they killed one, and wounded three. Ample vengeance was soon obtained; for above three hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed, and several wounded by Lord Jocelyn's fencible cavalry, who fell in with them pell-mell; so that the artillery and infantry were unable to act without the risque of destroying their friends."

It is to be regretted that blood was unnecessarily shed, and that the rapid and soldier-like movement of General Duff did not terminate in an affair more creditable, than hunting down a scattered mob. To reach the Curragh from Limerick by forced marches in two days, bespoke ability in conception and vigour in its execution; and compared with the dreamy operations of the commanders of the day, looks liker a Peninsular march, than the creeping movements generally made by the generals of '98. The plan was good—the execution admirable—would that it had ended in a worthier exploit!

While the counties in the immediate vicinity of the capital were thus in open insurrection, in the city, the spirit and hopes of the disaffected were still buoyant as to the prospect of ultimate success; and although the failure on the 23rd had for a time paralyzed the traitors of the metropolis, they were disappointed but not despairing, and rebellion was

"Scotched not killed."

The committees continued their meetings, pikes were fabricated in large quantities, the sentries were assaulted on isolated posts, the doors of royalists were marked, domestic servants were corrupted;* and a more certain proof that a revolution was not only contemplated but expected, many of the Dublin tradesmen refused to receive bank-notes in payment from their customers.

A very serious cause of alarm also was the discovery, that into many of the yeomanry corps disaffected persons had been introduced, and, in some, the traitors outnumbered "the true men."

In Kildare, almost every corps was tainted—and the same remark

* "The lord mayor's servant acknowledged to his lordship, that he was at the head of a numerous body of servants, who were to have assassinated their masters; and that he and his party were to have murdered the lord mayor and his family, and two others of his servants, who had hesitated to join them; and that this atrocious deed was to have been the signal for the other servants in the vicinity to rise and commit similar enormities."—*Musgrave.*

applied to many in the metropolis. Of the country corps, the Sleamarigue laid down their arms, the Castledermot had but five well-affected men, the Athy cavalry were publicly disarmed in the market-place, and their captain, Fitzgerald, of Geraldine, committed to prison. The Rathangan, North Naas, and Furnace yeomanry were all extensively disaffected; and the Clane, nominally amounting to sixty-six, could only muster five-and-twenty, when the insurrection broke out.

Of the metropolitan corps many were exclusively loyal, but others were not without traitorous members. One instance will be sufficient to shew how extensive and dangerous was the disaffection.

On the 29th of May, the St. Sepulchre's corps, in turn of duty, took the guard at Dolphin's barn, an outpost on the south-west side of the metropolis. While on march to the bridge, a Roman Catholic yeoman, named Raymond, entered into conversation with his comrade, a notorious United Irishman, and communicated the secret plot. He told Jennings, "that in case of an attack, which was hourly expected, and which it was believed he had previously concerted with the rebels, the disaffected members of the corps were to massacre the officers and Protestants, and deliver up the bridge to the assailants. They were then to proceed to the battery in the park; inform the guard that they had been defeated; ask admittance; and on being let in, murder the guard; take possession of the battery and ammunition; and turn it to their own use.

"Jennings had been sworn a United Irishman, and was attached to their cause from republican principles; but being a Protestant, and having discovered from the massacres which had taken place, in the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, that the extirpation of his own order was intended, he informed Lieutenant Maturin of the plot; and he having communicated it to Government, Raymond was taken up, tried, convicted, and hanged on the Old Bridge the 1st of June."

As the Roman Catholic members of that corps, who formed the majority of it, were discovered to be disaffected, they were disarmed on parade the Sunday following, and disbanded.

The fears of the inhabitants of the city were not abated when, on the 26th of May, the Lord Mayor caused the following placard to be circulated throughout the metropolis:—

"A CAUTION,

"*Lest the innocent should suffer for the guilty.*

"The Lord Mayor requests his fellow-citizens to keep within their houses as much as they can suitable to their convenience, after sunset, in this time of peril; as the streets should be kept as clear as possible, should any tumult or rising to support rebellion be attempted, in order that the troops and artillery may act with full effect in case of any disturbance."

At this trying moment, the attachment of many of the most influential Roman Catholics to the established Government was sincerely

evidenced, and of this feeling they gave a public and well-timed declaration.

Pursuant to a notice, inserted in the Dublin Journal of the 24th of May, an address, purporting to be that of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, was presented to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, on the 30th of May, "expressing their firm attachment to his Majesty's royal person, and the constitution under which they have the happiness to live. That the share of political liberty, and the advantages which they possess under it, leave them nothing to expect from foreign aid, nor any motive to induce them to look elsewhere, than to the tried benignity of their sovereign, and the unbiassed determination of the legislature, as the source of future advantage; and they expressed their regret, that many of the lower order of their religious persuasion were engaged in unlawful associations and practices."

This address was signed by four noblemen, many gentlemen of landed property, some respectable merchants, and twenty-eight titular bishops.

The interruption of any certain communication with the other parts of the kingdom, was at this time another source of great disquietude in the capital. From the 24th of May to the 31st, no mail-coach had arrived—and, unaccountable as it may appear, the rebel leaders in the metropolis were frequently informed of the distant events which had occurred, before any communication reached the executive.

At this period, after plundering and a commission of other outrages at Dunboyn, the rebels, from the borders of Meath and Dublin, proceeded in the first instance to Dunshaughlin, and afterwards to the hill of Tara. Their numbers had rapidly increased; there were no military parties in their immediate neighbourhood; and unchecked and unresisted, they devastated the country for miles round their camp, to which they carried an immense quantity of booty. A few corps of yeomanry still remained in the vicinity, but they were not sufficiently numerous to attack a very strong and defensible position. Accident however, interposed, and the royalists obtained the assistance they required.

Three companies of the Reay Fencibles, with a battalion gun, were on march to the metropolis, and halted in Navan on the night of the 25th of May. Captain Preston, who commanded the yeomanry of that town, solicited the co-operation of Captain M'Clean to deforce the rebels from Dunshaughlin; the Highlander assented, and at dawn on the 26th, the Reay Fencibles, three troops of yeomanry cavalry, and one infantry corps, marched on Dunshaughlin.

They found that the town had been evacuated, and that the rebels had moved off, leaving the direction they had taken very doubtful. Captain M'Clean being *en route* to the capital, was of course obliged to resume his march, and the yeomanry were about to return to their homes, when information fortunately arrived which led to an event of paramount importance in crushing the insurrection in that neighbourhood, and establishing the confidence of the well-affected. Musgrave

thus narrates the occurrences before the attack, and also the assault upon the rebel position:—

"Captain Preston, now Lord Tara, then followed the Reay fencibles, who had proceeded two miles on their march, and informed the commanding officer that he would engage to find out the rebels in two hours, if he would only consent to stay; but having refused to comply, he then informed him that he (Captain Preston) would proceed to Dublin, and obtain an order from the Lord Lieutenant for the Reay fencibles to return, before they could proceed half-way on their march. On which Captain M'Clean consented, and gave him two hundred and ten men, and one battalion gun, the whole commanded by Captain Blanch; and these were joined by the yeomanry, commanded by Lord Fingal and Captain Preston.

"After going some time in quest of the rebels, they found them very strongly posted on Tara-hill, where they had been four hours, and about four thousand in number, while the country people were flocking to them in great multitudes from every quarter. They had plundered the houses, in all the adjacent country, of provisions of every kind, and were proceeding to cook their dinners, having lighted nearly forty fires, and hoisted white flags in their camp.

"The hill of Tara is very steep, and the upper part surrounded by three circular Danish forts, with ramparts and fosses; while on the top lies the church-yard, surrounded with a wall, which the rebels regarded as their citadel, and considered as impregnable.

"The King's troops, including the yeomanry, might have amounted to about four hundred. As soon as the rebels perceived them, they put their hats on the tops of their pikes, sent forth some dreadful yells, and at the same time began to jump, and put themselves in singular attitudes, as if bidding defiance to their adversaries. They then began to advance, firing at the same time, but in an irregular manner.

"Our line of infantry came on with the greatest coolness, and did not fire a shot until they were within fifty yards. One part of the cavalry, commanded by Lord Fingal, was ordered to the right, the other to the left, to prevent the line from being outflanked, which the enemy endeavoured to accomplish. The rebels made three desperate onsets, and in the last laid hold of the cannon; but the officer who commanded the gun laid the match to it before they could completely surround it, prostrated ten or twelve of the assailants, and dispersed the remainder. The Reay Fencibles preserved their line, and fired with as much coolness as if they had been exercising on a field-day.

"At length they routed the rebels, who fled in all directions, having lost about four hundred in killed and wounded. In their flight, they threw away their arms and ammunition, and every thing that could encumber them. Three hundred horses, all their provisions, arms, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors, with eight of the Reay fencibles whom they had taken prisoners two days before, and whom they had employed to drill them.

"It was to be lamented, that the Reay fencibles lost twenty-six men in killed and wounded, and the Upper Kells infantry six men.

"The King's troops would have remained on the field all night, but that they had not a cartridge left, either for the gun or small arms. The prisoners, of whom they took a good many, informed our officers, that their intention was, to have proceeded that night to plunder Navan, and then Kells, where there was a great quantity of ammunition, and little or no force to protect it; and that when they had succeeded, they expected, according to a preconcerted plan, to have been joined by a great number of insurgents from Meath, Westmeath, Louth, Monaghan, and Cavan."

The defeats of the insurgents, and their complete dispersion at Tara-hill and on the Curragh were highly advantageous, as they opened the communications north and south with the metropolis, which had been seriously interrupted.

Many partial affairs took place at this time between the loyalists and the rebels in Kildare, and barbarities on the one side produced on the other, a terrible retaliation. The insurgents burned and murdered as they went along; the troops and yeomanry shot and hanged liberally in return. The record of crimes inhumanly committed, and ruthlessly revenged, would only disgust a reader; and it will be only necessary to observe that at Maynooth, Ballytore, the neighbourhood of Clonard, and at Narraghmore, there were tumultuary risings, and collisions between the royalists and rebels. In the vicinity of the latter village, a small party of the Tyrone militia dispersed a body of insurgents. The affair would have been too trifling to warrant record, had it not furnished an example of Amazonian courage and military gallantry:—

"Lieutenant Eadie placed his men behind a low wall, and when the savages came within thirty yards, gave them a volley which killed many of them, and they fled, leaving their prisoners behind them. They were, however, rallied and brought back to the fight, by a heroine, whose spirit and bravery would have immortalized her name in a good cause.

"In turn, the rebels attacked Lieutenant Eadie's little party, for many hours. He kept on the defensive, until at length he completely routed his foes, taking the heroine prisoner. She was stripped of her riding-coat and cap; and Lieutenant Eadie, admiring her bravery and beauty, gave her her liberty."

While thus Kildare had exhibited for nearly a week one wide blaze of general insurrection, another county, which in the annals of rebellion assumed afterwards a sanguinary pre-eminence, remained in ominous tranquillity. The storm burst at last—and in crime and bloodshed, Wexford left every other scene of tumultuary violence completely in the shade.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHANGE IN THE HABITS AND MANNERS OF THE PEASANTRY—ANECDOTE—STATE OF WEXFORD IN '97 AND '98—INSURRECTION BREAKS OUT—FATHER MURPHY, OF BOULAVOGUE—ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE REBELS.

It was a very singular fact, that the outbreak of the Irish rebellion was preceded by a moral reformation in the peasantry—a strange preliminary to be followed by such consequences. For months before the explosion took place, intoxication was rarely observed, and men who had been habitually drunken, suddenly became reclaimed. The temper of the peasantry, naturally pugnacious, underwent a change; the fairs and markets were undisturbed by quarrelling; and factions, who had been at feud for a century, smoked the pipe of peace together, and met at dance and wake without the customary interchange of broken heads. Another alteration in the demeanour of the peasantry was remarked. The deferential manner, with which they generally addressed their superiors, was no longer visible in their bearing; and occasionally, in ebriety or unguarded anger, they darkly hinted that a change in property and government was at hand. One other symptom of the times was the universal disinclination evinced by the lower classes to pay any of their debts or engagements. They seemed to regard the approaching outbreak as an event that would change the established order of every thing, and, by one sweeping operation, obliterate the past, and for the future equalize rank and property.

This change in deferential manner was particularly observable in domestic servants; and those whose habits and conduct had hitherto been industrious and humble, became impatient of restraint, and insolent if admonished. An amusing old lady but recently dead, to instance this fact, used to narrate the following anecdote:—

Her husband was a gentleman of independent fortune, a most excellent landlord, truly liberal in his opinions, and one of the few, in those unhappy days, at whose hospitable board Protestant and Catholic met without distinction or distrust. He was, also, a brave man, and an uncompromising loyalist; and when the county became disturbed, assisted Lord ——— to raise a corps of yeomanry cavalry, in which he himself acted as adjutant and lieutenant; and for both of which duties he was eminently qualified, having been many years an officer of dragoons. On the 17th of May, he received some important intelligence which determined him to communicate in person with the Government; and he set out for the capital, having obtained a serjeant's guard of Highland Fencibles, to protect his house and lady during a brief sojourn in the metropolis.

The butler of the family had been left an orphan, and was brought up from infancy by the lady of the mansion. His manner had latterly become uncivil, and his household duties were carelessly performed,

and sometimes totally neglected. On the day after his master had departed, Mrs. H——— remarked that the plate upon the dinner table was uncleaned—and on her noticing it to the servant, he insolently replied, that "if she wished it better polished, she might do it herself, for that he would never clean another spoon." Mrs. H——— was a woman of high and daring spirit. She ordered the menial from her presence, and then summoned the serjeant of the guard—the soldiers, after a long and dusty march, having just arrived.

"You have been sent here by Colonel ——— for my protection. Will you obey my orders?"

"Undoubtedly, Madam," returned the gallant Celt.

"Listen," said the lady; and she repeated the occurrence that had just taken place. "What does that ingrate deserve from me, who protected him from orphan infancy?"

The Highlander, whose clan notions of obedience held want of duty to a chief and treason to the Crown, to be crimes equally without the pale of mercy, coolly replied:—

"You ask me what the scoundrel deserves?—Death! Say but the word, and before five minutes this dirk shall be at his heart."

The lady smiled.

"No, no, serjeant. The punishment would go beyond the offence. You have had a long march—refreshment is ready for your party—go to the servants' hall—and when you have dined—and take care that Murphy attends upon you properly—why, as he has forgotten the way to clean a spoon, oblige me by giving him a little instruction in polishing a gun-barrel."

The Highlander answered with a grim smile—"Your ladyship is over-merciful to the scoundrel, but your will shall be obeyed; and if there is faith in a buff belt, I'll promise that before he goes to bed, Mister Murphy shall know the way to clean a soldier's appointments."

A sufficient time to discuss dinner had barely elapsed, when outcries from the servants' hall announced, that the butler's course of instruction in his new duties had commenced. A maid-servant rushed into the drawing-room, to implore her lady's intervention, for "the dark man in the kilt was murdering John with a sword-belt, because he would not demean himself, and clean their dirty fire-locks." "Ah! poor gentleman," replied Mrs. H———, "he who could not soil his fingers with a silver spoon, to be obliged to polish a nasty musket! Indeed, I am very sorry for him, but as I have transferred his duties to Sergeant Mac Ivor, he had better do his best, and the serjeant will probably, make allowance for his awkwardness. I never interfere with other people's servants."

Never had neophyte a more persevering instructor than Mr. Murphy—at any indication of sulkiness or inattention, down came the buff belt—and the refractory butler speedily discovered that although it might be *infra dignitatem* to clean spoons, it was much more ungentlemanly work to polish a musket.

The fate of Murphy was from bad to worse—for the buff belt was succeeded by the halter. He had a sweetheart in the house, and in

his hours of dalliance, used to assure her that "she would soon be a better lady than her mistress, for she would be a captain's wife, while his master was only a lieutenant." Not ambitious of resuming his new duties on the morrow, Murphy absconded that night, and was not heard of until the 24th, when he was wounded and made prisoner in an attack upon a party of King's troops. He was instantly recognized—and, after the summary form of a drum-head court-martial, hanged on the bough of an ash tree beside his master's gate.

Besides domestic servants, another class had undergone a striking change—and it was observed by travellers, that the owners of public-houses and the low innkeepers became particularly saucy and uncivil. Generally speaking, they were deeply disaffected—their houses places of rendezvous for rebels—and themselves subordinate officers, or connected with the fiscal department of the conspiracy. In the county of Wexford this was particularly the case.

Previous to '97, the county of Wexford had been noted for the peaceable disposition of its inhabitants and an impartial administration of justice—both which might be equally imputed to the comfort and constant occupation, which its extensive and flourishing agriculture afforded to the farmers and the peasantry, and to the number of gentlemen who resided on their estates. While many counties in Ireland were disgraced by nocturnal robbery and assassination, committed by Defenders and United Irishmen, for five years previous to '97, it was the pride of the Wexford gentlemen to boast that their county had remained in perfect tranquillity. But in the autumn and winter of that year, and in the spring of '98, there were well-grounded suspicions that the mass of the people had begun to be infected by those baneful principles, which since proved fatal to the kingdom, that pikes were manufactured, and clubs had been formed, in which illegal oaths had been administered. Meetings of the magistrates were consequently held in different parts of the county, to take into consideration the necessity of proclaiming those districts, where symptoms of disturbance had appeared. That up to the month of November of '97, a quiet, real or delusory, pervaded Wexford, may be inferred from the fact, that when in that month the county was proclaimed, a considerable difference of opinion existed among the magistracy, as to whether any insurrectionary proceedings or preparations had existed to warrant the introduction of martial law. In April, however, unequivocal symptoms that a disaffected spirit actuated the peasantry became evident—and although the priests laboured hard to lead the resident gentry to believe that no danger was impending, and the people by thousands swore allegiance in the chapels and expressed open attachment to the Government, there is too much reason to conclude, that the plot had been long in preparation, and that the ferocious spirit which marked the proceedings of the insurgents, was not the wild ebullition of a resentment produced by injudicious severity, but the fruits of a long-cherished antipathy to those who dissented from them in faith. There is no doubt but violent measures produced great exasperation, and that possibly, a conciliatory policy might have averted the out-

break altogether. "Not above six hundred men, at most, of the regular army or militia were stationed in the county, the defence of which was almost abandoned to the troops of yeomen and their supplementaries. The magistrates in several districts employed themselves in ordering the seizure, imprisonment, and whipping of numbers of suspected persons. These yeomen, being Protestants, prejudiced against the Romanists by traditionary and other accounts of the former cruelties that sect committed, fearing similar cruelties in case of insurrection, and confirmed in this fear by papers found in the pockets of some prisoners, containing some of the old sanguinary doctrines of the Romish church, which authorized the extermination of heretics, acted with a spirit ill fitted to allay religious hatred, and prevent any feeling to rebel."*

Until Saturday, the 26th of May, the flame of rebellion remained smouldering—but on that evening, John Murphy, the curate or coadjutor priest of Boulavogue, gave the signal for a general rising which was too fatally responded to. A fire lighted on the hill of Corrigrua was answered by another kindled on Boulavogue, and the rapidity with which the volcano burst appears almost incredible.†

Nothing could be more ferocious than the church-militant career of this savage man.‡ Every Protestant house in the parish of Kilcormick, was reduced to ashes—and such of their unfortunate owners as could be seized were ruthlessly destroyed. These outrages proceeded entirely from a truculent disposition—for mostly, his victims, were men who offered no opposition—and when rashly attacked at a place called the Harrow, he beat off the Camolin cavalry, and killed Lieutenant Bookey, who commanded it.

Whether the demon spirit which Murphy afterwards exhibited, had been provoked or not, is a matter of controversy—some say that his

* Gordon's History.

† The following painful instance of the effect of terrorism on a feeble mind is recorded by Gordon:—"On the morning of the 23rd of May, a labouring man, named Dennis M'Daniel, came to my house, with looks of the utmost consternation and dismay, and confessed to me that he had taken the United Irishman's oath, and had paid for a pike, with which he had not yet been furnished, nineteen-pence-halfpenny, to one Kilty, a smith, who had administered the oath to him and many others. While I sent my eldest son, who was a lieutenant of yeomanry, to arrest Kilty, I exhorted M'Daniel to surrender himself to a magistrate and make his confession; but this he positively refused, saying that he should in that case be lashed to make him produce a pike which he had not, and to confess what he knew not. I then advised him, as the only alternative, to remain quietly at home, promising that, if he should be arrested on the information of others, I would represent his case to the magistrates. He took my advice; but the fear of arrest and lashing had so taken possession of his thoughts, that he could neither eat nor sleep, and on the morning of the 25th, he fell on his face and expired in a little grove near my house."

‡ "His father was a petty farmer at Tincurry, in the parish of Ferns, where he was educated at a hedge-school, kept by a man of the name of Gun. It appears by his testimonium and diploma, that he received holy orders at Seville, in Spain, in the year 1785, and probably graduated there as a doctor of divinity, as he assumes that title in his journal, which was dropped in his retreat from Vinegar-hill, and found by Captain Hugh Moore, of the 5th Dragoons, aide-de-camp to General Needham."—*Musgrave.*

house and chapel had been burned before he took the field—and others as positively deny it. In searching through the evidence on record dispassionately, I incline to the latter opinion—for when his house was burned, the furniture had been previously removed and hidden in a sand-pit—and when his vestments were brought from the same concealment, the leader of the loyalists observed, in reply to some insulting remark, "Punish the rebel if you can—but offer no mockery to his religion."

It would be a disgusting detail to dwell upon the varied outrages which marked the first burst of the Wexford insurrection. It will be sufficient to instance an isolated case or two—and the extracts, abridged from Musgrave, and accredited beyond disbelief, will indicate alike the lengths to which desperate courage will extend, and depicture the misery entailed on individuals, when social order is dissolved, and countrymen are banded against each other.

"When Lieutenant Bookey set out with his troop, he left a guard in his house, consisting of five Roman Catholic servants, and two Protestants, named Ward and Hawkins. Between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, about five hundred rebels, headed by Father Murphy, surrounded the house of Rockspring, on which the five servants deserted, and the two Protestants were left alone, with four guns, to defend the house. The rebels called to them to deliver up their arms, but the discharge of their muskets was the reply—and they continued to load and fire with all possible celerity. The rebels, incensed at their spirited conduct, threw stones at the windows, fired into them with their muskets, and at last broke open the front door with a sledge.

"The rebels having entered the house, got lights, and assembled in the hall, on which the two defenders ceased firing, and placed themselves on the head of the stairs to prevent their foes from ascending. Father Murphy ordered some of his men to go up-stairs and ascertain who the persons were that had the audacity to oppose him; and having hesitated to obey his commands, he drew his sword and threatened them instantly with death. Two of them attempted to comply, but they were instantly shot, and tumbled back dead among their comrades. As the last resource, the rebels set fire to the house, yet the two Protestants, with the most deliberate valour, continued to charge and fire till the floor, now a prey to the flames, began to crack under them, on which they repaired to the upper story, but even there they were scorched with the flames, and almost stifled with smoke. Having ceased firing, the rebels imagined they were suffocated or consumed, and that they had obtained ample revenge, and fearing that the dawn, which was not far distant, would expose them to the yeomanry of Enniscorthy, who had been scouring the country, they retreated, by which the lives of these two brave men were miraculously preserved."

"As the murder of the Reverend Doctor Burrowes, rector of Kilmuckridge, and the burning of his glebe-house at Kyle, were marked with circumstances of peculiar atrocity, I shall give a description of them as related to me by his widow and children.* Some of his Protestant

* These facts have been verified by the affidavit of his eldest son.

parishioners, dreading that they would fall a prey to the sanguinary rage of Father Murphy, took refuge in the house of Kyle on Saturday evening. One Murphy, though a United Irishman, had candour, and humanity enough to inform Mr. Burrowes, about eleven o'clock that night, that his house would be attacked early next morning by a party of rebels—and, in consequence of this information, he, with his family and parishioners, sat up all night, and barricaded the lower part of the house, which was attacked at sunrise by about five hundred rebels.

"It was vigorously defended for some time, many shots having been fired by the assailants and the besieged. At last, the rebels set fire to the out-offices, which were quickly consumed, and soon after to the dwelling-house, which in a short time was in a state of conflagration. The rapid progress of the flames in the latter was caused by the application of some unctuous combustible matter applied to the doors and windows of the house which the rebels frequently used in the course of the rebellion.

"The besieged, being in danger of suffocation from the thickness of the smoke, resolved to quit the house however perilous it might be, and they were encouraged to do so by Father Murphy, who assured them that they should not be injured if they surrendered themselves without further resistance. Relying on his promise they quitted the house, on which the rebels treacherously murdered Mr. Burrowes and seven of his parishioners, and gave his son, a youth of only sixteen years of age,* so severe a wound in the belly with a pike, that for some time he lay motionless and apparently dead. Mrs. Burrowes, her four children, and Miss Clifford, her niece, continued for twelve hours to weep over the mangled bodies of her husband, and to console and administer relief to her son, who was in excruciating agonies, and bleeding so copiously that every moment she expected his dissolution.

"The horror of the scene was heightened by the house, in a state of conflagration, discharging immense volumes of flame and smoke, and emitting such heat, that the unfortunate sufferers could scarcely endure it. All the household furniture and clothes, except what she and her children wore, were destroyed by the fire.

"In the evening the sufferers repaired to a wretched inn at Oulart, about half a mile off, with her son, who was carried on a door. These unfortunate sufferers remained there till Tuesday, the 29th of May, and during that time her son did not receive any medical assistance. They were escorted by a party of rebels to Castle Annesley, the seat of Mr. Clifford, above five miles off, where they were kept as prisoners till the town of Wexford was taken from the rebels."

At Ferns the bishop's palace was plundered; and an anecdote connected with it, marks the total subversion of principle, which religious feelings, badly elicited, will produce. An orphan boy whom the bishop had found naked, and starving, at the age of seven years, and whom he had fed, clothed, and instructed afterwards, was the leader

* He languished and died of that wound in the autumn of 1800.

of these marauders, shewed them every valuable article of furniture, and assisted them in breaking open the cellar.

Another and a last instance will mark the character of the people and the times. "On the 27th of May, Mr. White's house was plundered by his own tenants and neighbours, who had but a short time before surrendered their pikes, and taken oaths of allegiance. Two of the former, for whom he had a strong predilection, were the first who began the pillage. One of them, named Brien, was so great a favourite with him, that though he discovered some time before, that he was concerned in the conspiracy, he merely rebuked him privately. And yet that ingrate frequently pierced the portrait of Mr. White with a pike, and lamented that he had not the original. He entered the apartment of Mrs. White, his sister, an aged lady, and told her she must quit the house; and he was soon after followed by a young woman armed with a pike, who gave her the same orders."*

To ordinary crimes limits are generally assignable—but when the relations which connect the body politic are rudely overturned, the breast becomes steeled to every feeling of humanity, and the man changes to a monster.

* Musgrave.

CHAPTER IX.

FORMATION OF REBEL ENCAMPMENTS—DEFEAT AND DESTRUCTION OF THE NORTH CORK DETACHMENT AT OULART—NOTICES OF THAT AFFAIR—RETREAT ON ARKLOW — SUFFERINGS OF THE LOYALISTS — ATTACK ON ENNISCORTHY — REBELS DEFEATED—GARRISON RETIRE ON WEXFORD—OBSERVATIONS—PROGRESS OF THE INSURRECTION.

The first consequences of the Wexford rising was the assemblage of two large bodies of insurgents—the one occupying the hill of Oulart, ten miles southward of Gorey, in the direction of the town of Wexford; the second, taking a position nine miles westward of the former place, on a ridge of the Slieve Buoye mountain, called Kilthomas hill. Camps were established on the heights, and an immense number of the peasantry, including every age and sex, flocked immediately to join the rebels.*

Both camps were attacked, but with results painfully different. The garrison of the little town of Carnew, consisting of nearly three hundred yeomanry, mounted and dismounted, marched boldly against the insurgents collected on Kilthomas, roughly estimated at about three thousand men. Although, with favourable ground and an enormous superiority of numbers, it might have been expected that an attempt to dislodge the rebels from their position would have failed, nothing could have been more successful than the attack, and the royalists obtained a bloodless victory. Here again, the unrelenting spirit of the times appeared—and a very gallant and daring exploit was sullied by impolitic severity.†

The attempt to disperse the second camp at Oulart was attended with consequences not only disastrous to the troops engaged, but its mischievous results caused afterwards an immensity of bloodshed. Through the imprudence of an incompetent commanding officer, a very gallant detachment were cut to pieces, while the insurgents, encouraged

* The local description of a county, in which the greater events of the wild and sanguinary outbreak of '98 were enacted, may here be apposite.

From its oblong and narrow form, and the sinuosity of its sea-coast, Wexford enjoys a greater length of it, in proportion to its quantity of square acres, than any other county, a circumstance not only favourable to commerce, but to agriculture, as the sea-sand and sea-weed form an excellent manure. It is also abundantly supplied with fish and sea-fowl. Wexford is bisected by the river Slaney, which is navigable to Enniscorthy, fifteen miles from the sea. Part of the county is bounded on the west by the rivers Nore and Barrow, which unite a little above New Ross, and proceed in a copious stream to Dunbrody, where, being joined by the Suir, they run in a south-easterly direction, and, passing by Passage and Duncannon Fort, discharge themselves into the ocean at Hook Head.

† "About a hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed in the pursuit, and the yeomen, exasperated by the death of Lieutenant Bookey, and other violent acts, burned two Romish chapels, and about a hundred cabins and farm-houses of the Romanists, in the course of seven miles march."—*Musgrave.*

by accidental success, acquired a false but dangerous confidence which involved a fearful account of atrocity, with a reaction, in many cases to be excused, and in more to be lamented.

On the morning of the 27th of May (Whit Sunday), Mr. Turner, of Newfort, arrived in Wexford, and announced that his own house had been attacked and robbed of a quantity of arms, previously surrendered; and that the insurrection had unequivocally broken out. The garrison of Wexford comprised a wing of the North Cork militia, under Lieutenant-Colonel Foote; an infantry corps, commanded by Doctor Jacob; and a troop of cavalry under Captain Boyd.

Intelligence presently came in of the murders and atrocities everywhere committed in the neighbourhood, and also, of the formation of a rebel camp at Oulart. Thinking it advisable to crush the outbreak in its birth, the yeomanry cavalry proceeded to scour the country, while Colonel Foote with a detachment of the North Cork militia, amounting to 110 men rank and file, marched in the direction of the rebel camp; and in his route to Oulart, he was joined by a troop of yeomanry cavalry under the command of Colonel Le Hunt. That addition to his force added nothing, however, to its strength, for most of the yeomanry proved traitors. The movement was judicious and decisive, as it should have been; but the execution shewed that in military movements, to plan is one thing, to effect, another. The detachment left the town at eleven in the forenoon—and brief and bloody was the history of its operations.*

Oulart, where the rebels took up a position, is only some eight miles distant from Wexford, and at two o'clock in the afternoon, the royalists came in presence of the enemy. The main body was drawn up on the side of a hill, with a strong party advanced below, intended no doubt to skirmish with the troops, and embarrass their attack upon the position. In rough numbers, the insurgent force might have been set down at from four to five thousand combatants.

Although the advance was made with every disregard to military caution, accident, more than determination, enabled the rebels to profit from the gross mismanagement of the force opposed to them. Gordon thus mentions the affair:—"Contempt of an enemy, which creates incaution, has often proved fatal. The rebels fled at the first onset, and were pursued at full speed by the militia, who were so little apprehensive of resistance, that no rank or order was observed. While the

* "All was solemn silence and anxious expectation! but still encouraging accounts were received of the North Cork militia, before whom the rebels were said to be flying in every direction. But this delusive hope was of short duration; for about the hour of four o'clock, Mr. Perceval, the high sheriff, rode into town with the melancholy account of their total defeat and destruction; and soon after, Lieutenant-Colonel Foote and one serjeant—the wretched remains of that fine body of men—were seen pensively riding over the bridge, and approaching the town. And now the solemn silence of that awful morning was succeeded by a truly heart-rending scene. Most of the North Cork militia who fell in the action at Oulart were married men, and as soon as their fate was known, their widows and orphans ran into the streets, filling the air with their cries, dismaying every heart, and piercing every soul with shrieks of anguish and despair."—*Musgrave.*

rebels were making their escape with precipitation towards the northern side of the hill, they were apprized that a large body of cavalry had been seen that morning advancing against them in the opposite direction, apparently with a design to intercept their flight, and co-operate with the militia by a double attack. As the Wexfordian insurgents as yet were totally unacquainted with warfare, the onset of cavalry was, in the imaginations of many among them, more terrible than that of infantry. They therefore, ignorantly supposed the cavalry to be still in their neighbourhood; and while Father John exclaimed that they must either conquer or perish, they turned desperately against the militia, who had now arrived near the summit, almost breathless—and charging them with their pikes, killed the whole detachment in an instant, except the lieutenant-colonel, a serjeant, and three privates."*

The unfortunate commander of this most disastrous attack thus describes its calamitous issue:—"I marched to a hill called Oulart, where between four and five thousand rebels were posted. From their great superiority of numbers, it was not my intention to have attacked them, unless some unforeseen favourable circumstances would warrant that measure; however, my officers were of a contrary opinion. I met here part of a yeomanry cavalry corps, about sixteen, the remainder, with their serjeant, having that morning joined the rebels. I halted with this corps, while I sent a note by their trumpeter to Wexford, with orders for two officers and forty men to march thence to support our detachment, apprehending that the rebels, from their numbers, might intercept our retreat. Afterwards, when I joined the party, I found that they were moved forward by the officer next in command, and the soldiers cried out, that they would beat the rebels out of the field. By this movement we were immediately engaged with the rebels, who fired from behind the hedges, without shewing any regular front. We beat their advanced party from one hedge to another, which they had successively occupied and fired from, killing great numbers of them, till they retreated in much disorder to the main body, which consisted mostly of pikemen. I considered this a favourable opportunity of forming the detachment, for the purpose of retreating, or of receiving the enemy in a good position, and I used every exertion to effect it; but, unfortunately, the too great ardour of the men and officers could not be restrained. They rushed forward, were surrounded, and overpowered by numbers. They displayed great valour and intrepidity, and killed a great number of the rebels. Of this detachment none have as yet returned to Wexford, but myself, a serjeant, and three privates. I received a wound from a pike in my breast, a slight one in my arm, and several bruises and contusions."

The consequences of this unfortunate disaster speedily evinced

* "It appears, that the rebels were rendered bold and desperate by intoxication; and that from twelve to fifteen of them singled out and attacked each of the soldiers, who did not resign their lives but at a dear rate to their assailants."—*Musgrave.*

themselves. Numbers of the peasantry, who had hitherto remained neutral, repaired to the camp, and joined the rebel standard; and in the same ratio that the confidence of the insurgents increased, the spirit of the loyalists was abated. Fearful of an attack by numbers of savage men, under the intoxication of a first success, the little garrison of Gorey determined to retreat at once on Arklow; and the movement was conceived and executed with a celerity that caused the most afflicting distress to crowds of helpless loyalists, who, dreading the ferocity of the rebels, abandoned their homes, and followed the retiring garrison as they best could.*

Flushed with success, the Priest of Boulavogue now turned his attention to the town of Enniscorthy,† six miles distant from his encampment. Its possession would be important—and as the garrison amounted only to about three hundred men, of whom a hundred were North Cork militia, and the remainder local yeomanry, there was every reason to believe that an open town, accessible in many quarters, and protected by a feeble garrison, would offer to the overwhelming masses which should assail it, a short and unavailing defence. Accordingly, Murphy determined to attack the place, and he carried his resolution into effect early on the afternoon of the 28th of May.

From its dangerous vicinity to the rebel encampment, the garrison of the town apprehended naturally enough, that the first effort of the victorious insurgents would be directed against them, and they were obliged, in consequence, to be vigilant and prepared. The duty of pa-

* "As the order to retreat was very sudden, on account of the imagined approach of a resistless and ferocious enemy, a melancholy scene of trepidation, confusion, and flight was the consequence; the affrightened crowd of people running in all directions for their horses, harnessing their cars, and placing their families on them with precipitation, and escaping as speedily as possible from the town. The road was soon filled to a great extent with a train of cars loaded with women and children, accompanied by a multitude on foot, many of whom were women with infants on their backs. The weather being hot and dry, the cloud of dust raised by the fugitive multitude, of whom I, with my family, was part, rendered respiration difficult. The reception which we found at Arklow was not well suited to our calamitous condition. Almost fainting with hunger, thirst, fatigue, and want of sleep, we were denied admittance into the town by orders of the commanding officer of the garrison, Captain Rowan, of the Antrim regiment; and a great part of the poorer fugitives retiring, took refuge that day and night under the neighbouring hedges; but the better sort, after a little delay, were admitted on condition of quitting the town in half an hour. The loyalists, on permission to enter Arklow, were obliged to deliver their arms at the gate of the barrack to the guard, who promised to restore them, but, instead of this, they were formed into a pile in the yard of the barrack, and burned. A man named Taylor, clerk of Camolin church, who made some scruple to surrender his arms, was shot dead by a sentry."—*Gordon's History.*

† The town is bisected by the river Slaney, over which there is a stone bridge. The market-house, the court-house, and the principal streets, are on the north side of it. Two suburbs, called Templeshannon and Drumgoold, lie on the north side, immediately at the foot of Vinegar-hill, a mountain close to the town. Enniscorthy is twelve miles from Wexford, fifteen from Ross, eighteen from Gorey, eight from Taghmon, six from Ferns, and nine and three-quarters from Newtown-barry. As the tide ebbs and flows to the bridge, the river is navigable for vessels of easy draught of water. Before the insurrectionary outbreak, Enniscorthy was a very flourishing town.

troling and giving pickets was therefore most harassing; for three days and nights they had been continually under arms; but though worn down and exhausted, while reports and appearances were most discouraging,* they determined nevertheless to offer a gallant defence, and nobly they realized that resolution.

Certain intelligence having been received on the morning of the 28th, that the town would be attacked early that afternoon, the drums beat to arms, and the garrison took the posts previously assigned to them. The North Cork militia occupied the bridge—a cavalry corps holding the street connecting it with the town—while the Duffry gate hill, upon the Carlow road, was protected by the yeoman infantry. The market-house and castle, had each a serjeant's guard allotted for its defence.

The ground taken up by the yeomanry, was three or four hundred yards in front of the Duffry gate, and on that point the rebels made their opening attack. On perceiving the yeomanry in line, the insurgent column halted and deployed, extending largely to the right and left, to outflank the small body in their front, and cut it from the town. This done, they advanced, driving cattle in their front, and at the same time opening a heavy and well-directed fire.† The yeomanry replied to it with effect—but dreading, from the extension of the rebel wings, that they should be ultimately turned, they retired into the town, covered by a charge of cavalry, which dispersed a body that pressed them too closely, but inflicted on the gallant horsemen a very heavy loss.

The suburbs and the town itself was now on fire—a number of the assailants had got in through by-ways unperceived—the rebel inhabitants fired on the royalists from their windows—while, repulsed from an attempt upon the bridge, the insurgents attempted to ford the river beyond the reach of the fire of the North Cork militia. Pressed by numbers totally disproportionate, the yeomanry obstinately held their ground—and although suffering heavily themselves, they cheered as they observed that their own heavy and well-supported fusilade, cut down the head of the rebel column and checked its advance.

The remainder of the action, I have been assured by a gentleman himself engaged, is faithfully given by Musgrave—and he thus describes it, both at its height, and its conclusion.

"The streets were entirely involved in smoke, so that the yeomen could not perceive the rebels till they were charged by their pikes. The flames from the houses at each side of the street were so great, as to unite over their heads and form an arch, by which their hair was

* "From Saturday evening till Monday morning, Protestant families, in great numbers, were coming into the town, flying from the fanatical vengeance of the rebels, and bringing their children, their baggage, and their furniture, on cars."—*Musgrave.*

† "The rebels still advanced, firing at the same time from behind the hedges with a steadiness and celerity, which Captain Drury, who had served the whole of the American war, and who was in the action that day, declared the heaviest and best-directed he had experienced. As the county of Wexford abounds with water-fowl, the occupation of a fowler is so profitable, that numbers of the lower class of people are not only expert in the use of fire-arms, but excellent marksmen."—*Ibid.*

singed, and the bear skin in their caps was burnt. The loyalists, bravely disputing every inch of ground, retreated to the market-house, an open space, like a square, where they made a determined stand, and killed great numbers of the enemy. By this effort the loyalists turned the scale, and drove the rebels completely out of the town, the streets of which at each side of the river presented an awful scene of conflagration. While the troops were thus engaged in the south side of the town, another body of the rebels crossed the river, about three-quarters of a mile above the bridge, but were soon routed by Captain Snowe. On this occasion his men shewed great dexterity, as marksmen—seldom failing to bring down such individual rebels as they aimed at. Captain Snowe then ordered Captain Richards to charge—which he did most effectually, but with heavy loss in killed and wounded.

"As a party of the rebels which came from Vinegar-hill towards the glebe still remained unassailed, and their numbers seemed increasing, they were attacked by Captain Drury, with half a company of the North Cork militia, and dispersed with considerable slaughter.

Thus ended an action which lasted more than three hours, fought on a very hot day and in the midst of a burning town, the disaffected inhabitants of which set fire to their own houses to annoy the loyalists, and fired on them from their windows. In this action the yeomen and Protestant inhabitants performed prodigies of valour, in support of the constitution, and in defence of their property and their families.

"Captain John Pounden, who commanded the supplementary yeomen, Lieutenant Hunt, of the Enniscorthy infantry, and Lieutenant Carden, of the Scarawalsh infantry, were killed. The latter, who had served with reputation as an officer during the whole of the American war, was shot from the window of Denny, an apothecary, it is said, by one Barnet, his servant. In the number of the killed and wounded, I have not inserted a great many Protestants who suddenly joined the troops with guns, pistols, pikes, or swords, and of whom many fell in the action.

"It was generally believed, that not less than five hundred of the rebels were killed or wounded. The banks of the river, and the island in it were strewed with their dead bodies, and numbers of them fell in the streets. It was observed that the disaffected inhabitants were always ready to drag them into their houses, whenever they could get a safe opportunity, that the sight of them might not discourage their surviving friends. To keep up their courage, every artifice was used; for even women, as if insensible of danger, were seen in the midst of the carnage, administering whiskey to their rebel friends."

In this most gallant defence, the loss sustained by the garrison fell chiefly on the yeomanry and loyalists—nearly a third of the whole amount engaged were placed *hors de combat*—the greater proportion being slain.

After the rebels were repulsed, the necessity of an instant retreat became apparent. The town was on fire, and no longer tenable by a





George Cruikshank

Destruction of the Church at Ennisworthy.

garrison equally reduced in strength and numbers—the insurgents were hanging in immense force about the town—a night attack seemed almost certain—and no hope could be held out that, under existing circumstances, it could be repulsed. A council of war was held—and after mature deliberation it was resolved to abandon the town, and march on Wexford by the eastern side of the river, by St. John's. "From the suddenness of the retreat, only a few of the Protestant inhabitants could accompany the troops—and they could carry with them no other comforts or necessaries but the apparel which they wore. Imagination cannot form a more tragic scene than the melancholy train of fugitives, of whom some were so helpless from their wounds, from sickness, the feebleness of old age or infancy, that they could not have effected their escape had not the yeomen cavalry mounted them on their horses. Some parents were reduced to the dreadful necessity of leaving their infants in cottages on the road-side, with but a faint hope of ever seeing them again."*

The rebel entrance of the town was marked by the atrocities of a barbarous force, irritated by resistance, and now excited by the accidental success which circumstances had given them. I recollect having heard an old Peninsular officer frequently remark, that the morning after San Sebastian had been carried by assault, forcibly recalled that of Enniscorthy to his recollection.† He was then a boy, and had been left behind when the royalists retreated; and had been harboured and kindly protected by a Roman Catholic family, who remained in the town during its occupation by the insurgents.

Immediately after obtaining possession of Enniscorthy, the rebels proceeded to form an extensive encampment on Vinegar-hill, from which, the town was afterwards garrisoned by reliefs, sent down from head-quarters on the mountain. Immense numbers of the peasantry flocked to this camp; and in a few days it was believed that fully 10,000 men were there collected.

As this was the point on which the insurgents concentrated in greater force and for a longer time, than on any other during the brief period that elapsed from the *emeute* to its final suppression,—and as it was also, unhappily the scene, were its atrocities recorded, that would picture civil war in revolting colours which may be fancied but not detailed—it may be interesting here, to describe its local position, and the appearance it then presented.

In a military point of view Vinegar-hill is strong. High grounds, gradually rising, are crowned by a cone of bold ascent—while the country beneath, being cultivated fields, is divided into numerous enclosures, and intersected by stone walls, hedges, and trenches. On the apex

* Musgrave.

† "The town, the morning after the rebels got possession of it, presented a dreadful scene of carnage and conflagration; many bodies were lying dead in the streets, and others groaning in the agonies of death; some parts of the place were entirely consumed, and in others the flames continued to rage with inextinguishable fury. No less than 478 dwelling-houses and cabins were burned in the town and its suburbs, besides a great number of stores, malt-houses, and out-offices."—*Musgrave.*

of the hill stood the ruins of a windmill—and round the upper height some rude field-works were thrown up, as well as on a lower ridge which the rebels occupied as part of their position. For defence by irregular troops, who trusted rather to numbers than to discipline, Vinegar-hill was particularly favourable—for the numerous enclosures afforded safe cover for skirmishers, who could with perfect impunity severely annoy any columns advancing to assail the hill, and oblige an enemy to feel his way with caution. Good roads wound round the base of the position, and a command of the Slaney added to its military value.

Its local appearance was singular and picturesque, and perfectly in keeping with a wild and guerilla-sort of warfare. Although the weather was particularly hot, and night but nominal, a part of the insurgents placed themselves under cover, and the position exhibited rather the varied colouring of an Indian camp, than the dazzling whiteness of "the tented field." Wattles—as thin and flexible poles are termed in Irish parlance—were overhung with blankets, table-cloths, chintz furniture, and window-curtains, plundered from the surrounding neighbourhood—while in the centre, from the top of the ruined windmill, a green flag "dared the battle and the breeze." A few guns and swivels were rudely placed in battery—and in whatever else the rebel executive might have been deficient, their commissariat was carefully attended to.* A local board of field officers assembled every day—and

* The detail of the rebel commissariat may be interesting, and Musgrave's is a graphic sketch :—

Commissaries were appointed in every parish to provide provisions for the camp according to the directions of the committee or the commander-in chief, and each of the commissaries had a certain number of pikemen under his command.

The commander-in-chief at each camp gave written orders to the commissaries to supply the different rebel corps or individuals with provisions, of which I give the reader copies of some originals which fell into my hands.

"The commander-in-chief requests Commissary Brennan to give bread for forty men to Captain Devereux's corps.

"June 15th, 1798. "ROCHE."

"Mr. John Brennan,

"Please to send dinner for twelve men belonging to Jeremiah Fitzhenry.

"18th June, 1798. "ROCHE."

"Permit Tom Harper and another man to pass for food for eight men to Commissary Brennan.

"June 19th, 1798. "ROCHE."

Whenever any of the county commissaries sent provisions or cattle into one of the camps, they obtained receipts for them from the commissary-general, as appears by the following :

"Received from Mr. John Brennan seventeen bullocks, to keep at grass till called for.

"June 18th, 1798, first year of liberty. "STEPHEN MYLER."

General Roche received the following present from a man of the name of Murphy, who acted as steward in the camp, and wished to ingratiate himself with the commander-in chief, as appears by the following letter :

"Sir,

"I have sent you a cask of wine, a barrel of beer, eighteen loaves of bread, two sheep of the best sort, one loaf of bread, and two fowls for your own use.

"From your friend and humble servant,

"PATRICK MURPHY, Steward."





George Cruikshank

The Camp on Primrose Hill

after their deliberations, the larders and cellars of the neighbouring gentry, were put into extensive requisition.

Vinegar-hill was better provided with rude accommodations, than any of the insurgent stations.*—for the heights on which the rebel masses herded were generally, mere bivouacs, hurriedly taken up and as suddenly abandoned.

"These posts they termed camps, though they were destitute of tents, except a few for their chiefs, while the people remained in the open air in vast multitudes, men and women promiscuously, some lying covered with blankets at night, and some without other covering than the clothes which they wore during the day. This mode of warfare was favoured by an uninterrupted continuance of dry and warm weather, to such a length of time as is very unusual in Ireland in that season, or any season of the year. This was regarded by the rebels as a particular interposition of Providence in their favour; and some among them are said to have declared, in a prophetic tone, that not a drop of rain was to fall until they should be masters of all Ireland. On the other hand, the same was considered by the fugitive loyalists as a merciful favour of heaven, since bad weather must have miserably augmented their distress, and caused the death of many. In these encampments or stations, among such crowds of riotous, undisciplined men, under no regular authority, the greatest disorder may be supposed to have prevailed. Often when a rebel was in a sound sleep in the night, he was robbed by some associate of his gun, or some other article considered valuable; and hence, to sleep flat on the belly, with the hat and shoes tied under the breast for the prevention of stealth, was the general custom. They were in nothing more irregular than in the cooking of provisions, many of them cutting pieces at random out of cattle scarcely dead, without waiting to dismember them, and roasting those pieces on the points of their pikes, with the parts of the hide which belonged to them still attached. The heads of cattle were seldom eaten, but generally left to rot on the surface

* "On Thursday I went to Vinegar-hill, in hopes of getting a protection from Father Philip Roche, a rebel chieftain—and in our way thither we saw the bodies of Mr. White and his son lying dead and naked in the lawn before his house; for the rebels would not suffer them to be buried.

"In our way to Enniscorthy, we saw twelve dead bodies lying on the road; and on entering the town, were filled with horror at beholding a greater number of them in the streets.

"The camp at Vinegar-hill presented a dreadful scene of confusion and uproar. A number of female rebels, more vehement than the male, were marching out to meet the army from Newtown Barry; this was a large body which Father Roche led from Vinegar-hill to the attack of that town, which took place the 1st of June. Great numbers of women were in the camp. Some men were employed in killing cattle, and in boiling them in pieces in large copper brewing-pans; others were drinking, cursing, and swearing; many of them were playing on various musical instruments, which they had acquired by plunder in the adjacent Protestant houses, the whole producing a most disagreeable and barbarous dissonance.

"At last I met Father Roche in Enniscorthy, and he gave me a protection, not only for Mr. M. but one for Mr. Bennett's house, in the following words, which was posted up in the hall. 'No man to molest this house or its inhabitants, on pain of death!'"—*Rossiter's Affidavit. Musgrave's Appendix*—No. XX.

of the ground; as were often large portions of the carcases, after a few pieces had been cut away. From this practice, the decay of anima. matter was rapid—and the stench of the encampment in a few days became intolerable."*

In the desultory and disunited order in which the overt acts of the rebellion occurred, it would be impossible to detail them with any thing like historic regularity. In different districts, affairs were simultaneously enacted—and it would be only to carry the reader wandering from county to county, were they narrated precisely as they occurred. We shall therefore endeavour to keep a passing picture of the insurrectionary events before the reader's eye, taking a discursive liberty not generally allowed to the historian.

Before entering deeper into the particular occurrences attendant on the Wexford outbreak, one relation connected with this epoch of the insurrection, as it took place at Enniscorthy, may be found explanatory of subsequent transactions.

On the 27th of May, B. B. Harvey, J. H. Colclough, of Ballyteigh, and Fitzgerald, of Newpark—all gentlemen of property and consideration—had been arrested and committed to Wexford jail. On learning the occurrences at Oulart and Enniscorthy, a loyalist officer, Captain Boyd, waited on the prisoners on the 29th, and proposed that they should communicate with the rebel head-quarters, and endeavour to persuade the deluded peasantry to disband, resume their former occupations, and again return to their homes.

As the mission was highly honourable to one of the misguided gentlemen—unfortunately afterwards a sufferer—in impartial justice, we will give it in Gordon's words:—

"Colclough, at the request of Harvey, stipulated to go, on condition of being permitted to bring Fitzgerald with him. On the arrival of these two gentlemen at Enniscorthy, about four in the afternoon of the same day, they found the rebels in a state of confusion, distracted in their councils, and undetermined in any plan of operations. Some proposed an attack on Newtown Barry, others on Ross, others upon Wexford. Some were anxious to remain in their present post—but the greatest number wished to march home for the defence of their houses against Orangemen. But when shouts, repeated from group to group, announced the arrival of the *gentlemen prisoners*, as they were called, from Wexford, the straggling multitude collected into one body. The message being delivered without effect, Colclough, a man of honour, retired with the intention of re-entering his prison, according to his promise; but Fitzgerald remained with the rebels, and marched with them that evening to a post called the Three Rocks, two miles and a half from Wexford, which town they had, immediately after the arrival of the messengers, determined to attack."

The most exaggerated accounts of the rebel success spread with astonishing rapidity, and a general rising of the peasantry resulted. Immediately after the evacuation of Wexford, the insurgent army—if

* Gordon.

the term may be applied to an enormous mob of unmanageable men—were divided into three corps, each having a separate camp, a different object, and particular leaders. As is generally the case with tumultuary movements, the rebel armies were always under a divided command—an error pregnant with danger to troops, regular or irregular—and one which in those days was committed equally by rebels and royalists, as the slaughter at Tubberneering, a few days afterwards, fatally established.

The first rebel corps, under B. B. Harvey and Father Philip Roche, encamped on the hill of Carrickbyrne, and its object was to attack New Ross. Another, under the leadership of Father Kearnes, with Doyle and Redmond, occupied Vinegar-hill. This corps was directed to seize Newtown Barry. A third, under Perry of Inch, with the two Murphys—the priests of Boulavogue and Ballycanoe—were, in the first place, desired to gain possession of Gorey, and then march direct upon the capital. The movements of the two latter corps we will describe first, giving the third of the rebel divisions a precedency.

The intended operations of this last corps were ably conceived,—and there was every reason to expect, that the issue would have been successful. Gorey, Arklow, and Wicklow were slightly garrisoned, and of course, promised an easy conquest. These towns once in their possession, the insurgent route to the capital was laid open. The Wexford rebels had been in close communication with those of the metropolis—and they were assured, that the latter were ready to rise on the first demonstration that should be made upon the city—while the country through which the insurgent column must have moved, was already up in arms—and therefore, every mile it marched, the rebel army would have increased in numbers and in confidence. But with ample means to have effected this grand object, the insurgent leaders, from their incompetency in employing them, failed signally even in their first essay; and a movement from which important results might have arisen—had the direction been in abler hands—failed at the very moment that its operations were commenced.

Gorey being the primary object, the rebel army moved in that direction, and took post on a hill called Corrigrua, seven miles south-west of the place; and on the 1st of June, after occupying the village of Ballycannoe, pushed a heavy column forward to the hill of Ballymanane, four miles in advance, whence, after uniting with another body posted on the hill of Ballymore, they intended to attack the town.

But with excellent discretion, and certainly unbounded gallantry, the commandant of the little garrison determined to anticipate the rebels, and himself become assailant. United, he properly concluded that their attack could not be repelled,—while divided, a bold attempt might prove successful, and daring make up for an enormous disparity in number. Captain White, a yeomanry officer, commanded; but he was ably supported by a subaltern of the Antrim Militia, named Elliot.

The royalists consisted of twenty-five Antrim, and the same number of North Cork Militia men, twenty volunteer infantry, and part of three troops of yeomanry cavalry, the whole not exceeding 130 men—

while the rebels, in position on Ballymanane, were said at a low estimate to have exceeded 2,000 men.

The bold advance of the little garrison was favoured by accidental circumstances. Troops, detached from Dublin, had been some days expected, and "the cloud of dust, raised by the detachment from Gorey, caused the rebels to imagine that a formidable force was coming against them. Under this persuasion, they did not dispose themselves to the best advantage—for they might have easily surrounded and destroyed the little band opposed to them. They attempted it, however, in a disorderly manner; but a regular and steady fire was maintained by the militia, particularly the Antrim—and the half-disciplined supplementaries, encouraged thereby, behaved with equal steadiness; and such was the effect, that the rebels were totally routed, and fled in the utmost confusion. The cavalry, notwithstanding repeated orders from Lieutenant Elliot, through the mistake of their officer, delayed to charge too long, otherwise a greater slaughter must have been made. The victorious party advancing, fired some houses in Ballycannoe, and spread such a general terror, that no attempt was made against them from the post of Corrigrua; and the garrison returned safely to Gorey, with above 100 horses and much valuable spoil.

"In this engagement, and indeed in all others in the beginning of the rebellion, the rebels fired too high to do execution, and only three royalists were wounded, and none killed. The number of slain on the opposite side was probably nearly a hundred. Many fine horses, which the routed party was obliged to leave behind, were killed or maimed, that they should be rendered valueless to the captors."*

We have already mentioned that the capture of Newtown Barry was the object of the second of the rebel divisions, under the command of Father Kearns, then encamped upon Vinegar-hill—and therefore, a brief description of the town will be necessary.

Newtown Barry stands upon the river Slaney, at the entrance of a deep defile, surrounded on every side by steep and lofty mountains. Placed on the principal road which leads to Carlow and Kildare, it would have opened a communication between these counties, and permitted the rebel columns to co-operate; while it would also enable them to prevent the arrival of reinforcements, and the conveyance of ammunition to the king's troops. The acquisition of old Ross would have given them the command of a navigable river, and secured their communications with the Kilkenny rebels; besides, it was well known, that the disaffected inhabitants of Munster would have risen *en masse*, so soon as Newtown Barry fell.

On the 30th of May, Colonel L'Estrange, with a detachment of his regiment (the King's County Militia), two battalion guns, and a few dragoons, marched in, and reinforced the garrison, which then consisted of 250 yeomanry, mounted and dismounted. On the 31st, a groundless alarm was given by a beautiful young woman, who galloped into the

* Gordon.

town, and announced that the rebels were advancing. Frenzied by the horror she had undergone, in seeing two brothers put to death on Vinegar-hill under circumstances of indescribable barbarity, she had desperately jumped upon a horse, and though closely pursued, escaped from those savage hands which had massacred her kindred.

On the 2nd, the rebels actually made their attack by both sides of the Slaney, advancing under the fire of a six-pounder, and one of the howitzers they had taken at the Three Rocks. The outposts being driven in, Colonel L'Estrange fearful, from the number of approaches by which the rebels could enter the town, that his garrison would be unequal to defend it, evacuated the place, as some say, to retire altogether, but according to others, to take a position on a high ground which commanded the town.

Whether for concentration or retreat the movement was made, it equally deceived the rebels and dissatisfied the royalists. "The rebels, imagining the king's troops, intimidated by their numbers, had fled, rushed into the town, and proceeded to plunder and burn it. The yeomen, enraged at seeing their families and their property in such imminent danger, applied to Captain Kerr, who commanded the yeomanry cavalry, to lead them on; declaring, that they would conquer or die. He asked permission to do so, and obtained it."*

Nothing could surpass the desperate gallantry of these daring horsemen—while a heavy fire of grape from the guns and a well-sustained musketry drove the rebels from the town, and enabled the cavalry to act. For three miles, the pursuit was continued by the Enniscorthy road—and although the rebels disbanded, and the country was favourable for retreat,† 400 were killed or wounded, including in the former list two leaders.

After this double defeat, the rebels remained inactive in their camp at Corrigrua, while the arrival of General Loftus at Gorey, with 1,500 men and five pieces of cannon, encouraged the royalists to take the offensive at once, and deforce the enemy from the position they still retained. A combined attack on the hill of Corrigrua was consequently determined on—and from the means in hand, nothing could have been wanting to secure positive success, but the imbecility of one leader, and the gross ignorance of a subordinate. Before the unfortunate result shall be related, a connecting narrative of the previous movements of the royalists will be found necessary.

* Musgrave.

† "The hardiness and agility of the labouring classes of the Irish were on this, and other occasions in the course of the rebellion, very remarkable. Their swiftness of foot, and activity in passing over brooks and ditches, were such that they could not always, in crossing the fields, be overtaken by horsemen—and with so much strength of constitution were they found to be endued, that to kill them was difficult, many, after a multitude of stabs, not expiring until their necks were cut across. In fact, the number of persons who in the various battles, massacres, and skirmishes of this war, were shot through the body, and recovered afterwards from their wounds, has greatly surprised me."—*Gordon.*

CHAPTER X.

TOWN OF WEXFORD—DETACHMENT OF THE MEATH REGIMENT CUT TO PIECES—WEXFORD EVACUATED—WALPOLE'S DEFEAT AT TUBBERNEERING—LOFTUS RETREATS ON CARNEW.

We have already given a topographical sketch of the county of Wexford, and as the town of the same name acquired a melancholy celebrity, a hurried notice may be acceptable. We give the description of the place as it was—regardless of the changes and improvements which nearly half a century have since effected. With a very fine wooden bridge, erected by the celebrated Cox, a new church, and the ruins of several monastic buildings, in '98, the capital of that troubled county was thus described:—

Wexford, a sea-port, and corporate town, was rather populous for its size. It was the chief in the county, and the third largest in the province of Leinster—governed by a mayor, recorder, and bailiffs—a shire and assize town—and giving the title of earl to the noble family of Talbot, Earls of Shrewsbury in England. It also then returned two members to Parliament. Wexford is seated on a bay in the Irish channel, at the mouth of the river Slaney—the harbour, though capacious, shallow—and formed by two necks of land, with an entrance half a mile broad, formerly defended by two forts—one at the extremity of either isthmus, and called fort Margeret, and fort Rosslare. As its entrance is obstructed by sand-banks, ships drawing more than ten feet water seldom enter—but those of greater magnitude load and unload three miles from the town, near the south side of the haven, where there is sufficient depth of water, but no shelter from the south winds. Wexford was originally fortified by the Danes—but improved and enlarged by the first English settlers in the twelfth century, who took it from the Easterlings, after a siege of four days, on the 4th of May, 1170. It was besieged by Cromwell, the 1st of October, 1649, and taken by storm, when Sir Edward Butler, the governor, and 2,000 soldiers, were put to the sword.

Large vestiges of the town-walls were, at the period of the insurrection, still visible, and the four gates were almost perfect. The consequence of the place—its dangerous proximity to the rebel encampments—the taking of Enniscorthy—and the defeat at Oulart of Colonel Foote, suggested the necessity of reinforcing the garrison of Wexford, then consisting of some 300 of the North Cork Militia, and about the same number of yeomanry, horse and foot. For this purpose Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell was detached from Duncannon Fort, with 200 of the Donegal Militia, and a six-pounder. The colonel reached Wexford the same evening, and finding the insurrection had extensively broken out, apprized General Fawcett of the fact. Maxwell's reinforcement not being deemed sufficient, "a gentleman named Joshua Sutton

carried a letter from the mayor of Wexford to the general, requesting an additional force; and returned with the exhilarating answer, that the general himself would commence his march for Wexford the same evening, with the 13th regiment, four companies of the Meath Militia, and a party of artillery with two howitzers." On the receipt of this intelligence, Colonel Maxwell, leaving the five entrances into the town guarded by the yeomanry and North Cork Militia, took post with his men on the Windmill-hill above the town, at daybreak on the morning of the 30th—with a resolution to march against the enemy on the arrival of the troops expected from Duncannon.

Fawcett marched—but instead of moving bodily on Wexford, he had the unpardonable folly to push forward seventy of the Meath Militia with the howitzers. At Taghmon, Captain Adams, who was in command, expected to have been joined by Lord Bective, with four companies of his regiment, and two companies of the 13th—but they had not arrived—and misled by false assurances, he continued his march at midnight. The consequence of this rash movement may be anticipated. When under the rebel encampment on the Forth mountain, three miles from Wexford, the troops were assailed under every disadvantage that night and enormous numbers could give. The infantry became panic-stricken—the artillery horses, unused to fire, carried off the limbers—the detachment was cut to pieces—and the howitzers were lost.

The official report from one of the few survivors, thus details the injudicious and calamitous occurrence:—

"On Tuesday, the 29th of May, I left this, with two howitzers, one corporal, and seventeen gunners, sixty-six privates of the Meath regiment, and four officers, under the command of Captain Adams. At Taghmon we understood we were to be reinforced by eighty of the 13th regiment, under Major Scott, and four companies of the Meath, under Lord Bective, from Waterford. Major-General Fawcett joined us—but the other troops not arriving, we proceeded on our march to Wexford. We were given to understand by every one we met on the road that we should meet with no opposition between us and Wexford; and having no suspicion that the rebels were assembled so near, we were not ordered to take any precautions against surprise. Within four miles of Wexford, we perceived ten or twelve men assembled on a hill, on which we prepared for action; but after remaining in that situation some time, perceiving no further appearance of opposition, we were ordered to limber up and move forward. Having proceeded some distance, at the foot of a high mountain we were suddenly attacked by several thousands of the rebels, who with loud shouts opened a sharp fire, on all sides against us. Before they commenced firing they hoisted a white flag and two or three hats on very long poles for a few seconds. After the first discharge, the militia betook themselves to flight, having thrown away their arms—while we attempted in vain to prepare again for action,—but the horses, not trained to fire, grew furious and unmanageable, so that it was impossible to do any thing; and we were thrown into such instant confusion, by the sudden flight of the infantry, we found it utterly impossible to spike the

howitzers. Three of the Meath officers, with most of their men, were killed, and one taken. On our part, besides the howitzers, four gunners were killed; one corporal and eleven gunners taken, two of whom were afterwards killed at Ross; the rest have arrived here safe; and two gunners and myself escaped."*

The terrible consequences which arose from these two unfortunate mistakes—namely, that of Oulart, and the one we have just described—led to the most disastrous consequences. The wildest hopes were engendered in the rebels—the gloomiest anticipations disheartened the well-affected—while, with fancied impunity, truculent ruffianism rioted to its bent.

Wexford had been put into a posture of defence—for, notwithstanding the general disaffection of the inhabitants, still the loyalists prepared to offer a brave resistance. The streets were roughly barricaded—and a small but spirited garrison was rendered more confident in their power of resistance, when Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell marched in on the evening of the 29th of May, with 200 good troops, and a corps or two of yeomanry. That state of confidence and security was brief. The next morning brought tidings of the destruction of the Meath detachment, and harbingered coming scenes of violence and bloodshed.

As soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell was informed of the event, he marched with 200 of the Donegal regiment, and about 150 yeomanry cavalry, to support the 13th regiment, who were expected that morning at Wexford. When he arrived at the foot of the Forth mountain, near the place where the detachment of the Meath regiment had been cut to pieces, he was attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who maintained a heavy fire on his party, from behind the rocks, hedges, and houses, which lay at the foot of the mountain; and discharged a few ineffective shots from the howitzers which that morning had been taken. For the purpose of embarrassing the troops, they drove a number of horses along the road, which, in some measure, produced the desired effect; while the confusion was increased by the precipitate retreat of the cavalry, who, pent up in a narrow road, where they could neither form nor be serviceable, and at the same time were exposed to a heavy fire, had decided on retreating, and went off precipitately towards Wexford. On seeing this, a great body of the rebels rushed down from the mountain, with a view of cutting off the remainder of the troops, which they would have effected, had not the Donegal regiment repulsed them by a heavy and well-directed fire. At last, Colonel Maxwell, perceiving that he would risk much, and that no possible advantage could be derived from maintaining his post against so great a superiority of numbers, ordered a retreat. In this action, Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, formerly of the 65th regiment, who had retired to Wexford, but volunteered on the occasion, lost his life—and a few privates of the Donegal were killed and wounded.

The unfortunate issue of an attempt, which, had it been seconded as Colonel Maxwell had every reason to believe it would have been,

* Letter from Lieutenant Birch to Major Stewart, dated Duncannon Fort, 23rd July 1798.

might have produced different consequences, was followed by the ordinary results which attend upon military blunderings. A town, domineered by hills, filled with disaffected inhabitants, surrounded by 20,000 men, and held by a garrison not exceeding 600, was considered not defensible—and the commanding officer at once perceiving the danger of remaining, very properly determined to retreat. The movement by part of the royalists was most irregularly executed. The North Cork Militia and yeomanry quitted their posts before the order to retire had been given; and hence the troops took a divided route, annoyed by the rebels in the town,* and afterwards attacked at disadvantage. Maxwell marched direct on Duncannon, fighting his way at Maglass through a numerous party of insurgents, who, in a strong position, determinately opposed him—while the other section of the garrison, taking the sea-road, were indebted for their partial escape, to circumstances as accidental as they were unmilitary.

The story of the movement is curious as a military detail—and proves how entirely the fortune of a retreat is dependant upon him, by whom it is directed.

"About seven miles from Wexford, Captain Snowe, who commanded, overtook Mr. John Colclough and his wife in a phaeton; and as he, from residing in that country, and from being a rebel chieftain, had great influence there, the captain resolved to detain him as a hostage, to prevent any attack from being made on his detachment in their retreat. During their march, large bodies of rebels frequently appeared behind the hedges, ready to oppose them; and whenever that happened, Captain Snowe obliged Mr. Colclough to stand up in his phaeton, as a token of amity; while at other times Mr. Colclough merely waved his hat in the air, on which the rebels dispersed, evincing the greatest respect for his authority.

"He had been liberated the day before at Wexford, and said he was going to his house at Ballyteigue, in the barony of Forth, though, in fact, he was proceeding to join the rebels; yet, with singular dissimulation, standing in his phaeton, he drank the king's health, and said, 'Captain Snowe, remember that I am a loyal subject: I was committed on a charge grounded on the malicious information of a villain.'

"Next day Mrs. Colclough entered Wexford triumphantly, then in possession of the rebels—her phaeton being profusely decorated with green emblems."†

The retreating troops compelled Mr. Colclough to accompany them to the river Scarpass, where the tide being full and the stream impassable, they were under the necessity of making a detour of at least ten miles. It would appear that their hostages had indeed been guardian

* "Such was the zeal of the rebels, that some of them endeavoured to seduce the soldiers of the Donegal regiment during the short time they were in Wexford; and one of them, in the suburb through which they retreated, brought to his door two loaded muskets, to fire at the column when they were at some distance, but a Donegal soldier whom he did not perceive, happened to be near, and shot him."—*Musgrave.*

† Musgrave.

angels on the occasion—for soon after their departure, a very disgraceful scene marked the termination of an ill-conducted and unsoldierly retreat.*

"About six miles from Duncannon Fort, when it was extremely dark, they were attacked and fired on in the rear, by a party of rebel horse commanded by John Murphy, of Loughnageer, who afterwards headed the Rossgarland corps of rebels, and was concerned in the burning at Scullabogue. The soldiers, after firing a few random shots, were panic-struck, and fled to Taylor's-town bridge; on which having thronged in great numbers, they were severely exposed to a heavy fire from the rebels, who were posted on an adjacent furze brake on a hill.

"Many persons were killed on the bridge—and among them two women, one a soldier's wife, the other a beautiful young girl, the daughter of an Enniscorthy loyalist, who was retreating from that ill-fated town.

"About fifty of the North Cork Militia and the yeomanry were taken prisoners, and a good many were killed."†

The succession of military mistakes which led to the abandonment of Wexford, produced consequences more morally than politically mischievous. The peasantry, hounded on by truculent priests and ferocious partisans, committed every enormity which can be imagined—while the royalists and yeomanry emulated this abominable cruelty, and, under the name of loyalty, too frequently perpetrated wanton and savage reprisals. Confidence between men was ended—and while the rebel dissimulated to obtain his end—the royalist, shielded by the hand of power still predominant, robbed and slaughtered "in the king's name." On both sides there was violence and treachery. It was an unholy contest—and while Popish massacres were revolting, it cannot be denied that Protestant atrocities were neither "few nor far between."‡

It is necessary here, as a connecting link in the history of the opera-

* Musgrave.

† The disorderly retreat of the army, and the capture of the remaining loyalists when Wexford was occupied by the rebels, is thus mentioned by Gordon:—

"I am sorry to have to add, that the troops in their progress, on this occasion, through the baronies of Forth and Bargay, are said to have proceeded in such disorder, that in case of pursuit, which was very strenuously advised by one of the rebel chiefs, they might have been destroyed; while, from the devastations committed in their way, by burning the cabins and shooting the peasants, they augmented the number and rage of the insurgents, who took possession of Wexford without opposition. A great number of loyalists in the town, who had not escaped with the retreating army, endeavoured to crowd on board the vessels in the harbour and take refuge in Britain. But of these only a few effected their purpose, for most of the vessels, being manned by Romanists, when the town was observed to be in possession of the rebels, returned to the quays from the mouth of the harbour, and relanded their unfortunate passengers."

‡ "An occurrence after the battle, of which a son of mine was a witness, may help to illustrate the state of the country at that time:—Two yeomen coming to a brake or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion, as if some persons were hiding there, one of them fired into it, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud screech of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companions to fire—but he being a gentleman, and less ferocious, instead of firing, commanded the concealed persons to appear, when a poor woman and eight children, almost naked, one of whom was severely wounded, came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety."—*Ibid.*

tions of the royalists, to introduce the most disgraceful episode of the war. We allude to Walpole's defeat at Tubberneering. As the details will more fully tell the disastrous story of the fatal 4th of June, it will be only necessary to remark, that Walpole was detached from Dublin to reinforce General Loftus—that on his junction he arrogated for himself an independent command— that it was culpably acceded to—that he was ambitious to fight an action without delay—and that to oblige a minion of a Lord-Lieutenant, an attack on the rebel position, the hill of Ballymore, was planned—it being considered the safest method of gratifying "a carpet knight," whose services had as yet been confined to the duties of the drawing-room.

The rest will be found after a detail of preliminary arrangements, made by the General for attacking the rebel position.

At nine o'clock on the morning of the 4th of June, says Musgrave, Lieutenant-Colonel Walpole was to march with the main body of the troops, two six-pounders, and a howitzer, towards Ballymore, by Clogh, where he was to be joined by 100 men whom he had left at Carnew. The garrison of that town were then to take post at Camolin, three miles from Gorey, and wait for further orders.

Lord Ancram was directed to march from Newtown Barry, fifteen miles from Gorey, with 250 of the King's County Militia, and his own detachment of dragoons, and take post at Scarawash-bridge, twelve miles from Gorey, there to observe the motions of the enemy on Vinegar-hill; and if he received no orders before the afternoon, unite with Colonel Walpole at Ferns.

Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, with 200 of the Dunbarton Fencibles, and fifty of the 5th dragoons, under the command of General Loftus, moved towards Ballymore, by Ballycanoe, on the left of Colonel Walpole. These two roads diverge soon after leaving Gorey—and, at the distance of about five miles from that town, there is a communication between them by a cross road running from east to west, not far from Ballymore, where the two detachments were to have united, and then have reconnoitered the rebels.

Captain Macmanus, with 100 of the Antrim Militia regiment, was posted between Gorey and Ballycanoe, near a cross road which led to Clogh, to be ready to protect Gorey, or support Colonel Scott or Colonel Walpole, as occasion might require. Colonel Walpole was flanked on the left by the General himself, at the distance of a mile and a half. On his right, he had upwards of 100 light infantry—while General Loftus gave him twelve yeomen gentlemen as guides, and kept ten for the same purpose himself.

Walpole was desired to proceed with the utmost caution, and report from time to time any thing that occurred. The two roads by which Loftus and Walpole moved towards Ballymore were nearly parallel, uniting by a cross road at Clogh, which afforded easy communications.

At a road to the right leading to Camolin, some rebels appearing at a distance, the propriety of forming was suggested to Colonel Walpole, or at least, it was hinted that it would be advisable to feel his way, by throwing out an advanced guard and flanking parties—but this advice was rejected, and he haughtily remarked, "that he was commanding

"The rebels pressed them hard, a general dismay took place, which would probably have been fatal to the whole of the column, had not Lieutenant-Colonel Cope, of the Armagh militia, who had been fortunately in the rear of the column, with a detachment of his own regiment, rallied and formed them on the road to impede the progress of the enemy. To this small band of brave men, under the command of a cool and gallant officer, the safety of those who escaped on that disastrous day may be entirely attributed.

"The column retreated in the utmost disorder to Gorey, Colonel Cope disputing every inch of ground, and covering their retreat. When they arrived there, most of the windows were occupied by the rebels, who kept up a heavy fire, and killed many of them; however, they forced a passage.

"Colonel Cope found great difficulty in leading his men through the town; for whenever the rebels fired at them, they imprudently rushed into the houses whence the shots came, and bayoneted their cowardly assailants."*

It is impossible to read, even at a period so remote as the present day, the detail of this massacre of gallant men, without a feeling of indignation and disgust arising in the mind, against the authors of this sad and inexcusable calamity. I have used the plural number—for Walpole was not the only culpable person—and it is a difficult task to award the superior degree of blame to him who caused, or to him who should have averted the misfortune. Walpole, a mere Castle *attaché*, had been very improperly employed to collect what troops could be spared from Naas, Kilcullen, and Baltinglas, to reinforce General Loftus; but that once done, his particular service ended. Instead of that, this weak and presumptuous fool not only laid claim to separate command, but, assuming the duties of his superior, planned ridiculous attacks, and finally sacrificed one of the finest detachments in the field. He exhibited the most disgusting arrogance and imbecility in his per-

hard on the traces of the Armagh, and the young fellow (his name was Devine) fired at him, and he fell. Devine, anxious to secure the colour, ran back without loading his piece, when the supposed dead man, springing up on his approach, and aided by one or two others, despatched the poor fellow with their pikes. This halt of the rebels in Gorey was their ruin. Had the tide rolled on, increasing as it must have done, there was little or nothing to stay its progress between Wicklow and Dublin; but the delay made by the rebels afforded time for the troops to rally and receive reinforcements, and advance to the position of Arklow."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

* * * * * * *

"I was one of the first persons in Dublin who heard of Walpole's defeat. A young man, who had been brought up in my father's stables, was groom to a gentleman of fortune in Wexford, and in this capacity he attended his master, who was captain of a troop of yeomanry, on that morning. The lad rode a little distance in rear of the troops, and on the disaster occurring, wheeled about, and made the best of his way to Dublin, which his horse, being a first-rate hunter, enabled him to do pretty quickly. Arrived in Dublin, he could think of no individual with whom he could claim acquaintance but myself; and knowing I was in the college, thither he directed his steps and found me. I have reason to think I was at the Castle with the tidings before any official information of the disaster had reached it."—*Ibid.*

* Abridged from Musgrave.



George Cruikshank

Battle of Roja "[illegible] on Burgo hav mouth's stapt"



sonal communications with his superior officer,* nor did he produce any authority that could entitle him to ask a command, so improperly conceded; and yet, while Loftus deplored the folly of the man, he, with full power to prevent the mischief, sank the superiority of his rank, and allowed a Castle dangler,

> "That never set a squadron in the field,
> Nor the division of a battle knew
> More than a spinster,"

to rush on ruin blindfold, and bring death and disgrace on a most gallant detachment, thus culpably committed to an incompetent and intractable fool.

The consequences of the slaughter at Tubberneering were precisely such as might have been expected. The royalists lost heart, and the insurgents acquired a dangerous audacity. Every Protestant abandoned home and property in despair—and more than a thousand individuals fled from their once happy dwellings, with wives and children—and without food or shelter endeavoured to seek safety elsewhere, and obtain eleemosynary support from those who still possessed a home. In the first place, all, soldiers and civilians alike, fell back to Arklow; but feeling themselves insecure even there, the retreat was continued to Wicklow.

Walpole's destruction had nearly proved fatal to Loftus. The rebels at Vinegar-hill, in conjunction with the body on Ballymore, had effected a junction—and in rough numbers, reaching from 12 to 15,000 men, had determined to carry out their former design, and move on the capital, after first securing Gorey. Loftus, at the head of scarcely three hundred men, had actually arrived within half a mile of the latter town, before he was aware that it was already in possession of the rebels. Lord Ancram, with 250 King's County Militia and two troops of Mid Lothian Fencibles, was at the moment at Carnew, and consequently the nearest support. To effect a junction of the two detachments was the best of two dangerous alternatives—the one, being to force a passage through a town already strongly occupied—the other, by a flank movement round the rebel right, to cross the mountain of Slieve-buoy, and unite with the detachment at Carnew. The latter plan was very properly adopted—its conception was good, its execution

* "At their first interview, Colonel Walpole said, that he supposed General Loftus would attack the rebels next morning; and that he hoped he would afterwards march, or permit him to march, to Enniscorthy, and after having taken that town, proceed to Wexford.

"In consequence of this extraordinary conversation, General Loftus took Colonel Scott and Captain Ormsby, of the Wexford regiment, aside, and lamented that such a man as Colonel Walpole was sent to act with him, as he was known to possess the confidence of the lord lieutenant, but shewed a downright unwillingness to obey his (General Loftus's) orders. It was then settled that Colonel Walpole should not be permitted to march to Enniscorthy until they had received some information from General Eustace; but that, as Colonel Walpole seemed so decided on attacking the rebels on Ballymore-hill, from his knowledge of their position, he agreed that they should do so in conjunction next morning, provided it appeared feasible on reconnoitering it."—*Musgrave.*

soldierly, and it was creditable alike to General Loftus and to those who effected it. To force a passage through the town would have involved a sacrifice of the troops—for the approach to Gorey ran through an inclosed country, divided into numerous fields, each having its fence or hedge-row. All these which commanded the road were already defended by rebel musquetry—while every high ground that domineered the line of march was occupied by the enemy in force, who cannonaded the troops with the howitzer and battalion guns* taken that morning from Walpole.

To mask the movement was indispensable—and while Lieutenant-Colonel Scott—a steady and intelligent officer—carried off the infantry by the Camolin road, General Loftus, with fifty dragoons under Captain Corry, remained in observation, and amused and misled the rebels. The little column marched rapidly with shouldered arms—and, never returning a shot, crossed the Slieve-buoy ridge in safety; and almost in the presence of 15,000 insurgents, carried their guns and tumbrils over a mountain without a road, and joined Lord Ancram with scarcely the loss of a man.

The possession of a town has occasionally, in both ancient and modern times, proved any thing but advantageous to the captors. Capua demoralized an army—Torquemada, in later days, arrested the march of two†—and to "the army of liberty" in '98, Gorey was as fatal. For five days they halted in and about the town, drinking and pillaging—destroying property not portable—and, as at Enniscorthy, visiting their vengeance on the church. Had their fury been expended on the building alone, it would have been a matter of little import—but unhappily, the contest had now taken a religious colouring, so ran-

* "This term frequently occurs—and even a modern soldier will scarcely understand it. At the period when the rebellion broke out, every regiment of infantry had two light six-pounders attached to it—some from the lightness of their equipment were called "curricle guns"—and were the rude origin of the horse artillery of modern times. As might be expected, the battalion guns were neither rapid nor brilliant in their practice.

This remark, however, will be understood to apply only to these irregular gunners, for the Royal Irish Artillery (long since incorporated with the British) were proverbial, in those evil days, for loyalty, efficiency, and valour. One, out of a hundred anecdotes, will instance the good conduct of this admirable corps.

"During the confusion and dismay," says Musgrave, "which took place among the troops, when they were surprised in the road at Tubberneering, the gunners of the artillery, with the most deliberate coolness, levelled one of the hedges of the road, dragged the gun into an adjacent field, and fired with excellent effect at a numerous body of rebels who were posted on a high rock, from whence, with their musketry, they had killed many of our soldiers. They drove the rebels from that advantageous position, after having killed a number of them, and contributed materially to prevent the complete destruction of the army."

† "Torquemada witnessed a most disgraceful scene of riot and confusion on the part of the British. There, immense wine-stores were found and plundered; and it was computed, that at one time, 12,000 men were lying in the streets and houses in a state of helpless intoxication. Nor was the boasted sobriety of the French proof against the temptation which these well-stored cellars presented. On their subsequent occupation of the town, Souham was obliged to stay his march for twelve hours—for his own corps numbered more drunkards even than that of Lord Wellington!"—*Maxwell's Life of Wellington.*





George Cruikshank

The Loyal Little Drummer

corous and sanguinary, that blood alone could satisfy party hatred and thirst for vengeance—and the best interests of the cause itself, were sacrificed to stupid and unproductive brutalities,* from which grey hairs afforded no protection, nor boyhood could claim an immunity.†

* "Providentially the rebels had too many commanders; and those of the Wexford force being mostly priests, their attention was more divided to the interests of their church by purging the land of heretics, than to the concerns of the 'Irish Republic,' which the northern leaders had in view. Consequently, time was wasted in collecting and piking Protestants, which might have been employed with far greater advantage to the cause."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

† "A drummer, named Hunter, of the Antrim regiment, only some twelve years old, fell into the hands of the rebels in the unfortunate affair in which Colonel Walpole lost his life. He carried his drum with him—and when conducted to the town of Gorey, with some other prisoners, being ordered to beat it, actuated by a spirit of enthusiastic loyalty, he exclaimed, 'That the king's drum should never be beaten for rebels;' and at the same instant leaped on the head and broke through the parchment. The inhuman villains, callous to admiration of an heroic act even in an enemy, instantly perforated his body with pikes."—*Musgrave.*

CHAPTER XI.

BATTLE OF ROSS—MASSACRE AT SCULLABOGUE.

THE operations of the rebel armies which we have already detailed—namely, the attempt on Newtown Barry by the corps under Father Kearns, and that on Gorey by the insurgents under the two Murphys and Perry of Inch, with the intervening occurrence of Walpole's defeat at Tubberneering, must be connected by a simultaneous transaction, probably, in military importance, the most interesting which marked the outbreak.

The strongest of the insurgent corps had assembled on the hill of Carrickbyrne, under the chief command of Bagenal Harvey, with Father Roche acting "*en second.*" Their encampment was six miles from the town of Ross,* of which it was their first and greatest object to obtain possession.

The dangerous proximity of the rebel host had caused alarm for the safety of the town, and, consequently, the garrison had been strengthened. On the 5th of June, the County Dublin Militia, with detachments from the Clare, Donegal, and Meath Militia, 5th Dragoons, Mid-Lothian Fencibles, and English artillery, occupied the place; a force amounting to 1,400 men of all arms, of which 150 were yeomen. General Johnson commanded.

On the evening of the 4th of June, the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne broke up,† and the insurgents moved bodily to Corbet-hill, within a mile and a half of Ross, on which, after driving in an outpost, they bivouacked for the night. The royalists, fearing a surprise, remained under arms: the infantry and guns in position on the southern and eastern faces of the town—the yeoman infantry holding the bridge

* The town of Ross is situated on a large river, formed by the junction of the Nore and Barrow, which unite about one mile above it, and meeting the river Suir, at Dunbrody, runs in a south-east direction by Passage, and discharges itself into the sea, at Hook-tower, from which it is about twenty-five miles distant. The navigation to Ross is good—as vessels of nearly 400 tons burthen can lie close to the quay. For this reason, it was a place of considerable trade even as early as the reign of Henry V., and large quantities of corn and provisions were annually exported from it.

It was formerly a place of strength—surrounded with high walls, and strengthened by towers and bastions, of which there are still considerable remains. The whole of the town, except Friary-street, South-street, North-street, the quays, and the space between them and the river, is on a very steep descent. It is ten miles from Waterford, nineteen from Wexford, and sixteen from Enniscorthy.

† "A person who was forced to attend them in their march informed me, that they moved by parishes and baronies, each having a particular standard; and that in their way they stopped at a chapel where mass was said at the head of each column by priests, who sprinkled an abundance of holy water on them."—*Musgrave.*

—and the cavalry formed on the quay. Night passed however, without alarm; and it was four o'clock on the morning of the 5th, before Bagenal Harvey—who had been a few days before elected to the chief command—sent a formal summons to General Johnson, which unfortunately (as some say) was not delivered. Furlong, the rebel leader who carried it, was shot, through the ignorance of the advanced sentry, who paid no respect to a white handkerchief he waved on approaching the royal outposts.

On searching the pockets of the dead man, the following cartel was found:—

"Sir,

"As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against that town; your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder, to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible, will not be controlled, if they meet with resistance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the answer.

"Camp at Corbethill, "I am, Sir,
"half-past three o'clock morning, "B. B. HARVEY,
"June 5th, 1798. "General commanding, &c., &c."

The death of Furlong is said to have precipitated the attack,* for immediately afterwards, the rebels moved forward in dense masses, cheering and yelling, and directing their march directly on the Three-bullet Gate. The advance of this armed multitude—by some estimated at from 20,000 to 25,000 men—was described to me by an eye-witness, as the most singular spectacle imaginable. The irregularity of their array—partly in close column and partly in line—had the effect of displaying their enormous strength to full advantage; while the presence of several priests, who were observed flitting through their ranks, and haranguing their deluded followers with certain assurances of victory, inspired an enthusiastic fanaticism, which blinded them to danger and rendered

* "The movement upon Ross shewed some head on the part of Baganal Harvey—the object being to force the principal passage of the Barrow, and, in conjunction with the insurgents of Kilkenny, bear down upon Waterford, which was then very disaffected, weakly garrisoned, and presented strong temptations in the way of plunder. But Harvey had no idea of attacking Ross when that event took place—and there were evidently no arrangements made for it. Harvey expected, and with reason, that the appearance of his masses on the hills which domineered the town, would have secured the active co-operation of the Kilkenny men from the other side of the Barrow. And this would have been the case had time allowed it; but Furlong was a popular leader among the rebels—and when he was shot by a sentinel at the out-post, the mass of the rebels, maddened by the occurrence, rushed by a sudden impulse, in a mighty but disordered torrent, along one road on the Three-bullet Gate, instead of making a combined movement on an open town, by which, facility of approach and enormous preponderance in numbers could not but have succeeded."—*M.S. Journal of a Field Officer.*

them additionally formidable. They pushed forward four guns, and a cloud of musketeers—some in extended order, and others heading the pikemen, whose crowded columns occupied the whole road, far as the eye could range.

As might have been expected, the pickets were roughly driven in—and, in a wild rush made by the rebels on the troops in front of the Three-bullet Gate, the latter were obliged to recede, and one of the guns was captured. In turn, however, the troops rallied, and drove back the insurgents—and perceiving their unsteadiness when mobbed together in the repulse, General Johnson ordered the 5th Dragoons to charge. For cavalry effect, the ground was totally unsuited—the numerous fences enabling the rebels to avoid the charge—while, protected themselves, they inflicted a heavy loss on men, who very gallantly, but very ineffectively, had thus assailed them at disadvantage.*

An entrance to the town was gained—and while some of the rebels fired the houses, the others pushed forward towards the bridge. But the advance, by Neville-street, was swept by the steady fire of a gun placed in the market-place, and which looked directly down the approach. Notwithstanding the murderous fire which fell on a dense mass of men, wedged together in a narrow street, and which shore the head of the column down as frequently as it came forward, others succeeded those who fell, and fresh numbers momentarily appeared. The troops, terrified at the armed crowds who swarmed through the Three-bullet Gate, and, maddened by ebriety and fanaticism, seemed rather to court death† than avoid it, at last, despairing of offering a longer resistance, retreated across the bridge.

Virtually, the day was lost—for although part of the royalists still held most gallantly a position in the vicinity of the Three-bullet Gate, had the insurgents followed up their success, a total and a bloody defeat of the king's troops must have been unavoidable. But, once within the town, drink and plunder engrossed the attention of the majority—while the admirable gallantry of that brave old man who commanded the retreating royalists, retrieved the fortunes of the day.

Crossing to the Kilkenny side, General Johnson rallied the fugitives

* Musgrave narrates the very singular escape of the officer who commanded the cavalry:—

"When Captain Irwine was approaching the Three-bullet Gate from the last field, a twelve-pounder posted there was fired, and killed his horse, which, falling on his leg, prevented him from moving, at the same time that our troops in that quarter had retired within the gate, and were retreating towards the bridge, and the rebels had advanced within a few yards, and would have killed him, but that they were engaged in taking possession of the gun. In that critical moment, an artillery horse happened to gallop by, and so near him that he laid hold of one of the traces, and was dragged into the town, by which his life was saved."

† One rebel, emboldened by fanaticism and drunkenness, advanced before his comrades, seized a gun, crammed his hat and wig into it, and cried out, "Come on, boys! her mouth is stopped." At that instant the gunner laid the match to the gun, and blew the unfortunate savage to atoms. Incredible as this instance of savage ignorance may appear, the fact has been verified by the affidavit of a person who saw *it from a window.*

and urged them to follow him once more. "Will you desert your general?" he exclaimed to the disheartened militia;* but this appeal was coldly heard. "*And your countryman too?*" he added. The chord of national honour was touched—a cheer answered it—the old man wheeled his horse round, and riding in front, brought back his rallied troops to the fight—and rejoining the few who still held the post beside the Three-bullet Gate, announced that a large reinforcement had just arrived from Waterford. When the fortune of a doubtful day is in the balance, a feather turns it frequently. Such was the case at Ross. The troops cheered, and plied their musketry with additional spirit and excellent effect—and turning the rebel rear, put their massive column into a confusion which proved irretrievable; and at last, with desperate slaughter, drove them fairly from the town. The exhaustion of the garrison, prevented any thing being attempted beyond a brief pursuit in the direction of Corbet-hill—while the rebels made no effort to rally and renew the action, but went off dispersedly, some, to their old camp at Carrickbyrne, and others, to a new position, which they had taken on a height called Slieve-Keilter, some four miles' distance from the town.

In this—the most sanguinary and hardly-contested action of the insurrection, commencing at five in the morning, and ending at three in the afternoon, the loss on both sides was immense,† although, in gross numbers, wholly disproportionate. Musgrave states the rebels killed to have exceeded 2,500, besides the many "carried off on cars." Probably, an abatement of a thousand would give a fairer and more correct account. Before the walls—between the Three-bullet and Bunnion Gates—and in the cross lanes and streets which led directly to the market-place, the slaughter was enormous.

* It appeared that the rebels had been induced to think that the militia regiments at Ross, from being almost entirely composed of Romanists, would have either joined them in the action, or offered a feeble opposition. The Clare regiment was considered friendly—and the Dublin County were believed not particularly loyal or trust-worthy. "Be this as it may, their colonel, Lord Mountjoy, was heading them up the street leading to the Three-bullet Gate, when he met his death, and the attachment which his men bore him, superseded every other feeling but a desire for revenge. Although they had retired at first before the torrent, they rallied instantly, and shewed no appearance of disaffection afterwards, but fought stoutly at Vinegar-hill. Lord M. was riding a little way a-head of the regiment, when he was shot from a window by a baker's boy. The boy left the country for some years—but when I was in Ross, in 1838, and inquiring into matters connected with the battle, I found he had returned home, and was living in his native town unmolested. Such were the results of the fall of Furlong on the one side, and the death of Lord M. on the other."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

† "The loss of the king's troops was one colonel, one ensign, four serjeants, three drummers, eighty-one rank and file, and fifty-four horses killed; one captain, one drummer, fifty-four rank and file, and five horses wounded; one captain, three lieutenants, one ensign, two serjeants, two corporals, seventy-two rank and file, and four horses missing. Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin regiment, who fell in the first onset, at the Three-bullet Gate, was universally lamented, as his public and private virtues had made him an object of general esteem. He was possessed of high mental endowments—an elegant scholar and a good public speaker. He had the gentlest manners and the mildest affections imaginable—warm and sincere in friendship, and so benevolent and humane that he never harboured revenge."—*Musgrave.*

In Chapel-lane the rebels lay three deep—and throughout the approaches to the main guard, the streets were heaped with corpses.

The defence of this post, and the assistance afforded to the few brave men who held it, were characteristic of the desperate fighting, which marks the uncompromising spirit that religious and political antipathies produce. A most gallant soldier, Serjeant Hamilton, of the Donegal Regiment, with sixteen men and two ship-guns, indifferently mounted, were posted at the intersection of four streets, in the immediate vicinity of the jail. When the troops retreated over the bridge, Hamilton was recommended to remove the spare ammunition he had in charge, and quit a post where now he must remain isolated and unsupported. His reply was, "Never, but with life!"—and though frequently assailed by hundreds, he laned them literally with grape-shot, covering the approach to the guns with dead and dying men, and through every turn of a doubtful conflict, resolutely maintaining his ground. Although the leading streets were completely under his fire, the gallant serjeant was open to attack from a narrow lane, immediately beside the main guard—where, sheltered from the cannon, the rebels could form in security; and no doubt from that point, they would have carried the post by a sudden onset, had not a fortunate circumstance afforded the Donegal soldiers protection from the threatened danger.

The house of a loyalist called Dowesley, was in the Backhouse-lane, and occupied by the family and a lame pensioner. The part of the lane where the rebels were safe from the fire of Hamilton's guns, was, however, commanded by Dowesley's windows; and whenever the insurgents attempted to form and attack the main guard, a close and constant fusilade from the little garrison of the house,* drove them from a place where they had expected to find shelter while collecting for their intended attack. As fast as the muskets were discharged, the old soldier quickly re-loaded them, adding half-a-dozen buck-shot to the bullet—and so deadly was the fire from Dowesley's dwelling, that upwards of fifty bodies were found after the action, heaped together in the lane.†

As was customary in this abominable warfare, blood did not cool

* Numerous displays of individual gallantry were made by loyalists during this sanguinary action. One we cannot but record:—"Mr. Michael M'Cormick, an inhabitant of New Ross, and formerly a quarter-master in the 5th dragoons, fought gallantly on this memorable day. His valour could not be exceeded—as he rallied the men over and over during the engagement. Wherever a soldier attempted to shelter himself from the heavy fire of the enemy, he would surely find him out, and drive him into the action again—in fact, he was every where, and his conduct was truly praise-worthy. Before the battle began, all the inhabitants fled over the bridge, into the county of Kilkenny, except M'Cormick's wife, who staid in town, and was employed during the whole battle mixing wine and water for the soldiers; which must have proved truly grateful to men debilitated in the extreme, not only by hard fighting, but also from the heat of the day, and of the burning houses by which they were surrounded."—*Narrative by George Taylor.*

† Mr. Tottenham, the proprietor of Ross, employed six carts and a great many men for two entire days, in collecting the bodies of the slain. Most of those found in the town were thrown into the river, and carried off with the tide. The remainder were flung into a fosse outside the town wall, and buried there.

down with conquest—nor, when the battle ended, was the sword returned to its sheath. A horrible occurrence is narrated by Musgrave—and the language in which it is expressed, savours strongly of the spirit of the times, and is not very creditable to the finer feelings of the historian. "A party of rebels," he says, "got into a very good slated house, at the upper end of Mary-street, which the soldiers having set fire to, *the savages were roasted alive*, and when their bodies were brought forth, presented a most hideous and disgusting spectacle." Disgusting indeed, the spectacle must have been! But where was there a hostile encounter during this barbarous and unholy contest, unstained by wanton cruelties on both sides?

It has been remarked before, that the royal artillery throughout the rebellion, were remarkable alike for steady bravery and incorruptible fidelity. The latter was fatally evidenced during the doubtful day of Ross.

"The rebels," says Musgrave, "brought one of the field-pieces, which they had taken at the mountain of Forth, as far into South-street as Major Cliffe's house, and one of the artillerymen, taken at the same time, was tied to it for the purpose of serving it. A fellow of the name of Forrestal made him discharge it, once with grape, and twice with round shot, at the main guard. The artilleryman, whose loyalty was unabated, elevated the gun in such a manner as not to do execution; for with the last shot he knocked off the quoin of a house almost close to the eaves, and opposite the court-house, where the main guard was stationed. The poor fellow boasted of the execution he had done—but Forrestal drew out a pistol, and shot him through the head, saying, 'That is a much better shot.'"*

One anecdote more deserves to be recorded. It was common with Protestants who fell unfortunately, into the hands of the southern insurgents, to endeavour to avert their fate by pretending they were Romanists themselves—and the usual test required to prove the fact, was an order for the prisoner "to bless himself!" If he could go through the form, he might be saved—if he failed, he would, as a consequence, be butchered. During the action at Ross, a Protestant townsman had been severely wounded, and when the troops retreated over the bridge, he was left lying in the street. Some rebels came up, and perceiving, on turning him over on his back, that life still remained, they were proceeding to pike him, when, in the agony of the moment, he supplicated mercy, and declared himself a Catholic. The rebels paused—"Is he a Christian?" inquired one savage of his fellow. "Bid him say his prayers," replied the second. A woman standing at a window recognized her neighbour, and knew well that he could not pass the ordeal. She rushed into the street, although a dropping fire was still maintained between the retreating loyalists and the advancing rebels—knelt beside the wounded man—whispered some Catholic formulæ in his ear, which he repeated, and was saved! What makes the anecdote

* It is a pleasure to be enabled to add, that this ruffian was hanged soon after, having been already convicted of the commission of *fourteen murders*.

the more striking, is the fact, that the wounded man had been denounced previously by a fiend in the garb of woman—while another set personal danger at defiance, and saved him.

The conflict at Ross might have been rendered shorter and less sanguinary, had the Roscommon regiment, which had been detached from Waterford early on the morning of the action, completed its march, and brought its timely reinforcement to the exhausted garrison. "When the first division had advanced about two miles on their march, they were met by some of the fugitive soldiers from the town, who informed the colonel, that the troops, overpowered by numbers and exhausted by fatigue, had been defeated with great slaughter—that they had fled to Thomas-town—and that the town of Ross had been burnt. However, the colonel, determined to do his duty, marched to a high hill over a deep defile, called Glynmore, in a straight line, about two miles and a half from Ross, whence, with the assistance of a good glass, he saw a smoke issuing from the town, but could not discern any troops in it, from which he concluded that his intelligence had been well founded; He therefore thought it prudent to retreat."*

At the time, the colonel was censured, and very justly, for not carrying his orders into execution. The reports of fugitives should never be attended to—as every refugee from a battle-field always endeavours to veil his cowardice by announcing a defeat. Although from the smoke of a burning town, and the haze occasioned by the firing, he might not have been able to distinguish the troops—sound, as well as sight, would indicate that the battle was raging. On a high ground, not a league distance from the scene of action, and on a calm summer's day, the booming of shotted guns must have been heard distinctly. But supposing that the account of the runaways were true, and the royalists had been defeated, that very fact rendered his advance the more imperative, as with a fresh and unbroken battalion, he might, had he not been able to restore the battle, at least have covered a retreat. He had nothing to apprehend for himself—the road behind him was open—he might, with every respect to prudence, have pushed his light company forward, and cautiously felt his way. A quarter of an hour would have been sufficient to ascertain correctly how the day had gone—and whether the battle were won or lost, his presence was equally important. The moral and physical effect of the arrival of a fresh regiment would have been incalculable—and the slaughter which the brave old man who won the day of Ross, would have been enabled to inflict upon the insurgents, might have gone far to quench the growing spirit of rebellion, and neutralize the mischief, which Walpole's disgraceful defeat at Tubberneering had so extensively occasioned.

It has been said that great advantages accidentally arose from the ill-judged retreat of the Roscommon regiment†—but accident is no apology

* Musgrave.

† "The enemy, when repulsed, retired at first to Corbet-hill, whence they saw the Roscommon regiment; and as they were ignorant of their retreat, and as the distance, obscuring the discernment of the rebels, had magnified their number, they imagined that our troops had received a large reinforcement, which deterred them from renew-

for a military mistake, although in war, it may do much occasionally. A movement, erroneous altogether, and opposed to every strategic principle, may possibly gain a battle, but, ninety and nine defeats will be a desperate set-off against a solitary success.

The next day, the colonel moved a second time from Waterford, and reached Ross with little opposition, although, during the short interval that had occurred, the country had risen *en masse*. On the adjacent hills, parties of rebels were seen—and an arch of the Glynmore bridge had been partially broken—but the colonel planked it, and passed his guns easily across. A body of rebels who shewed themselves upon a height, gave way after a round or two from the cannon—previously murdering fifteen of the refugee militiamen, who had fled from Ross the day before, fell into these ruffians' hands, and now paid the penalty of their cowardice.

With the battle of Ross, subsequent atrocities which have placed the Wexford insurrection fearfully pre-eminent in crime, were connected. One foul deed infinitely surpassed all others—and, with the massacres perpetrated by wholesale on Wexford-bridge and Vinegar-hill, has cast a stain on Irish character, that another century will scarcely remove. One reads, almost with incredulity, of Autos-da-fe, and Eves of St. Bartholomew, and blesses God—when he finds the narrative is true—that his lot was not cast in an age of cruelty and darkness. But when he is told of scenes enacted within fifty years, and immediately beside him, he almost blushes to think that the wolfish wretches who were the actors, bore the common name of man.

It is a revolting detail that historic impartiality forces on the writer, and it shall be briefly despatched.

When the rebels encamped on Carrickbyrn, they established an outpost at the house of Scullabogue, which had been deserted by its proprietor, Captain King. A large barn was attached to the mansion—it was 34 feet long, 15 in breadth, and 12 in height. This outhouse, and the mansion itself, had been made a prison wherein to deposit the unfortunate prisoners, who by their loyalty, or their difference in religious faith, had incurred the displeasure of the rebels, and fell after the outbreak into their hands; and on the morning when the rebels marched to the attack of Ross, 230 ill-fated victims were then confined in a building, which proved at once, their prison and their grave. A rebel guard was left to secure the captives, amounting to 300 men, under the command of three subordinate leaders, named Murphy of Loughnageer, Devereux, and Sweetman. The particulars of the butchery which took place on the fatal 5th of June, will be best understood by abstracts from evidence upon oath, given on the trials of some of the monsters implicated in this hellish sacrifice. Any

ing the attack that evening. It is to be feared that it would have been fatal to the garrison, who were overcome with hunger and fatigue, and many of them sunk into a state of ebriety and somnolency.

"It was also very fortunate that the Roscommon regiment returned to Waterford that night, as the rebels, who were numerous and well organized there, meditated an insurrection, imagining that Ross had been taken."—*Musgrave.*

person who wishes for more extensive details of this most atrocious transaction, will find them duly verified in the voluminous appendix attached to Musgrave's Memoirs.

The depositions of sundry persons are briefly abridged. One who escaped the massacre, by the bribery of a rebel, and the virtue of a priest's protection, gives the following account of this horrible transaction.

He states, that when the rebel army began to give way at Ross, an express was sent to Murphy, to put the Protestant prisoners to death, as the king's troops were gaining the day; but Murphy refused to comply without a direct order from the general. That, he soon after received another message to the same purpose, with this addition, that "the prisoners, if released, would become very furious and vindictive." That shortly after, a third express arrived, saying, "the priest gave orders that the prisoners should be put to death." That, the rebels on getting the sanction of the priest, became outrageous, and began to pull off their clothes, the better to perform the bloody deed. That, when they were leading the prisoners out from the dwelling-house to shoot them, he turned away from such a scene of horror—on which a rebel struck him with a pike upon the back, and said, he would "let his guts out if he did not follow him." That, he then attended the rebels to the barn, in which there was a great number of men, women, and children; and that the rebels were endeavouring to set fire to it, while the poor prisoners, shrieking and crying out for mercy, crowded to the back door of the building, which they forced open for the purpose of admitting air. That, for some time they continued to put the door between them and the rebels, who were piking or shooting them. That, in attempting to do so, their hands or fingers were cut off. That, the rebels continued to force into the barn, bundles of straw to increase the fire. At last, that the prisoners having been overcome by the flame and smoke, their moans and cries gradually died away in the silence of death—and all became still.

It was also proved on the trial of John Keefe, convicted by a court-martial on the 14th of April, 1800, on the evidence of Robert Mills, that, after the bloody work began, he saw the prisoner with a pike, the point of which was broken, and the top of the shaft or handle was bloody; that, he carried it to an adjoining forge, whetted it on a sharpening-stone, and then proceeded to the front of the dwelling-house where they were shooting the prisoners. Among the persons most conspicuous, were the names of Fardy, Sinnot, Michell or Miscally—the latter of whom trampled on the dead and wounded bodies, and behaved otherwise in such a ferocious manner, as to obtain from the rebels the appellation of "the true-born Roman."

William Ryan, a farmer, about three miles from Scullabogue, had a daughter who was mistress to a gentleman at Duncannon. The rebel guards at Scullabogue, thinking that they might extract from her some important information relative to the plans of the loyalists—as her paramour was a Protestant—or dreading that she and her friends who were Roman Catholics, might betray their secrets, sent a body of pikemen in quest of her; but not being able to find her, they were of





opinion that her sister Eleanor, who lived at Mr. Rossiter's, would answer equally well. They therefore seized and brought her to the barn—and her father shortly after having gone there with his poor old wife, to solicit her liberation, the parents and child were thrust into the barn together, and burned with the other unfortunates.

No less than twenty-four Protestants were taken from the village of Tintern, about eight miles distant, many of them old and feeble—and led in one drove to the barn, where they perished.*

Thomas Shee and Patrick Prendergast were burnt in the barn, both Romanists, because they would not consent to the massacre of their Protestant masters.

William Johnson, a very old man, though of the same persuasion, shared a similar fate. He gained a livelihood by playing on the bagpipes—but was so unfortunate as to incur the vengeance of the rebels, by playing 'Croppies lie down.'

William Neil, another Romanist, who suffered there, was by trade a tailor, and had worked for some time in the garrison of Duncannon. Having occasion to return to Camolin, of which he was a native, he procured the pass of General Fawcett for his protection, but it turned out to be the means of his destruction. Having been intercepted by the rebels, who considered the pass an emblem of loyalty, they committed him to the barn, with a son who happened to accompany him, and both perished in the flames.

The witness, during this dreadful scene, saw a child who got under the door, and was likely to escape, although much hurt and bruised; when a rebel perceiving it, struck his pike through it, and threw it into the flames. While the rebels were shooting the prisoners in front of the dwelling-house, a party of men and women were engaged in stripping and rifling the dead bodies; and the prisoner, Phelim Fardy, called out to them to avoid the line of his fire (as he was busily employed in shooting the prisoners), and after saying so, he fired at a man who was on his knees, who instantly fell and expired.

The barn was so limited in size, that suffocation must have soon taken place from the great number of people compressed into a space so small; for besides the burning of the thatched roof of the barn, the rebels fed it, by introducing blazing faggots on their pikes.

Richard Grandy, who was present, swears that the prisoners in front of the house were led out by fours to be shot, and that the rebels who pierced them when they fell, took pleasure in licking their spears.

A gentleman present, who had a narrow escape, assured me that a rebel said he would try the taste of orange blood, and that he dipped a tooth-pick in a wound of one of the Protestants who was shot, and then put it into his mouth.

Whenever a body fell on being shot, the rebel guards shouted and pierced it with their pikes.†

* "They burned there several wives and some of the children of the North Cork Militia in the barn, who were Roman Catholics; but it was sufficient to provoke their vengeance that they were connected with the soldiers of an heretical king."—*Musgrave.*

† These statements are taken from affidavits which will be found in the Appendix to Musgrave's Memoirs, No. XX.

There is every reason to believe that this horrible atrocity, occasioned to all but the lowest barbarians who were banded with the rebel forces, feelings of alarm and disgust. Almost the last act of Bagenal Harvey, before he was deprived of his command, was the publication of a general order to restrain future acts of violence*—and he originated a subscription, in which many rebel leaders joined, to pay for the interment of the poor sufferers. Roche—not the priest, but a lay commander—issued also, a conciliatory address†—and years after-

* Resolved, that all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unless authorized to quit by written orders from the commander-in-chief for that purpose.

It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept in the rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert from any engagement, and that these orders shall be taken notice of by all officers commanding at such engagement.

All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and punished according to their sentence.

It is also ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters when they have been halted by the commander-in-chief, shall suffer death, unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing.

It is ordered by the commander-in-chief, that all persons who have stolen or taken away any horse or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses to the camp, at head-quarters, otherwise, any horse that shall be seen or found in the possession of any person to whom he does not belong, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

And any goods that shall have been plundered from any house, if not brought into head-quarters, or returned immediately to the houses or owners, that all persons so plundering as aforesaid, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

It is also resolved, that any person or persons who shall take upon him or them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without any special written orders from the commander-in-chief, shall suffer death.

By order of

B. B. Harvey, Commander-in-chief.
Francis Breen, Secretary and Adjutant.

Head-quarters, Carrickbyrne Camp,
June 6, 1798.

† TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Countrymen and Fellow Soldiers!

Your patriotic exertions in the cause of your country have hitherto exceeded your most sanguine expectations, and in a short time must ultimately be crowned with success. Liberty has raised her drooping head; thousands daily flock to her standard; the voice of her children everywhere prevails—let us then, in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the universe, that a total stop has been put to those sanguinary measures, which of late were but too often resorted to by the creatures of government to keep the people in slavery.

Nothing, now, my countrymen, appears necessary to secure the conquests you have so bravely won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs; for, through a want of proper subordination and discipline, all may be endangered.

At this eventful period, all Europe must desire, and posterity will read with astonishment, the heroic acts achieved by people, strangers to military tactics, and having few professional commanders. But what power can resist men fighting for liberty?

In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarnished with any wanton act of cruelty; many of those unfortunate men now in prison were *not your enemies* from principle, most of them, compelled by necessity, were obliged

wards, it was the greatest wish of such of the Wexford rebels as survived, to prove, that in whatever crimes they might have participated largely, they were wholly unconnected with the burning of Scullabogue.*

to oppose you; neither let a difference in religious sentiments cause a difference amongst the people. Recur to the debates in the Irish House of Lords of the 19th of February last, you will there see a patriotic and enlighted *Protestant bishop* (Down, and many of the lay lords) with manly eloquence, pleading for Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, in opposition to the haughty arguments of the lord chancellor, and the powerful opposition of his fellow courtiers.

To promote a union of brotherhood and affection amongst our countrymen of all religious persuasions, has been our principal object; we have sworn in the most solemn manner, have associated for this laudable purpose, and no power on earth shall shake our resolution.

To my *Protestant* soldiers I feel much indebted for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited signal proofs of bravery in the cause.

Wexford, June 7, 1798. EDWARD ROCHE.

* "My informant's chief anxiety seemed to be the shewing that he, and the Wexford people in general, were clear of the massacre on the bridge, which he solemnly assured us was perpetrated by the Shelmalier men and the lowest ruffians about the quays of Wexford—while the others were at Long Ridge—but he could offer no palliation for the atrocities of Scullabogue and Vinegar-hill. He was a mercantile man, and employed in attending to the lading of a fine ship, called 'The Shelmalier.' The figure-head of the vessel was a good likeness of Esmond Kyan, who lost an arm at Arklow, and was afterwards hanged at Wexford."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

CHAPTER XII.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REBEL DEFEAT AT ROSS—BATTLE OF ARKLOW.

One of the great objects of the rebels in their attack on Ross, was to obtain command of the rivers Nore and Barrow. The possession of Wexford and Enniscorthy had already placed the navigation of the Slaney in their hands—but the possession of the Barrow would have been still more valuable, could they but obtain it. The royalists, on the other hand, were alive to its importance—for, were it closed by the insurgents, the military occupation of the interior of the county could scarcely be retained. General Johnson looked to Duncannon Fort for his ammunition, while his commissariat was chiefly dependent upon Waterford. Thither also, by water-carriage, he could dispatch his sick and wounded men—and so long as the command of the Barrow was in his hands, even though the country around should burst into general insurrection, by that river he could maintain his communications, and secure the necessary supplies required for an army in the field.

The first advantage therefore, which he derived from his victory at Ross, was to complete what he had previously commenced—a free water-communication with Waterford. Captain Hill, of the Navy, was directed to destroy the country boats, which he did most effectually, to the number of 170. It was a dangerous service—for although the gun-boats, by which the river was kept open, had been provided with musket-proof barricades, on one occasion several of the soldiers and sailors who manned them, were killed and wounded by a sudden onslaught from the encampment at Slieve-Keilter; while they were constantly fired on by concealed rebels who were sheltered in the numerous woods which stretched down to the river's banks.

The insurgents, after their defeat, employed themselves far less profitably than their opponents. The deposition of Bagenal Harvey from the command, and the election of Philip Roche was their first act. The latter had earned a savage reputation by being the leader at Tubberneering, and there obtaining an accidental success. Like Murphy, of Boulavogue, Roche was a man of ferocious character and vulgar habits—but although drunken and illiterate, his huge stature and rough manners gave him a perfect ascendancy over the savage mobs which, in rebel parlance, constituted an army.

If Harvey proved himself an incompetent leader on the day of Ross, Roche, on his succession to the command, evinced neither talent or activity. His chief exploit was an attack upon a gentleman's house, in which he was disgracefully repulsed*—while, in a new camp he

* "Quitting the post of Slieve-Keilter in three days after their arrival, the troops of Philip Roche occupied the hill of Lacken, within a mile of Ross, where they

formed within a mile of Ross, the time was passed in drunken revelry, diversified occasionally with a sermon from Father Philip, or the slaughter of some helpless wretch, accused of being an enemy to the people.

I may observe here, that very many of the unfortunate men, who fell in action with the king's troops, or suffered death by martial law, had been compelled by force to join the insurgent armies. Of the rebel chiefs, the priests were decidedly the most despotic, and too often the most unrelenting to the unhappy men, who became prisoners to the banditti they commanded. Even their own order were, in some instances, obliged to submit to the dictation of drunken and illiterate scoundrels, whom they secretly detested and despised. When carousing on Lacken Hill, Roche, instead of employing his multitudes, seems to have been anxious only to increase them—and the following letter to a fellow-priest, will shew that the sacerdotal method of recruiting in '98, was even more arbitrary than Napoleon's.

"Rev. Sir,

"You are hereby ordered, in conjunction with Edmund Walsh, to order all your parishioners to the camp on Lacken Hill, under pain of the most severe punishment; for I declare to you and to them, in the name of the people, if you do not, that I will censure all Sutton's parish with fire and sword. Come to see me this day.

"Lacken Hill, June 14th, 1798. "ROCHE.

"To the Rev. James Doyle."

It was given out in general orders, that the commander-in-chief should send out guards to compel such persons as they should find loitering at home to join them, and punish with death those who should resist the order. Those who refused to take arms, were directed also to be tried by court-martial, and put to death.

Another epistle is equally characteristic of the desperate fanaticism of these atrocious men, who, when abandoning the altar, appear to have cast to the winds every feeling of common humanity. It was written from Gorey, and addressed by Michael Murphy to a Dublin shopkeeper. The priest was killed at Arklow—and after the battle General Skerrett received some plunder from a soldier, comprising,

formed a less irregular encampment than usual, many tents being erected for the lodgement of their officers. A detachment, sent hence for arms and ammunition to the town of Borris in the county of Carlow, twelve miles distant, on the 12th, was, by a fire of the garrison from the house of Mr. Cavenagh (used on the occasion as a fortress) repulsed with the loss of ten killed and many wounded, while only one soldier fell on the side of the loyalists; but this handsome little town was in great part burned. With exception of this fruitless attempt, the bands on Lacken lay inactive, regaling themselves on the slaughtered cattle and liquors, which were procured in plenty from the country in their possession, and so negligent of their safety, that, any night after the two first, they might have been surprised and routed by a detachment from the garrison of Ross."—*Gordon.*

among other things, a watch, crucifix, and the following letter,* which he had found on the body of Father Murphy:—

"Friend Houston! Gorey, 6th June.

"Great events are ripening. In a few days we shall meet. The first fruits of your regeneration must be a tincture of poison and pike, in the metropolis, against heretics. This is a tribunal for such opinions. Your talents must not be buried as a judge. Your sons must be steeled with fortitude against heresy, then we shall do; and you shall shine in a higher sphere. We shall have an army of brave republicans, 100,000, with fourteen pieces of cannon, on Tuesday, before Dublin; your heart will beat high at the news. You will rise with a proportionable force.

"Yours ever,

"Decipher, B. I. K. M. Q. Y. * * * "M. MURPHY."

But though such monsters as Roche and Kearns and the Murphys brought obloquy and disgrace upon the priesthood, it is but common justice to the Roman Catholic clergy to state, that numbers were both loyal and humane,—even most of those who were really disaffected, confined their treason to secret encouragement, and abstained from overt acts—and culpable as they were, they at least did not afford to their tainted flocks the encouragement of open example. But there were others, and not a few, who exerted themselves to abate the barbarities of these abominable times—and where they dared not give public expression to their feelings, by secret influence or pardonable artifice, saved many devoted to destruction.†

The consternation which the intelligence of Walpole's destruction occasioned in the metropolis, may be easily imagined. Many families quitted the kingdom in despair, and even the Lady-Lieutenant hastily abandoned the Castle, and sailed for England, on hearing the disastrous occurrence. This, probably, was the gloomiest moment of that fearful period—but the unbounded loyalty and devotion of the Dublin Protestants, shone out with increasing brilliancy, and assisted to dispel the gathering cloud.

In the metropolis, the yeomanry amounted to nearly 4,000 men, now well-armed, well-disciplined, and purged from those traitors, who but a few weeks before had thronged their ranks. With perfect confidence

* "Father Murphy, in the constant hurry and confusion in which he had been kept probably, in preparing for the attack of Arklow, had neither time nor opportunity to forward this edifying epistle."—*Musgrave.*

† Frequently the priests urged Protestants, whom they wished to preserve, to conform apparently to popery—but temporary security, and not a wish to proselytize, was the humane object. Musgrave says that at Feathard, "Father Doyle, the priest, assembled the Protestants in a house, under a pretence of baptizing them, though in fact he did not perform that ceremony; and he very humanely announced, in order to save their lives, that they were sincere converts to his religion."

These facts were proved on the trial of Devereux, Haughran, and some other assassins concerned in the atrocious burning at Scullabogue.

the city was intrusted to their protection—and from the few regular troops in garrison, the Cavan regiment, with a detachment of Reay Fencibles, were despatched to reinforce the troops in Wicklow, and enable the royalists to rally and recover the ground they had lost. The troops were forwarded by carriages specially impressed—the command given to General Needham—and on the 6th of June, the column quitted Wicklow, and after passing a deserted country, and being joined by some yeomanry and armed loyalists, it entered Arklow early the same evening; some straggling rebels retiring from the town, where they had loitered plundering and drinking, on the cavalry advanced guard appearing by the Dublin road.

The reception of the troops by the inhabitants was enthusiastic—for many under fear of death had already abandoned their houses, to embark in fishing-boats, and escape from a place which they expected to become an immediate scene of savage violence.

During the two succeeding days (7th and 8th of June), the commanding officer was engaged in making dispositions for the defence of the town, and in selecting a position. Ground was marked out capable of being occupied by a body of troops so limited in number as the garrison; and while such fences were preserved as would afford cover to the royal light troops, from which to annoy an advancing enemy, others, that could either mask their movements, or interrupt the play of the guns, were levelled and removed. Meanwhile the country was carefully patrolled; and alarm-posts assigned to the different corps to take up on the rebels being reported to be in motion.

The morning of the 9th came. At noon a wing of the Durham Fencibles marched in,* under the command of an excellent officer, Colonel Skerrett, affording a well-timed and most efficient reinforcement to the garrison—and in consequence of this arrival, General Needham made a slight change in his dispositions—and never was a little army more curiously composed, than the morning state of that of Arklow exhibited on the day of the attack upon the town.

* "A few hours after their arrival, one of those ludicrous incidents occurred, which, amid the calamities of war, occasionally amuse military men. Two of the officers of this regiment, passing by the house of Mr. Miles O'Neile, where Needham was quartered, and where a breakfast was prepared for the General, were mistaken by a servant for two of the expected guests, and informed that "breakfast was ready." This intelligence being communicated, the Durham officers came in a body and devoured the viands wholesale. One of them, Captain Wallingtun, remaining behind the rest, had assembled about him the drivers of the carriages in which the regiment had travelled from Dublin, to pay them severally their demands. The General, at length arriving with a company of hungry guests, was at first astonished when he saw his lodgings surrounded by a crowd of wrangling coachmen; but when informed of the fate of his breakfast, he burst into a rage, and drove out the intruders with such fury that, with their paymaster, they tumbled one over another in the street."—*Gordon*.

		Colonels.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Quarter-masters.	Serjeants.	Drummers or Trumpeters.	Rank and File.
Cavalry, Col. Sir W. W. Wynne.	4th Dragoon Guards ...			2	2			3		21
	5th Dragoons				1					18
	Ancient British	1	2	1	5	2	4	7	4	81
	Cavalry	1	2	3	8	2	4	10	4	120
1st Brigade, Lieut.-Colonel Cope.	Armagh Militia		1		7			3	3	107
	Tyrone light company ...			1	1			3	1	42
	North Cork Militia ...				1			1	1	28
	Suffolk light company ...			1	1			2	3	31
	Cavan Militia	1	1	4	9	4		24	7	312
2nd Brigade, Colonel Barry Maxwell.	Antrim Militia		1	1	6	2		9		201
	Londonderry grenadier company			1	1			4		66
3rd Brigade, Col. Skerrett.	Durham Fencibles ...	1	2	4	15	4		27	15	245
	Dunbarton			1	6	1		10	5	105

YEOMANRY CORPS.	Mounted.					Dismounted.			
	Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Trumpeters.	Rank & File.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.
North Arklow, Captain Lord Wicklow ...	2	2	3	1	40		1		25
South Arklow, Captain Atkins	1	2	4	1	43	1	1		15
Camolin, Captain, Earl of Mountnorris ...	1	2	2		57	1			24
Coolgreney, Captain Beauman	1	2	4	1	43				
Castleton, Captain Knox	1	2	4		41				9
	6	10	17	3	224	2	2		73

As the evening came on, an advanced picket announced the appearance of the insurgents—and consequently, an infantry outpost at the Charter-house was called in, and replaced by a cavalry patrol—while by the two great approaches to the town,—the sea-side road, and that leading to Coolgreney—dense masses were seen moving to the attack. By the former road, one great column directed its march against the lower part of the town, called the Fishery,—by the latter, an im-

mense mass, under the command of Father Murphy of Ballycanoo, threatened the upper part of Arklow, and thus endangered the right and rear of the royalist position. To deploy their unwieldy masses appeared to be a task beyond the power of their leaders, for more than half an hour was consumed in the attempt,—and when they did effect the change, the line was irregular and disordered—at some parts merely in rank entire, and at others six files deep.

The royalists were already in position; the line being slightly curved, the flanks refused, and each protected by battalion guns, with two six-pounders nearly in the centre. The hedges were lined by the Suffolk and Tyrone militia, and part of the supplementary yeomen, with a small party posted in the churchyard, and another at the bottom of the street which looked upon the bridge. These posts were occupied to defend the lower town. The barrack walls had been provided with a banquette,* and supplied with musqueteers, while the upper end of the street was barricadoed with carts and lumber, and defended by part of the Antrim regiment, and a field-piece. Generally, the cavalry were formed on the bridge and sands. Taking the local character of the place, and the small number of its defenders into consideration, the disposition of the troops was very judicious, and creditable to General Needham.

The actual strength of the rebel army was, on the lowest calculation, computed at 25,000 men, and on good authority it has been even raised to 31,000. About 5,000 of the insurgents were armed with firearms, and they brought two well-appointed guns into action. But it was not from their enormous numbers only that they were formidable. They came forward under the wildest enthusiasm, burning to exact vengeance for past defeats, and confident that they must annihilate the small but daring body, who, undaunted by a twenty-fold superiority, were steadily awaiting their attack. "During the morning's march from Gorey, they plundered the houses of the Protestants of every thing valuable, putting in requisition all the spirits and provisions that could be supplied; and, under the double influence of intoxication and fanaticism, were led on by their priests, who inspired them with ideas of their own invincibleness; because, as they assured the misguided wretches, they were engaged in the cause of heaven, and opposed to the enemies of God. To maintain that religious frenzy, which was their great source of courage, at the end of every mile during the march, their leaders said mass, and used every mode of exhortation, and every superstitious device that priestcraft could invent. They advanced in an irregular line, which was frequently broken by their running out to file along the hedge-rows lying parallel to the position of the king's troops, of the cover of which they endeavoured to avail themselves. Their front rank was composed of those who had firearms, and were mostly from the barony of Shelmalier, on the Wexford coast, where they subsist during the winter by shooting

* A wooden stage generally attached to high walls, at an elevation which will allow the defenders to fire over the parapet.

sea-fowl, which makes them expert marksmen. They were covered in the rear by the pikemen many deep, while at certain intervals the line was strengthened by numerous masses of men, who were ready to supply the places of those who fell, or act as occasion might require. Each company had a green flag about two feet square, with a yellow harp in the centre, while some were party-coloured, and equal in size to the king's colours. Their leaders were distinguishable riding through the ranks, marshalling them, and giving orders."*

During the engagement the rebels frequently repeated their dreadful yells, which heightened the terrific appearance of a numerous host of barbarians, who seemed confident, from superior numbers, that they could easily overwhelm the small army that opposed them.

The rebels advanced two guns by the Coolgreney road, under a sharp and destructive fire from those on the right of the Durham regiment, and the third, in position at the barricado. Both of the former were dragged up by lanes from the high road, and placed on high grounds—one looking on the centre of the royalist line, the other commanding its left flank.

Although tedious in their formation, the insurgent column directed against the lower town, advanced so rapidly, that they had nearly succeeded in cutting off a cavalry patrol, which saved itself, however, by swimming the horses across the Ovoca. Having fired the houses in the suburb, the rebels pushed on under cover of the smoke,—but they never could gain the bridge, as the fire of the detached party which covered that approach, and the second which held the churchyard, cut down the head of the column, and finally disordered it so much as to allow the cavalry, formed on the sands, to charge with excellent effect. During a long and desperate struggle, the troops behaved with a steadiness and determination, which enabled them not only to secure the lower town, but to inflict a destructive loss upon the assailants.

But the grand effort of the insurgents was directed against the left and centre of the position, and the barricade that covered its right flank. From behind the hedges the rebels kept up a heavy and well-directed fusilade, and also cannonaded the royal line with such effect as to dismount a battalion gun, and oblige Colonel Skerrett to advance his left wing, and protect it behind a fence from the fire of a field-piece which otherwise must have enfiladed it.† The gallantry

* Musgrave.

† "Some of the rebel musqueteers getting under shelter of the ditches, annoyed the army very much, and their field-pieces played briskly on the town; but Serjeant Shepherd, of the Royal Irish artillery (who was taken prisoner at the Three Rocks), being obliged to manage the cannon, elevated them so high, that the balls went over it; and once having loaded with grape, he turned the gun a little on one side, and swept away about thirty of the rebels. Dick Monk observing this transaction, galloped up, and would have killed him, had not Esmond Kyan resolutely interposed, insisting that it was the army cannon which had done the execution. Kyan having ordered Serjeant Shepherd to load with round shot and demolish the town, rode elsewhere, but Shepherd watching his opportunity, loaded again with grape, knowing it could do no injury; and this he did as fast as possible during Kyan's absence, that he might waste the ammunition. Dick Monk and John Hay, being fully convinced that all was not right, now watched the execution of their cannon, and finding

of the Durham Fencibles was unbounded. Thrice the rebels came forward in immense force against the wing of this noble regiment, and as often, a destructive volley from their musketry, with grape from the battalion-guns, obliged the assailants to recede from a fire they found intolerable. But maddened by intoxication, and encouraged by their ghostly leader, the deluded wretches again and again returned to the attack—and the General, despairing of repulsing the continued efforts of desperate savages, determined to yield the ground and abandon the position. Colonel Skerrett, well aware that to retire with a handful of beaten troops in the presence of five-and-twenty thousand men, would lead to their total destruction, as sternly resolved to hold the post he had taken to the last—and an unforeseen event decided the fortune of this doubtful day, and crowned the gallant few with well-merited victory.

On every repulse, and when his deluded followers retreated, Murphy of Ballycanoo had induced fresh victims to come forward—and blinded against danger by whiskey and fanaticism, they rushed, on more than one occasion, to the very muzzles of the guns. Were the fact not accredited beyond a doubt, it would not be believed that the drunken scoundrel persuaded the unhappy savages who obeyed his orders, that his person was impervious to heretical balls, producing a handful of musket-bullets, which he averred had struck him during the action, or had been caught as they innocently whistled by. However potent the spell might be that saved the worthy churchman from lead, it proved inefficient against "cold iron." A round-shot from one of the Durham guns struck him down while leading these ignorant wretches to the charge*—the ruffian went to his account—and his followers broke finally and disbanded.

About eight o'clock, when it was almost dark, they began to retreat towards Coolgreney in an irregular and disorderly manner, carrying off nine cart-loads of dead and wounded. Had the cavalry but one hour's daylight to have pursued them, they must have cut off great numbers in the retreat. The loss of the rebels was said to have amounted fully to one thousand, while that of the royalists in killed and wounded did not exceed sixty or seventy. In this number a very gallant private gentleman was unfortunately included—and what rendered his death the more to be regretted was, that he was killed by the fire of his friends.†

that Shepherd was not favouring their cause while loading with grape, obliged him to load with round-shot, but the balls flew a mile beyond the town, on which Kyan levelled the cannon himself, and one of them in such a direction, that the ball smashed the carriage of one of the Durham guns to shivers, and another struck the top of the inn."—*Taylor's History.*

* "When Murphy fell, he was but a few paces from the barricade, and was waving a banner over his head emblazoned with a huge cross, and the motto of 'Death or Liberty.'"

† "Captain Grogan Knox, who commanded the Castletown yeomen cavalry, with two privates, fell in this action. It is supposed that they advanced too far in pursuit of the enemy, after they had been driven out of the Fishery, and that by doing so, they got within the range of our shot. This loyal gentleman was brother of Mr. Cornelius Grogan, who was hanged at Wexford."—Musgrave.

Although night saved the rebels from any pursuit, and probably thus abated their losses extensively, as the wounded were enabled to crawl away, the moral effect of their defeat was incalculable—obliterating entirely the false confidence which the affairs at Oulart and Three Rocks, and the calamity at Tubberneering, had produced. The mischief occasioned by their first neglect in seizing Arklow when deserted by its garrison, was consummated by the defeat attendant on the attempt to redeem the original error, and carry the town when it had been rendered defensible. Had the rebels not lost time at Gorey—had they advanced and seized Arklow—Wicklow and Bray must of necessity have fallen into their hands without the snapping of a flint. Within a short march of the metropolis, who can imagine the consequences which might have followed—or deny that all the results foretold in the intercepted letter of the slain priest, might not have been realized to the very letter?

The effect of the defeat, and the deductive inferences from it as drawn by Gordon, are interesting and correct—and we shall therefore give them in his own words:—

"As the repulse at Arklow decided the fate of the rebellion, so it fortunately left undecided a question how far the Romanists would have carried religious animosity had the insurrection been successful. The violent acts of the insurgents in Gorey and its neighbourhood were not near so great as in the southern parts of the county. The former might, by an advocate of their cause, be coloured with a pretext of retaliation, since acts of the same kind had been committed by the loyalists, as the burning of houses, the quartering of men on families for subsistence, imprisonments, trials of prisoners by court-martial, the shooting of prisoners without trial, and the insulting of others by cropping the hair and covering the head with a pitched cap. But an opinion is entertained, I fear indeed with too much foundation, that if the town of Arklow had been taken, and thus a wide prospect opened for the success of the rebellion, the Protestants remaining in the power of the rebels in the county of Wexford were to have been massacred. Many believe also that the persons excepted from this first massacre were destined for ultimate slaughter on the final success of the insurgents—and that even such leaders of the rebels as were Protestants, were to be included in this proscription. The war from the beginning—in direct violation of the oath of the United Irishmen—had taken a religious turn, as every civil war in the south or west of Ireland must be expected to take, by any man acquainted with the prejudices of the inhabitants. The terms Protestant and Orangeman were synonymous with the mass of the insurgents; and the Protestants whom they meant to favour, had been baptized into the Romish church by the priests of that communion. But whatever degree of religious bigotry or party hatred had been hitherto discovered by the insurgents, there were still many individuals who evinced the greatest humanity in their endeavours to mitigate the fury of their associates."

The ulterior movements of the routed enemy are briefly detailed:—

The greater body which retreated from Vinegar-hill, by the position

which General Needham was to have occupied, marched by the east side of the Slaney, first to Carrick-bridge, commonly called Carrick-ferry, within three miles of Wexford, headed by Fathers John Murphy and Kearns, Perry, Fitzgerald, and John Hay. After passing Carrick-bridge, one column entered Wexford, under Murphy, Kearns, and Perry, where they remained about two hours, threatening the destruction of the town, and a general massacre of the remaining Protestants, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, but they were dissuaded by the inhabitants of the town, who feared the loss of their property, and dreaded the approach of General Moore.

Having left the town, and retreated over the bridge, they took the direct road to the county of Wicklow; which county with the northern part of Wexford, they continued for some time to desolate.*

The other column, headed by Priest Roche, John Hay, and Murphy, proceeded from Carrick-bridge to the mountain of Forth, where they remained for about three hours, holding a council of war, in which Roche and Hay differed in opinion, and left them; but they were taken a few days afterwards, and hanged on Wexford Bridge. Father John Murphy and another priest of the same name, then led the rebels a circuitous route through the barony of Forth, by Maglas, the moor of Mulrankin, and the Scar pass of Barretstown across the Scallogh-gap, into the county of Kilkenny, spreading desolation in their progress, plundering and burning as they went along, and massacreing such Protestants as they could lay their hands on.†

* "There is one point which has never been explained to my satisfaction. After the defeat at Vinegar-hill, the main body of the rebels retreated to Wexford, where they divided—one column crossed Wexford bridge, and made their way to the north of the county about Gorey; now this body must have been due north while General Lake was moving due south from Vinegar-hill, upon Wexford, so that they must have actually passed each other at a distance of not six miles between the parallel roads, as a glance at the map will shew. Perhaps General Lake did not consider himself strong enough to divide and occupy both roads to Wexford, or perhaps he might have thought 'the stag at bay's a dangerous foe,' and permitted them to weaken themselves by allowing them to quietly disbandon. It cost, however, much loyal blood at Gorey."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

† Musgrave.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE REBELS AFTER THEIR DEFEAT AT ARKLOW—ACTION AT FOULKES'S-MILL—CAPTURE OF VINEGAR-HILL.

From the hard-contested fight of Arklow, we return once more to Wexford.

After their defeat on the 9th of June, a large proportion of the beaten rebels moved from the position they had taken at Gorey after the action, and entering Wicklow, bivouacked at Mount Pleasant, close to the town of Tinnahely. On the 17th they plundered and burned the place, murdering several unoffending loyalists, and committing every species of excess. A body of regular troops under General Dundas, assisted by an irregular corps, called the True Blues, with two pieces of cannon marched from Hacketstown to attack them, but the rebels evaded the threatened conflict, and fell back to Kilcavan-hill, taking there a strong position within a mile-and-half of Carnew. The design of their leader, Garret Byrne of Ballymanus, was to have attacked the garrison of Hacketstown during the night—but the True Blues being reinforced, the insurgents were intimidated, and gave up their intended attempt at a surprise—while Dundas, reinforced by Loftus and a detachment from Tullow, felt the necessity of deforcing the rebels from the height they occupied, and marched on the 18th to attack Kilcavan-hill.

But neither party was desirous to come to action—and the movement ended in a harmless cannonade. General Lake—who had taken the command of the united detachments—was afraid, from the strength and intricacy of the position, that his troops were numerically too weak to command a certain success—while there were other intelligent officers who held a very different opinion, and urged that the trial should be made. The general, however, declined the advice, and retreated that evening to Carnew,*—while Byrne abandoned Kilcavan the same night, retired his corps, and resumed his former post on Vinegar-hill.

* "When General Dundas had advanced a considerable way towards the point where he was to begin his attack, he suddenly found himself in a deep hollow road, with strong fences on each side. He perceived also, that he must have proceeded some time in it, before he could have extricated himself, and recollecting the fate of Colonel Walpole, he very prudently ordered the column to countermarch; and at the same time sent orders to General Loftus to take such a position as to cover this retrograde movement. By this unexpected event, the two columns became united, and the rebels had a clear country to the north, the east, and the south-east, and were so strongly posted, that the main object of the generals was to protect themselves on the west side, where the position of the enemy was so well secured by a ravine in front, by large banks and high hedge-rows, that General Lake, who arrived at this time with his whole staff, thought it prudent to defer the attack till reinforcements should have joined them."—*Musgrave*.

The fatal effects of the defeat at Arklow, on the subsequent fortunes of the insurrection, became every day more apparent—and during these transactions, the rebels who had remained in Gorey and its neighbourhood were gradually dispersing. "A part of them retired to Wexford, bringing with them the prisoners who had been confined in the market-house of Gorey. These had been severely treated; they had been supplied with food only once in the twenty-four hours, cropped, pitch-capped, and exposed from the windows to the insults of the shouting multitudes on their march to attack Arklow, while many had been shot or piked to death. As the mass of remaining rebels had taken their station on the hill of Ask, only a mile from Gorey, after the battle at Arklow, the royal army remained some days close within its quarters, sending out patroles with caution, at first to a very small distance, and afterwards gradually advancing farther. At last a troop of yeomen cavalry ventured so far on the road towards Gorey, as to approach the rebel station on Ask-hill, and found the post had been so thinned by perpetual desertions, that not more than about a hundred men fit for action were then remaining in it, and these without a leader."*

For every reason, military and political, it was now unanimously determined by the royalist commanders, that the relief of Wexford and Enniscorthy, so long and so unhappily in possession of the rebels, must be preceded by the capture of the camp, and a total dispersion of the insurgent bodies collected on Vinegar-hill. To effect this difficult but desirable object, a vigorous and well-combined attack would be required—and on the 16th of June, the preparatory movements of the different corps were arranged by General Lake—and the following orders were issued to their respective commanders:—

G. O.

General Dundas will move on the 17th to Hacketstown, and issue orders to General Loftus at Tullow, to unite his force with him on the 18th at Carnew.

General Needham, to move at three o'clock A.M., on the 19th, to Gorey; General Dundas sending a strong patrole under General Loftus from Carnew, at six o'clock on the same morning to Grove's-bridge, four or five miles on the road to Gorey, to support General Needham, in case he should meet resistance at Limerick-hill or Gorey; and also to communicate General Needham's situation to General Dundas.

General Johnson, on the 19th, at four A.M., to move to Old Ross, and unite with General Moore in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne-hill. He will then take a position near Old Ross, and patrole the country towards the Black-stair mountains, in conjunction with Sir James Duff. This movement will require a concerted arrangement between General Johnson and Sir James Duff. The patroles to return to their respective corps on the same day.

Sir Charles Asgill, on the 18th, to occupy Gore's-bridge, Borris

* Gordon.

and Graigenamana, and remain in those positions until the 20th, when at three P.M. he will return, unless he shall have received orders to the contrary.

Lieutenant-General Dundas, on the 20th, will march by Ballycarney-bridge, keeping the eastern bank of the Slaney, to Scarawalsh-bridge, so as to arrive there at noon.

Sir James Duff will also move on the 20th, by the west side of the Slaney to Scarawalsh-bridge, where he will arrive at twelve o'clock.

General Needham, on the 20th, to move from Gorey to Oulart, and be there at twelve o'clock.

General Loftus from Grove's-bridge, will move on the 20th, by Camolin and Ferns, and unite with General Dundas at Scarawalsh-bridge, at twelve o'clock.

General Moore will land on the 18th at Ballyhack-ferry, and on the 19th, will move at three o'clock A.M. to Foulkes's-mill, and unite with General Johnson in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne-hill. He will there take up a position for night, thus securing the escape of the rebels between that and Clomines.

General Johnson, on the 20th, will move with his column to Ballymacus-bridge, to unite in the attack on Enniscorthy, if necessary, or prevent the escape of the rebels in that direction.

Should the rebels have evacuated Enniscorthy and Vinegar-hill, the columns under General Dundas and Sir James Duff will take up their position that day in front of Enniscorthy; and General Johnson will at the same time receive orders to take a position on the great road from Enniscorthy to Taghmon.

In this case, General Moore on the 20th, will move from Foulkes's-mill, and take post at Taghmon, still securing the country between Taghmon and Clomines.

But should the enemy maintain their position at Enniscorthy, the attack will be made on the 21st at daylight, by the columns under General Dundas and Sir James Duff, with General Needham's moving from Oulart.

The general forward movement and investment of Wexford will take place on the 21st—when the several columns shall be so united, as to receive such directions as circumstances may point out.

Orders are to be sent to the naval commanders to station their gun-boats and armed vessels in Wexford harbour early in the morning of the 21st, to co-operate in such manner as may be necessary for the attack of the town;—while the gun-boats from Waterford will be directed to support General Moore and the corps at Clomines on the 19th.

General Lake's arrangements for a combined assault upon the hill were clearly understood, and, with two exceptions, ably carried out—and the columns of attack reported themselves on the evening of the 20th, in readiness to commence morning operations. Two brigades, however, were not able to get up in time—one, from an unexpected action with a rebel corps,—the other, from unforeseen embarrassments which retarded its march—and, as it subsequently turned out, opened

an accidental door for escape to the rebel masses, who otherwise must have been slaughtered by thousands.

The causes which prevented General Moore from reaching the evening position marked out for his brigade in the general order of the Commander-in-Chief, will be best understood by his own official statement of the occurrence that interrupted his march, and thus prevented him from sharing in the defeat of the grand army of the insurgents.*

"Agreeable to your order, I took post on the evening of the 19th, near Foulkes's-mill, in the park of Mr. Sutton. Next day I sent a strong detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkinson, to patrole towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to scour the country, and communicate with the troops you directed to join me from Duncannon. The Lieutenant-Colonel found the country deserted, and got no tidings of the troops. I waited for them until three o'clock in the afternoon, when, despairing of their arrival, I began my march to Taghmon. We had not marched above half a mile, when a considerable body of the rebels was perceived marching towards us. I sent my advanced guard, consisting of the two rifle companies of the 60th, to skirmish with them, whilst a howitzer, and a six-pounder, were advanced to a cross road above Goff's-bridge, and some companies of light infantry formed on each side of them under Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkinson. The rebels attempted to attack these, but were instantly repulsed, and driven beyond the bridge. A large body were perceived at the same time moving towards my left. Major Aylmer, and afterwards Major Daniel, with five companies of light infantry, and a six-pounder, were detached against them. The 60th regiment, finding no further opposition in front, had, of themselves, inclined to their left to engage the body which was attempting to turn us—and the action here was for a short time pretty sharp,† as the rebels were in great numbers, and armed with both muskets and pikes. They were, however, forced to give way, and driven, though they repeatedly attempted to form, behind the ditches. They at last dispersed, flying towards Enniscorthy and Wexford. Their killed could not be ascertained, as they lay scattered in the fields over a considerable extent; but they seemed to be numerous. I inclose a list of ours. The troops behaved with great spirit.‡

* Addressed to Lieut.-General Lake, and dated Camp, above Wexford, 22nd June, 1798.

† "During the action of Foulkes's-mill, many of the rebel leaders, among whom Father Roche, Dr. Caulfield's chaplain, was very conspicuous, were extremely active in keeping the rebel soldiers to their quarters, and in preventing them from flying. They horsewhipped some, and even fired pistols at others."—*Musgrave.*

‡ "The battle of Longridge, or Foulkes's Mills, as it is also called, was well fought on the part of the rebels. I spent some time, in 1838, in conversation with one of the principal leaders on the occasion. He took me for an American, and was very communicative—in fact, boastfully so—though he had no reason for concealment, having obtained a free pardon at the intercession of one or two gentlemen whose lives he had saved. His account coincides with that given in Musgrave, save that I believe the surprise was mutual on the part of General Moore and the rebels at meeting. The latter were better *handled* upon this occasion than any other; they were fewer in number, and not in the unmanageable masses that advanced against Ross and Arklow."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

The artillery, and Homepeck's cavalry, were active, and seemed only to regret that the country did not admit of their rendering more effectual service. Major Daniel is the only officer whose wound is bad; it is through the knee, but not dangerous.

"The business, which began between three and four, was not over till near eight, and as it was then too late to proceed to Taghmon, I took post for the night on the ground where the action had commenced. As the rebels gave way, I was informed of the approach of the 2nd and 29th regiments under Lord Dalhousie.* In the morning of the 21st we were proceeding to Taghmon, when I was met by an officer of the North Cork Militia from Wexford, with the inclosed letter.† I gave, of course, no answer to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Wexford, but I thought it my duty immediately to proceed here, and to take post above the town, by which means I have, perhaps, saved the town itself from fire, as well as the lives of many loyal subjects who were prisoners in the hands of the rebels. The rebels fled upon my approach, over the bridge of Wexford, and towards the barony of Forth. I shall wait here your further orders. Lord Kingsborough has informed me of different engagements he had entered into with respect to the inhabitants, but I have declined entering into the subject, but have referred his lordship to you or General Lake.

"I received your pencilled note during the action of the 20th, and it

* "Moore's force might have found some trouble in making their way to Wexford but for the arrival of the 2nd and 29th regiments, a reinforcement whose strength was greatly magnified, and consequently deterred the rebels from their contemplated renewal of the action. General Moore, *entre nous*, is not borne out to the extent he goes in praising the conduct of *all* our troops—some of whom shewed their heels cleverly—one officer in particular."—*Ibid.*

† "The rebel leaders now saw themselves in a very critical situation; and being convinced that they could not keep the town, they liberated Lord Kingsborough, and the other officers who were prisoners, and sent one of them to propose a surrender, hoping that the lenity which was shewn to *them* would induce the conquerors to grant them favourable terms. Accordingly, Captain M'Manus of the Antrim militia, (who was taken at the battle near Gorey, June 4th), and Edward Hay, were despatched towards Taghmon, to meet General Moore, with the following terms:—'The inhabitants of all religious persuasions are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they engage to use every influence in their power, to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms, we hope, Captain M'Manus will be able to procure.

"'Signed, by order of the inhabitants of Wexford,

"'MATT. KEOUGH.'"

To these proposals, General Lake returned the following answer:—

"Lieutenant-General Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their Sovereign; while they continue so, he must use the force intrusted to him, with the utmost energy for their destruction.

"To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

(Signed) "G. LAKE."

Enniscorthy, 22nd of June, 1798.

was impossible for me then to detach the troops you asked for, but I hear you have perfectly succeeded at Enniscorthy with those you had. Mr. Roche, who commands the rebels, is encamped, about five miles off; and he sent Lord Kingsborough to surrender upon terms. Your presence speedily is upon every account extremely necessary.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.,

"JOHN MOORE."

The second missing brigade, was that of Major-General Needham. If the wholesale destruction of a deluded multitude were a desirable object, certainly the failure of this movement is to be lamented—for the rebels were enabled to get off bodily, whereas, had Needham reached his ground, they must have been so totally *derouted*, that no exertions could have rallied them again, and the flame of rebellion would have been extinguished. But the results of his failure, and not the causes, were severely tested at the time—and the general was censured with injustice for a miscarriage, occasioned by circumstances entirely beyond control, and of every-day recurrence in war.

On the evening of the 20th, accompanied by four hundred carriages laden with military supplies, Needham reached Oulart, six miles distance from the post on the eastern face of Vinegar-hill, which his corps had been directed to occupy. Having driven in a rebel picket which had been detached from the camp to reconnoitre, he halted to refresh his troops, when an unexpected order, to march direct to head-quarters at Solsborough, was received, and which order was immediately complied with. Even a regular commissariat is not easily got fairly upon the road—and impressed carriages and ill-affected drivers, would no doubt cause additional trouble and delay. The country through which the line of march extended was inclosed, difficult, and suspicious—the enemy in enormous force, and immediately at hand—Walpole's disaster too recent not to carry caution with its recollection to the most reckless—and as General Needham accordingly felt his way very prudently as he proceeded, the progress of the column was slow. When he reached Solsborough, at 3 o'clock on the morning of the 21st, he found orders waiting for him, directing that he should continue his march, and repair to the original position assigned to him in the intended attack, and from which he was then eight miles distant, with difficult roads to traverse, and his column already over-marched.

As the attack was to be made immediately after daybreak, and as it was utterly impossible that by any exertions his wearied troops could reach their ground in time, Needham despatched an aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief, requesting the advance to be delayed for an hour, to allow him time to get up; but General Lake could not postpone his movements against the rebel position, as an immediate assault upon the camp was absolutely necessary to prevent the enemy from detaching reinforcements to their friends in Enniscorthy, who were then warmly engaged with Johnson's brigade. Under these circumstances, General Needham finding it impossible to get the column up, very properly pushed his cavalry forward; and when the rebels broke

upon the hill, they were sufficiently advanced to cut down a number of the fugitives.

Having thus explained the causes that prevented the plan of attack from being executed as it had been intended, we shall proceed to describe the movements of the other columns, by whom the rebel stronghold was carried on the 21st of June.

General Sir James Duff, who advanced by the Ferns Road, with his right resting on the Slaney, and his left flanked by the light infantry under General Loftus, reached the base of the hill with occasional interruptions from rebel pickets, who occupied the high grounds on the line of march, but who were easily dispersed by a few shells from the howitzers. Previous to commencing his ascent, he detached General Loftus with the light infantry and guns, to seize an eminence which overlooked the lower line of the rebel position, and consequently laid it open to a cannonade at easy range. The movement was rapidly effected—and although the inclosures were numerous, and the ground steep, General Loftus, by breaking down the stone fences, was enabled to get his artillery forward—and crowning the height with his guns, he opened them with excellent effect upon crowded ranks which were completely enfiladed. The remainder of Duff's brigade pressed steadily up the hill—and at the same time, the columns of Generals Lake, Wilford, and Dundas, with Campbell's light companies, ascended the south-eastern face, while Johnson's brigade mounted from Enniscorthy.

As the troops advanced, they sustained a sharp fire from the rebel marksmen who, acting *en tirailleur*, lined the numerous inclosures, and disputed them with some spirit. The rebel cannonade was ineffective, although they had thirteen pieces of various calibres on the hill,—but their musketry was well sustained,—and yet with all the advantages of a strong position, the loss inflicted on the assailants was infinitely less than could have been anticipated. The steady advance of the troops was never for a moment checked, and the movements of the columns so admirably timed, that they crowned the hill simultaneously—while the rebels, availing themselves of the means of retreat which General Needham's failure had left open, went off *en masse*, abandoning their cannon, ammunition,* and all the plunder that had

* "Inclosed is a return of the ordnance taken on Vinegar-hill, in which are included three taken from us on the 4th of June: —

"*Return of ordnance taken from the rebels on Vinegar-hill, 21st June*, 1798.

3 Six-pounders, brass.
1 Three-pounder.
7 One-pounders.
1 5½ inch howitzer.
1 4½ inch howitzer.

13 Total.

Rounds of ammunition.

17 Six-pounders.
30 One-pounders.
11 5½ inch howitzers.

"A cart, with a vast variety of balls of different diameters, had been throw



Defeat of the Rebels at Vinegar Hill



been accumulated during the period they had occupied their savage and sanguinary encampment.

The brunt of the action, and the greatest proportion of the loss, fell upon the brigade commanded by General Johnson. On the evening preceding the attack on Vinegar-hill, that General advanced within a mile and a half of Enniscorthy, intending to bivouac in the vicinity of the rebel position, and bring his column fresh into action the next day. The troops had scarcely, however, piled arms, when the rebels in great force issued from Enniscorthy, and moved forward with the apparent intention of attacking the royalists, and hazarding a general action. They advanced in close columns, covered by a number of sharp-shooters, and connected by several bodies, formed in irregular lines. The rebel skirmishers, after maintaining a sharp fusilade, were speedily dislodged by the fire of the cannon,—and falling back on the supporting column, which had halted on an eminence half a mile from the ground occupied by the royalists, the guns were directly turned upon the height.

On this occasion, these unfortunate and deluded men evinced an ignorance of warlike missiles which can hardly be conceived. As the round shot from the guns bedded themselves in the face of the hill against which they had been directed, the rebels rushed in numbers to pick them up. A shell from a howitzer falling, it was exultingly surrounded by a crowd of men, each struggling to become owner of this god-send. The effect of the explosion may be fancied, as when the fuse reached the powder, more than fifty of the ignorant wretches were furiously contending for the possession of the lighted shell!*

The night passed, and at daybreak, Johnson drove the rebels from the height, and forced them back into Enniscorthy. The closeness of the country afforded them an excellent opportunity to employ their marksmen—and as every hedge was boldly held, the advance of the royalists was not effected without some loss.

After halting an hour, to allow the general attack upon the hill to operate as a diversion, and employ the main body of the enemy, Johnson pushed his column into the town. On this occasion the rebels made a stubborn resistance, their pikemen disputing the streets, and their musketry firing on the advancing troops from the windows. Every yard was stoutly contested, and a six-pounder, advanced into the open space before the court-house, was carried

down the hill after the action, and immense quantities of lead and leaden balls delivered over to the Dunbarton fencibles.

(Signed) "Robert Crawford, Captain R. I. A."

* "Here they were cannonaded, and on seeing the shells, they were driven into the utmost confusion, as they could not conceive what they were, some shouting in a kind of delirium (as shell followed shell) 'They spit fire at us'—others, 'We can stand any thing but these guns which fire twice.' Indeed the carnage occasioned by them was very great, and fully answered the end."—*Taylor.*

by a sudden rush, the gunners killed, and the piece captured by the pikemen.

But it was immediately retaken; the bridge was cleared of the enemy—the Dublin regiment cheered and pressed up the hill—and although that ascent was the steepest, the brave old man* reached the summit, as the other columns crowned it.

The royalist casualties were comparatively trifling,† and the rebel loss fell infinitely short of what might have been expected from a *déroute* so complete as that which followed the loss of their favourite position. As the greater number of the insurgents were cut down dispersedly in the pursuit, the amount could not be correctly estimated. Probably three or four hundred might have been slain. One of their favourite generals, a church-militant leader, was included in the casual-

* General, afterwards Sir Henry Johnson, G.C.B., may be said, in the rebellion of 1798, to have been the military saviour of Ireland. His services were acknowledged by George III. who conferred on him the command of the 81st regiment, and afterwards that of the 5th, and appointed him one of his aides-de-camp. He lived long to wear his well-earned honours, and shortly before the death of the venerable M'Cormick, had an affecting interview with his brave auxiliary in the defence of Ross, whom he familiarly designated as his "friend with the brazen helmet."

† *Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the King's troops, in the attack —of Vinegar-hill and Enniscorthy, June* 21, 1798.

OFFICERS KILLED.

Lieutenant Sandys, Longford militia, attached to 1st battalion; Lieutenant Barnes, 13th foot, attached to 4th battalion.

WOUNDED.

Major Vesey (now Colonel Vesey), Dublin county militia; Colonel King, Sligo militia; Captain Dunne, 7th dragoon-guards; Captain Shundea, 60th regiment of foot, 5th battalion; Lieutenant Barker, Kildare militia, attached to 4th battalion; Lieutenant Hill, Mid-Lothian fencible cavalry.

PRIVATES.

Ninth Dragoons—1 rank and file killed.
Mid-Lothian—1 rank and file wounded.
Hompesch's Hussars—2 rank and file wounded.
Dunlavin Yeomen Cavalry—1 rank and file wounded.
89th Regiment of Foot—1 rank and file killed.
1st battalion Light Infantry—1 serjeant wounded, 2 rank and file killed, 18 wounded, and 3 missing.
Royal British Horse Artillery—1 rank and file wounded.
Sligo Militia—2 rank and file killed, 2 wounded.
Suffolk Fencible Infantry—2 rank and file wounded.
5th battalion 60th Regiment—1 serjeant missing, 5 rank and file killed, 5 wounded.
4th Light battalion—1 serjeant 3 rank and file killed, 22 wounded, 1 missing.
Royal Meath Militia—1 serjeant killed.
Roscommon Militia—1 rank and file wounded, 1 missing.
Dublin County Militia—2 rank and file killed, 6 wounded.

ties of the day—for Father Clinch of Enniscorthy was killed while retreating after the action.*

* "He was a man of huge stature, with a scymitar and broad cross-belts, mounted on a large white horse, with long pistols, and made such a conspicuous figure on the hill during the action, and the day preceding it, as attracted the notice of our troops, particularly as he seemed to be constantly employed in reconnoitring them. The Earl of Roden having singled him out among the fugitives, overtook him after a mile's pursuit, and received his fire, which his Lordship returned, and wounded him in the neck. He then discharged his second pistol at Lord Roden, on which an officer of the regiment rode up and shot him. He wore his vestments under his clothes; had near forty pounds in his pocket, a gold watch, and a remarkable snuff-box; all which, it is presumed, he had acquired by plunder. He had been as active in the cabinet as the field, having constantly sat at the committee at Enniscorthy, and, mounted on his charger and fully accoutred, he daily visited the camp."—*Musgrave.*

CHAPTER XIV.

OCCUPATION OF WEXFORD BY THE REBELS—ATROCITIES COMMITTED IN THAT TOWN—ANECDOTES.

THE darkest epoch of the revolutionary war has now devolved upon us to be described, and the events which marked the Wexford insurrection, from the time that the town was evacuated by the royalists, and the hill over Enniscorthy occupied as a rebel camp, remain to be narrated. Would to God that blood-stained chapter in Irish history could be discredited or omitted altogether!

Colonel Maxwell's retreat from Wexford, after the unfortunate defeat of the Meath detachment at the Three Rocks, has already been detailed—and the royalists had scarcely commenced their march to Duncannon, until the town was occupied by a division of the rebel army, commanded by a farmer, called Edward Roche, who had acted as permanent serjeant in a corps of yeoman cavalry. The advance of the rebel column to a place destined to become the scene of unparalleled barbarities was at the same time desecrated by a foul parade of false religion,* rendered contemptible by a ludicrous display of unexampled cowardice, and succeeded by cruelties, which almost exceed belief.

"When the rebels came to a place called the Spring," says Musgrave, "within two hundred yards of the town, they knelt down, crossed themselves, and prayed for some time. A person in the van of their army, when advanced to the middle of the town, having by chance fired a shot, the rear, who were outside, fled with precipitation. As the rebels passed through the streets, they uttered the most dreadful yells—and for three days after their arrival, continued to plunder, every one gratifying his revenge against those to whom he bore any enmity."

A committee of seven was next appointed to form a general board of direction—and to smooth away the disgrace of his deposition from a chief command, Bagenal Harvey was elected president. The town was divided into districts—and the government of the whole conferred on Captain Keough—a man who had risen from the ranks, and probably intoxicated with past good-fortune, now aimed at and obtained a brief and fatal distinction.

* "It has been remarked, that none of the rebels were so blood thirsty as those who were most regular attendants at the Popish ordinances; and the drunken and careless sort were observed to have the greatest share of good-nature. It is a certain truth, that these savages never had so many Masses, nor ever prayed so much, as during their month of usurpation, especially on their battle days; then all the old men, women, and children, betook themselves to their *Ave Marias*, &c., and when parties of two or three hundred would go round the country burning the houses of Protestants, they generally fell on their knees as soon as they set them on fire."—*Gordon.*

The plunder of the houses of such Protestants as had escaped, and the incarceration of those who unfortunately either could not effect a retreat, or clung with desperate determination to property they could not find sufficient resolution to abandon, next occupied the insurgents.

While the rabble were engaged in collecting numbers of ill-fated Protestants for future slaughter, the leaders went through the mockery of establishing a provisional government—and in imitation of the French Jacobins, a grand national committee, a council of elders, and a council of five hundred, were to be organized forthwith—while the dwelling-house of a wealthy merchant was put into requisition as a senate-house, wherein the different estates were to legislate for the young republic.

If it were necessary to prove the fallacy, that any possibility exists of retaining influence over a sanguinary and superstitious mob, by any means but acting on their ignorance, or pandering to the worst passions of brutal dispositions, the rebel occupation of Wexford would afford an ample evidence—and the president of the council, and the governor of the town, in their own sad stories, tell, that the baser the *matériel* of the mob, the briefer is the authority of those who undertake the direction of its movements.

Harvey was in birth and feeling a gentleman. He weakly accepted a dangerous distinction—and short as the duration of the Wexford *emeute* was, in its first outbreak he lost his popularity—and in a few days more, the commonest of the rabble leaders superseded him in authority, and exercised a power to which he too late found himself unequal to pretend. There is no doubt that the delusion of this ill-judging gentleman was hastily dispelled*—and a letter,† addressed to

* Mr. Harvey, in his defence on his trial, said "That he became a member of the Irish Union three years before; that he imagined the only object was to reform the constitution; but that he did not till recently discover that the popish priests were deeply concerned in it, and that the extermination of Protestants was their main design. That having opposed their sanguinary views, he was deposed, and the command was given to that infamous villain Father Roche. That he was then carried to the Three-rock camp as a prisoner, where he remained a few days, and was so far at liberty as to be allowed to walk about; but so closely watched, that, with every wish to make his escape, he found it impossible, till the evening the rebels fled in every direction on the approach of the king's troops."

† "Dear Sir,

"I received your letter, but what to do for you I know not; I from my heart wish to protect all property; I can scarce protect myself; and indeed my situation is much to be pitied, and distressing to myself. I took my present situation in hopes of doing good, and preventing mischief; my trust is in Providence; I acted always an honest, disinterested part, and, had my advice been taken by those in power, the present mischief would never have arisen. If I can retire to a private station again, I will immediately. Mr. Tottenham's refusing to speak to the gentleman I sent into Ross, who was madly shot by the soldiers, was very unfortunate; it has set the people mad with rage, and there is no restraining them. The person I sent in had private instructions to propose a reconciliation, but God knows where this business will end; but end how it will, the good men of both parties will be inevitably ruined.

"I am, with respect, yours,

"B. B. Harvey."

a friend who requested his protection, gives a melancholy picture of the sandy foundation on which a rabble popularity is raised. From a communication forwarded to Lord Kingsborough,* immediately before his execution, and statements made by him in his defence, it is certain, that, had circumstances permitted it, Harvey would have thrown himself upon the mercy of the government, and abandoned a party, where his influence was second to a shoe-black's.

Every day during the rebel occupation of the town and adjacent encampments, fresh victims continued to be brought in by the savage pikemen. In Wexford, a small sloop, the town jail, and subsequently the market-house, were filled with unhappy sufferers. The jail at last became so overcrowded, that the committee of public safety, dreading that putrid food and sultry weather would occasion a pestilence among the wretched captives, determined that fifty should be removed, and committed from the prison to the market-house. This exchange was contemplated by the sufferers with the deepest alarm, and many entreated, crowded as the prison was, that they might be suffered to remain in it. An anxious yearning after life actuated the unhappy prisoners in urging their petition. Although the jail had become dangerous and loathsome, still it had one advantage in the captives' eyes. The building was strong—and more likely therefore, to afford protection from a murderous banditti, who could scarcely be restrained from bursting the doors, and consigning to a general massacre all the unfortunates contained within the walls.

Nor were those confined within the prison-ship more favoured than the other sufferers, although their belonging to a superior order of society, would naturally render them more susceptible to the privations they endured, and the cruelties inflicted on them. Were it possible to have added any thing to the infamous barbarity which attended on their captivity, it would be the fact that some were gentlemen far advanced in years, and others delicate females who had been nursed in the lap of luxury. During their lengthened confinement, constant insult, with threats of instant death, were vented on them by the druken savages who formed their guard—while female ears were outraged by blasphemous oaths, and more disgusting obscenity. Such was the intensity of the misery which they underwent, that one lady absolutely became insane, and attempting to commit suicide, was with difficulty saved from drowning. In this infernal state of bondage, these unfortunates were retained for sixteen days. Confined in the hold of a wretched smack, "covered with an iron grating and no bed but a light covering of dirty straw laid upon the ballast,

* "My Lord,

"I take the liberty of requesting your Lordship will let me have an opportunity of seeing your lordship before you leave Wexford. You cannot but recollect how repeatedly I wished to speak to your lordship alone; that I was always prevented by fear; and whenever I met you and was allowed to speak to you, I was ever ready to accede to proposals of restoring order and government.

"I am with submission,

"Your lordship's most obedient,

"B. B. HARVEY."

which consisted of stones. Six rebel guards were placed over them. Their breakfast consisted of a small barley loaf, which was almost black, and half a pint of milk: their dinner of coarse boiled beef, with some potatoes, let down in the dirty bucket of the ship, without a knife or fork—for they were deprived of them as soon as they were committed. Their drink was bad beer or whiskey—and two days in the week, their only food was potatoes and rancid butter, let down in the ship's bucket."*

A reign of terror had commenced—the rabble power had become predominant—and all persons of superior rank, or a different faith, were denounced† by wretches who associated crime with religion, and slaughtered in the name of God. The lowest ruffians had become leaders of the mob—and several monsters, who desecrated the holy orders intrusted to them, encouraged the barbarities of their besotted followers, and pandered to their superstition. Among these wretches, Murphy, of Bannow, and Roche, of Paulpearsey, were conspicuous. The latter, like Murphy, killed at Arklow, was also a bullet-catcher—and while he occasionally distributed to his flock balls which had been caught in action—he promised an immunity from danger to the faithful. "He would give them," he said, "gospels‡ to hang about their necks, which would make the person who wore it proof against all the power of heretical artillery; but that notwithstanding their extra-

* MS. by a Lady.

† PROCLAMATION

OF THE

People of the County of Wexford.

"WHEREAS, it stands manifestly notorious that James Boyd, Hawtry White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late magistrates of this county, have committed the most horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and oppression, against our peaceable and well-affected countrymen: now WE the people, associated and united for the purpose of procuring our just rights, and being determined to protect the persons and properties of those of all religious persuasions who have not oppressed us, and who are willing with heart and hand to join our glorious cause, as well as to shew our marked disapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large, to use every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforesaid James Boyd, &c. &c. &c. and to secure and convey them to the gaol of Wexford, to be brought before the Tribunal of the People.

"Done at Wexford, this 9th day of June, 1798.

"GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE."

‡ Copy of a gospel found in the pocket of a slain rebel.

INRI

IN THE NAME OF GOD, ✠ AND OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN,

IHS

AMEN.

"No gun, pistol, sword, or any other offensive weapon, can hurt or otherwise injure the person who has this paper in his possession; and it is earnestly recommended to all women with child to carry it, as it will be found an infallible preservation against the fatality of child-bed.

"No. 7601. "ROCHE."

One of those gospels was taken from off the neck of John Hay, a rebel chief, who was executed at Wexford, a few days after it was retaken by the king's army—they were generally sewed to a *brown-coloured tape*.

ordinary utility to the Irish army, they would be of no avail unless they were purchased. The price to the better sort of people, was half-a-crown; but as the poorer were zealous in the glorious cause, he would only ask from them a sixpence. Thousands of these gospels were made, and speedily sent round the country."*

The opening murders at Wexford were confined to persons who had incurred the animosity of the rebels, by being instrumental, before the insurrection broke out, in bringing the disaffected to justice—and Taylor, in his history, gives the following detail of one of these mob executions.

"One Murphy, a Roman Catholic, who had been gardener to Mr. Edwards of Ballyhire, was at this time taken prisoner, and brought to Wexford. He had formerly been a witness against one Dixon a priest, a notorious traitor, who was sentenced to transportation, for administering the United oath to several persons. For this crime the unfortunate man was sentenced to be shot, on Sunday, the third of June; and such was the detestation of him entertained by the rebels, that in order to increase the ignominy of his death, they had him executed by Protestants, who were also prisoners in the gaol. Middleton Robson, a gauger; Robert Pigott, a surveyor of excise; and Richard Julian, a gauger, were the persons appointed to execute the sentence. After mass, Thomas Dixon, a near relation to the priest, was appointed to conduct the execution. He was the most barbarous man to defenceless persons that ever existed, but a greater coward in battle could not be. He had the prisoner brought to the bull-ring, and Mr. Robson being ordered to fire, the unfortunate man fell dead; when Dixon ran forward and thrust his sword in the back of his neck, then drawing it forth, held it up to the view of the mob, desiring them to 'Behold the blood of a traitor!' At this time John Edwards, a Protestant, and land steward to Mr. Edwards, was brought into the crowd to be murdered; but Dixon, to shew his hatred to Murphy, 'declared upon his honour, no other man should suffer that day.' Robson, Pigott, and Julian, were compelled to drag the lifeless body to the quay, and throw it into the river."

For a time the fearful massacre, which even yet carries horror with its recollection, was happily averted, and many a life preserved by the humblest intervention,—for even in those bloody times, past kindness was not always unremembered. Interest with the priesthood was seldom employed without success—while others were indebted to escape from a death of torture, to the gratitude or humanity of some peasant to whom formerly they had been serviceable.

"Among the latter was the Rev. John Elgee, rector of Wexford, whose life was saved by the gratitude of some of the lowest of the people, for the charity which he had on all occasions manifested to unfortunate wretches committed to the public prison. Great numbers were saved by the humane endeavours of the chiefs, whose influence, though very far from controlling the furious rabble in all cases, had so far an effect as to prevent the massacres of Wexford (which were, however, horribly atrocious) from equalling in extent those of Ennis-

* Taylor's History.

corthy. The chiefs themselves, particularly those few among them who had been educated in the Protestant religion, were in perpetual danger of death, or violence, from an ungovernable multitude, whom they had unwisely hoped to command. A strong instance of this was that of Captain Keough. One day, as he was sitting in committee with a number of other chiefs, he was arrested by a common fellow, by the authority of the rabble, as a traitor in league with Orangemen; and when the arrest was resisted by the members of the committee, the infuriated multitude, who were crowded together in thousands in the streets, roared to those who stood most convenient for the purpose, to drive out the committee, and pull the house down. This alarming tumult was appeased by the address of Keough, who, in a speech from a window, displayed on this occasion no despicable eloquence." *

With such feelings and dispositions, it will be a subject of regret, but not surprise, that now the ferocity of the rabble resisted all control, and blood alone could appease it. The death decree of the wretched prisoners went forth, and the fearful story of the massacre is recorded by one who miraculously escaped the fate of his less fortunate companions. It is a fearful record of butchery,—and, alas! the statement is not over-coloured.

"On the 19th of June, the Protestants in Wexford received the heart-rending intelligence that all the prisoners were to be murdered the next day. That night also, one of them, while sitting alone in silent sorrow, heard the death-bell toll as loud as ever she heard it, and much more awfully. On the following morning, the never to be forgotten 20th of June, Thomas Dixon rode to the gaol door, and swore that not a prisoner should be alive against sun-set.† He then rode into the street, repeating the same with horrid imprecations, adding, "that not a soul should be left to tell the tale." Good God! how shall I proceed? neither tongue nor pen can describe the dismal aspect of that melancholy day—a day in which the sun did not so much as glimmer through the frowning heavens. The town-bell rung, and the drums beat to arms, to assemble the rebels for the purpose of joining those at the Three Rocks, to march against General Moore's brigade. In the evening Dixon assembled the murdering band, and immediately hoisted that harbinger of destruction, the *Black Flag*,‡ which had on

* Gordon.

† "Thomas Dixon, rebel captain, was the son of a publican in Castle-bridge, near Wexford. In his youth he was bound as an apprentice to a tanner in New Ross; but not liking that business, he went to sea, and in some time was appointed master of one of his brother's vessels, who was an opulent merchant in Castle-bridge. During the rebellion, he was noted for cruelty and cowardice, and was the means of shedding torrents of Protestant blood. His wife, if possible, was more sanguinary than himself; but wherever they secreted themselves, they never could be found, though a large reward was offered for their apprehension."—*Taylor.*

‡ "The black flag that appeared in Wexford on that day is, among other things, talked of with various chimerical conjectures, and its notoriety as denouncing massacre has been confidently recorded; notwithstanding that it is an absolute fact, that this identical black flag was, throughout the whole of the insurrection, borne by a particular corps, and the carrying of banners of that colour was by no means a singular circumstance during that period, as a flag of that and every other hue, except orange, were waved by the insurgents."—*Hay's Narrative.*

one side a bloody cross, and on the other the initials,—M. W. S. that is, "murder without sin," signifying, that it was no sin to murder a Protestant. Having paraded for some time to give more solemnity to the scene, the Protestants who were confined in the gaol and prison-ship were led forth to the slaughter, and conducted to the bridge under a strong guard of merciless ruffians, piked to death, with every circumstance of barbarous cruelty, and then flung into the river to leave room for more! While this work of blood was going on, a rebel captain being shocked at the cries of the victims, and possessing some feelings of humanity, ran to the Popish bishop, who was drinking wine with the utmost composure after dinner, and knowing that he could at once stop the massacre, entreated of him, 'for the mercy of Jesus,' to come and save the prisoners. The bishop coolly replied, that 'it was no affair of his,' and requested the captain 'would sit down and take a glass of wine,' adding 'that the people should be gratified!'* The captain, however indignantly refused the invitation, and, filled with abhorrence and distress of mind, walked silently away.†

All this time the sanguinary pikemen continued butchering the poor victims on the bridge; some they perforated in places not mortal, to prolong and increase their torture, others they would raise aloft on their pikes, and while the miserable victim writhed in extreme of agony, his blood streaming down the handles of their pikes, they exulted round him with savage joy. In the midst of this terrific scene, General Edward Roche gallopped up in great haste, and commanded the drum to beat to arms, declaring, "that Vinegar-hill was nearly surrounded by the King's troops, and that all should repair to camp,

* It is only justice to say this serious accusation against Dr. Caulfield has been emphatically repudiated—"I solemnly declare to God and man that no such captain or man came or applied to me; and that any captain or man (or even Mr. Taylor himself) who gave such information, gave a false and unfounded one."—*Plowden.*

Dr. Caulfield, the titular bishop, was heavily censured for the imputed apathy, he exhibited, while Wexford was in the hands of the insurgents, and when the most revolting barbarities were perpetrated before his eyes. If a country priest had power to bind and loose—and that they had the power is not to be disputed—what might have been expected from the influence of a prelate, to whom the savage multitude looked up with awe and veneration? Much has been said and written in apology for the doctor's conduct. That he possessed commanding influence cannot be denied, and few have attempted to prove that he used it as he should. But that he could and did protect Protestants, the following correspondence establishes:—

Reverend Doctor Caulfield, Wexford.

"My Lord!

"If possible you'll have the Messrs. —— liberated, or removed to some more comfortable lodging: they are well disposed, and have never injured any one individual. Your compliance will oblige your affectionate friend.

"Enniscorthy, June 15th, 1798. "JOHN SUTTON, Priest."

"The Messrs. ——, I am sure, are free from any party business, orange, or any thing inimical to any society of people, as is mentioned above.

"I remain, my Lord, yours most sincerely,

"WM. SYNNOTT, P.P."

"From the excellent characters of the above gentlemen, I beg leave, in the name of Jesus Christ, to recommend them to be protected.

"Wexford, June 15th, 1798. "JAMES CAULFIELD."



The Rebels executing their Prisoners, on the Bridge at Wexford.



as reinforcements were wanting." This express had a wonderful effect: the assassins instantly closed the bloody scene, and fled in all directions, leaving three of the prisoners on their knees, namely, William Hamilton, William O'Connor, and Charles Jackson. Some of the rebel guard returned soon after, and conveyed the prisoners back to gaol, who had still continued on their knees without making the least effort to escape, being stupified with terror. But that sanguinary monster, Thomas Dixon, returning, he soon evinced that his thirst for blood was not yet satiated, by ordering out the remainder of the prisoners from the gaol and prison-ship, the greater part of whom were tortured to death in like manner as the former. He then proceeded to the market-house, and having fixed his vulture-eye on others, dragged them to the fatal bridge for execution. After butchering these, a lot of ten more was brought forth, and barbarously murdered. The third time they took out eighteen, and were massacring them, when Dick Monk* rode into town from Vinegar-hill, with his shoes and stockings off, and shouted "D—n your souls, you vagabonds, why don't you go out and meet the enemy that are coming in, and not be murdering in cold blood?" Some Protestant women followed him, and asked him, "What news?" he replied, "Bad news, indeed; the King's forces are encamped round Vinegar-hill." He then rode towards the convent, and perceiving the women (who were anxious to be more fully informed of this matter) following him, he drew out a pistol, and swore "that if they came any farther he would blow their brains out." Shortly after, Priest Corrin was seen running towards the bridge. There were six of the poor Protestants killed out of the last party that were taken down before he arrived, and it was with great difficulty he prevailed upon them to spare the rest. After using all the arguments he could, without effect, he at length took off his hat, and desired them to kneel down and pray for the souls of the poor prisoners before they put them to death. They did so—and having thus got them in the attitude of devotion, he said, "Now pray to God to have mercy on your souls, and teach you to shew that kindness towards them, which you expect from HIM, in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment."—This had the desired effect; he led them off the bridge without opposition, and they were sent back to confinement. The massacre of that day ceased about eight o'clock in the evening. Out of forty-eight prisoners who had been confined in the market-house, nineteen only escaped.†

* Richard Monaghan, alias Dick Monk, a rebel captain, was born of obscure parents, having formerly been a shoe-black in Wexford: but being a fellow of great wit and humour, he was taken notice of, and afterwards obtained a livelihood by buying corn for the merchants; he had also been a recruiting serjeant part of his life, and on the rebellion breaking out, he was appointed a captain in the rebel army, and considered during that period a generous and well-minded man. After the rebels were driven out of the county, he received a wound in an engagement, and was going to Newtown-barry to surrender himself to Colonel Maxwell, of the Cavan militia, when he was met by a party of yeomanry, and shot.

† "They thus continued, till about seven o'clock, to convey parties of prisoners, from ten to twenty, from the gaol and the market-house, where many of them were confined, to the bridge, where they butchered them. Every procession was preceded

Nor were these dreadful cruelties confined to the town alone. In their camps, and on their marches and retreats, the same execrable barbarities were constantly committed.* No exaggeration can be imputed to those who escaped death, and afterwards detailed the sufferings they had undergone—for the dying confessions of many who were actors in these scenes of blood, and afterwards paid the penalty of crime, corroborated the statements of those who had been their prisoners, and confirmed their truth.

"It is said that not less than four hundred Protestants were massacred in Enniscorthy and on Vinegar-hill, the bodies of whom lay unburied during several days; and such was the cruelty of the rebels, that they would not suffer their female friends to perform the last act of humanity, nor even look at them, on pain of death. To increase the horror of this scene, the swine were suffered to prey upon the bodies —and several, through the heat of the weather, were reduced to such a state of putrefaction, that at length they became offensive to the murderers, who drew them to the water-side, where they covered some

by the black flag, and the prisoners were surrounded by ruthless pikemen, as guards, who often insultingly desired them to bless themselves.

"The mob, consisting of more women than men, expressed their savage joy on the immolation of each of the victims, by loud huzzas.

"The manner, in general, of putting them to death, was thus: Two rebels pushed their pikes into the breast of the victim, and two into his back; and in that state (writhing with torture) they held him suspended, till dead, and then threw him over the bridge into the water.

"After they had massacred ninety-seven prisoners in that manner, and before they could proceed further in the business, an express rode up in great haste, and bid them beat to arms, as Vinegar-hill was beset, and reinforcements were wanting. There was immediately a cry, 'To camp! to camp!' The rebels got into great confusion, and the massacre was discontinued."—*Jackson's Narrative.*

* "After taking possession of Enniscorthy, they planted the Tree of Liberty, with shouts of 'Vive la Republique,' and 'Erin go Bragh.' Here the work of blood immediately began, and continued every day more or less for twenty-five days; a dreadful specimen of what might be expected from such a government. One day they were so diabolical as to murder all the Protestants they had; and not satisfied with this, they sent to Wexford for more, and every day parties ranged the country, dragging forth all they could find, to satiate their thirst for blood. On the 1st of June, a Protestant, who afterwards escaped by the interposition of a rebel captain, being in an old wind-mill (where all the condemned were placed), saw a man sitting on the ground, with only a piece of blanket covering him—his eyes were picked out of their sockets, his tongue cut out, his head and body swelled to an enormous degree, and covered with ulcers. Not thinking he was alive, till the poor sufferer gave a heart-piercing groan, the prisoner was startled, and exclaimed 'Good God! what miserable object is that!' He was answered by one of the guards, that *he was under slow punishment!!* This was verified on oath.

"As the Protestants grew scarce, they kept them the longer in torment before they despatched them, by scourging them with lashes made of brass wire, and twisted in whip-cord. George Stacy, who received two hundred and fifty lashes, and a Mr. Whitney, with several others, bore witness to the truth of this. But they did not stop here; piking them, but not mortally, was frequently done, for the purpose of keeping them in misery. Sometimes they used a stone, with one end small and the other large—and putting the small end into the mouth of the expiring victim, they would stamp on it with the heel of the shoe, till his jaws were extended to the utmost. This barbarity was inflicted on Henry Hatton, deputy Portrieve of Enniscorthy, and many others."—*Appendix to Musgrave's Memoirs.*

with sand, and threw others into the river, in which, for a long time after, they floated with the tide."*

If the cruelties occurring during this reign of terror were many and revolting, the singular escapes of victims, not only doomed, but apparently "done to death," are so miraculous, that were not their authenticity established beyond disbelief, they scarcely could be credited.

"The recovery of Charles Davis, of Enniscorthy, was extraordinary. After having remained four days concealed, during which time he had no other sustenance than the raw body of a cock, he was taken at some distance from the town, brought to Vinegar-hill, shot through the body and one of his arms, violently struck in several parts of the head with thrusts of a pike, which, however, penetrated not into the brain, and thrown into a grave on his back, with a heap of earth and stones over him. A faithful dog having scraped away the covering from his face, and cleansed it by licking the blood, he returned to life after an interment of twelve hours, dreaming that pikemen were proceeding to stab him, and pronouncing the name of Father Roche, by whose interposition he hoped to be released. Some superstitious persons hearing the name, and imagining the man to have been revivified by the favour of heaven, in order that he might receive salvation from the priest, by becoming a Catholic, before his final departure, took him from the grave to a house, and treated him with such kind attention that he recovered, and is now living in apparently perfect health."†

I have previously remarked that the Roman Catholic clergy, although many of them were notoriously disaffected, and deeply culpable in concealing the progress of treason from the authorities, when they were perfectly acquainted with the objects of the conspirators, still generally, held back from an overt display of rebellion‡—and, while some pretended, others truly exerted themselves to save property and life, and soften down the savage spirit of the times. That the priestly leaders were infinitely more sanguinary than the lay commanders, has never been denied—and the following detail, given by Taylor, presents a picture of savage ferocity and providential deliverance, which gives the transaction unusual interest:—

"After Wexford was recovered, and the loyalists were obliged to retreat from Gorey to Arklow, very many failed in their attempt to get away, and were savagely put to death. One of the fugitives overtaken by the rebels was a man named Rowsome—and "knowing who he was, they were on the point of piking him, but Perry desired them to forbear, and leave him for those who were coming after. Priest Kearns came up with another body of rebels, and asked him his name; he told him, and then Kearns desired him to lie down till he should

* Musgrave.

† Jackson's Narrative.

‡ "From the most unbiassed accounts that I have seen, the number of Roman Catholic priests, who gave in to the rebellion, fell considerably short of a score, which, out of two thousand and upwards in the kingdom, is a very small proportion. Amongst those few no prelate or ecclesiastic of consequence and respectability was to be found"—*Plowden's Historical Review.*

shoot him. Some of the rebels were going to finish him their own way, but Kearns prevented them, saying, he would do him the honour to despatch him himself. He snapped a pistol at him, and as it missed fire, the rebels were again for piking him, but the priest very deliberately put fresh powder in the pan, and ordered Rowsome not to stir, telling him he would now do his business. He accordingly fired; the ball passed through his chin and upper lip, and came out at his neck, tearing him in a shocking manner. Here they left him weltering in his gore. After some time he crept off the road, and lay for a while hid in some fern in an adjoining field, where two rebels found and asked him, 'if he was not yet dead?' He said not, but almost. One of them replied, it would not be long until he should, on which he fired at him, and the ball broke one of his arms. The other rebel would not fire, having but one charge, but got a large stone and beat the poor sufferer on the head, until no appearance of life was left. Here he lay until near daylight, when recovering a little strength he crossed the country to Benough, to a friend's house, in whose pig-sty he lay two days and two nights without nourishment, except some milk and water. On the arrival of the King's troops at Gorey, he was conveyed on a provision cart to the military hospital in Bray, where he remained some months till cured, and is now a living monument of the sparing mercy of God. Of all the objects I have seen, he is one of the greatest; having lost all his under teeth and the bones of his chin; his jaw is locked, his under lip split from the point to the swallow, and he cannot take any sort of food, but what is administered through the medium of a spoon."

That the conduct of such infamous villains as Kearns and the Murphys was calculated to throw a stain on the character of the Irish priesthood, was only what might have been expected, and what did occur. But let it be remembered that these wretches formed a small section of the order—and that if there were monsters like Kearns, there were men like Father Corrin. To the unwearied exertions of this excellent churchman, many a doomed Protestant was indebted for his life—and many a home, that otherwise would have been desolated, was gladdened by the return of a child or parent, who had been, in mournful anticipation, already numbered by his family with the dead.

Probably from the bodily sufferings and agony of mind he had suffered during his captivity, Taylor was naturally prejudiced against those who could have averted both—but still he admits that Roman Catholic mercy was not always withheld from the unfortunate.

"I rejoice, however, to state, that there were some bright exceptions to the general character for cruelty which marked the conduct of the Romanists at this dreadful period. Mr. Shaw, an half-pay officer, concealed himself on a loft, only four feet square, and not four feet high, for the space of twenty-three days, and was there three days before any of his friends knew what became of him. Nor did any person know it but a boy and girl, both Romanists, who told his wife where he was concealed, and she conveyed him some sustenance through the loft, where they started a board for that purpose."

That the majority of the peasantry engaged in the Wexford insurrection were not of the sanguinary and vindictive temperament too generally imputed to them may be collected from the fact, that almost every Protestant who fell into the rebel hands, and afterwards escaped death, was indebted, with scarcely an exception, to Romanists for their preservation, and even where leaders could not, or would not interfere, life was saved by humble agencies. Without reference to the numerous authenticated cases, contained in the Appendix to Musgrave's Memoirs, the annexed original communications will prove that a sweeping charge of inhumanity or ingratitude cannot be sustained against the Wexford Roman Catholics.

The first case we would point to was that of a retired officer and his family—and it presents a simple but melancholy picture of the misery which this unfortunate outbreak caused to many an inoffensive family.

"A shattered constitution, from sufferings and privations abroad, obliged my father to retire from the army, when from severe losses in his property, he was obliged to accept a revenue situation, and settle in Enniscorthy a few years prior to the rebellion. There his military experience and loyal exertions made him fatally conspicuous. On the commencement of the troubles, he, with many other gentlemen, joined Captain Richards, of Solsborough's corps of cavalry. On the memorable 28th of May, after the struggle of the few against the many, my father, with several who escaped the carnage, retreated to Wexford, and was one of those unfortunates who were given up to the rebels by the treacherous captain of the ship to whom they had given their all for a chance of escaping death. When the rebels were taking their victims to the gaol, Captain ——— being very active, made his escape, and after hiding without bed or food for three days, endeavoured to swim to a boat, in the hope of getting out to sea; but being seen, the rebels fired at and wounded him, brought him ashore, and piked him to death. His body obtained a grave—for he was buried in the sand by some kind friends. His unfortunate wife and only child (myself), were driven through the burning town amid scenes of blood and horror. We continued wandering for two days and nights, hiding in a wood without any thing to cover us, or a morsel of food, and every moment in dread of a miserable death. We were at last obliged to return to town, and witness scenes too dreadful to describe. A poor carpenter's family took us in, and hid us in a wretched hay-loft, where they humanely kept us, and gave us what food they could spare; and for three weeks we had not a change of clothes. At times we could see from the windows the most horrifying acts imaginable, but at length the British army drove the insurgents from Vinegar-hill, and gave us liberty. After the most heart-rending sufferings and privations, we got by sea to Dublin, and from thence to Wales, where the dreadful scenes my mother had witnessed, added to her husband's miserable fate, preyed on her mind and health, and rendered her incapable of setting forth these details to Sir R. Musgrave, or of even knowing that his history had been published. Nor was she even able to send in a statement of her losses to the committee appointed by government, but asked for a small sum to enable

her to return home, and procure documents to ascertain her loss. When she did forward her memorial, no second claim would be allowed—and many who had lost but little gained tenfold what they lost."*

That gratitude for past kindness was not extinguished in the peasant's breast, the following anecdote will instance.

"Soon after the first outbreak of the Wexford rebellion, a valuable and favourite mare, the property of Mrs. De Rienzy, of Clobemon Hall, was carried away from the field in which she was grazing, by a party of rebels from the county Carlow. The robbery being mentioned to a man named Keogh, who was much attached to the family, although a notorious rebel, he declared that he would recover the mare, and punish the party who had taken her; a promise which he faithfully fulfilled. Having traced the mare to the rebel camp at Old Leighlin, a mountain ridge upwards of twenty miles distant, and finding her in possession of one of the chiefs, he shot the man dead, and afterwards rode home the mare, which was found grazing quietly in her paddock the next morning, to the great surprise of the family. To give Keogh full credit for this exploit, it must be recollected, that the rebel army had been at this time driven from the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow, and that the intervening roads were occupied by yeomanry and troops of the line. By taking a circuitous route, Keogh managed to escape the danger, and cleverly achieved his object. It is only right to add, that in consideration of this act, he was afterwards pardoned at the intercession of the family.

"Shortly after the incident referred to, several houses in the neighbourhood were attacked by large bodies of rebels, who plundered and burned them, and in some instances put all the inmates to death. A large party, however, of the tenants and followers of the De Rienzy family acted as a guard to the house of Clobemon Hall, and would not suffer any injury to be done to it; and although the hall was for a considerable period in their actual possession, the only loss sustained was the abstraction of a few bottles of wine from the cellar, and the green cloth stripped from a billiard-table, which one of the party converted into a rebel uniform."†

* Communicated by a lady.

† By the bye, a ludicrous story is told of one of the rebel party, when plundering a cellar, having by mistake drunk part of a bottle of red marking-ink, which he spat out; but his comrade immediately finished the remainder, observing that "it must be good stuff, or the *Quality* would not drink it."—*Communicated by* ——, *Esq.*



Marquis Cornwallis

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1798

UNIV. OF MICH.

CHAPTER XV.

LORD CORNWALLIS APPOINTED VICEROY—RECOVERY OF THE TOWN OF WEXFORD—TRIALS AND EXECUTIONS OF THE REBEL LEADERS.

WHILE these transactions were occurring in Wexford and the adjacent districts, a change in the executive of the kingdom took place. Lord Camden was recalled, and Lord Cornwallis assumed the reins of government, "with a plenitude of power exceeding that of his predecessor, by the supremacy of military command having been superadded to the civil government of the country."* The fortunate appointment of this nobleman to the Irish lieutenancy was made at a moment when a powerful interposition between the military and the people had become imperative, as the licentiousness of the soldiery had overcome every means hitherto used for its restriction, and instead of bringing terror to the guilty, goaded them by indiscriminating severities to the commission of fresh crimes, and through the recklessness of desperation, forced numbers to band with the insurgents, who would otherwise have continued passive, and unoffending.

In conformity to the spirit of his instructions, and indeed with the secret dictates of a benevolent disposition, the new viceroy applied himself to remedy abuses, and by conciliatory measures, reclaim the disaffected, and induce them to return to their allegiance. In pursuance of this judicious system of government, military executions were interdicted, and the sentences of courts-martial suspended, until the minutes of the evidence had been submitted to the law officers and been revised. These humane proceedings were forerunners to the pro-

* "That a viceroy of military talents, of political knowledge and activity, had not been sent sooner to this kingdom, where a widely-extended insurrection had been so long known to have been planned, seems to argue a defect of wisdom, or at least of precaution, in the British cabinet. Probably the members of that cabinet were little aware of the dangerous force of the Irish peasantry, when armed and brought into action. But if Newtownbarry, Ross, and Arklow had fallen into the hands of the Wexfordian insurgents; if these insurgents had not committed massacres and devastations; if they had not given their warfare the complexion of bigotry and religious murder; if they had not procrastinated; and if troops from France with arms and ammunition had landed to their assistance—the British ministry might have had lamentable cause of repentance for their neglect of Ireland! As if to make atonement for past inattention, a man the most fit of all the class of nobility was at length appointed to this most important office—the Marquis Cornwallis; who had eminently displayed the talents of a general and statesman, not less when inevitably conquered in America, than when victorious in the East. The earlier appointment of such a viceroy might have prevented rebellion, and consequently the loss of thousands of lives and of immense property to the kingdom. His activity and wisdom, in the discharge of his high function, soon exhibited a new phenomenon in a country where the viceroyalty had been generally a sinecure, and the viceroy a pageant of state."—*Gordon.*

clamation of an act of amnesty—but to connect the narrative of the insurrectionary warfare, it will be necessary to detail the final scenes which closed the history of the Wexford outbreak.

After Keugh's offer of surrendering the town, under promise of protection, had been rejected by General Lake, who certainly would not have been warranted in entering into any negotiation with men in arms, a second attempt at accommodation was made under the sanction of Lord Kingsborough.* Two envoys were accordingly despatched with fresh proposals to be submitted to General Moore, but the messengers were intercepted outside the town, Ensign Harman, of the North Cork, brutally killed, and his companion driven back into Wexford. The ruffian who committed this wanton murder was called Whelan,—and, to end every hope of accommodation, he attempted to assassinate Lord Kingsborough, who had been the medium of communication hitherto kept up between the royalist commanders and the rebel chiefs. Every consideration of personal security pointed to the total suppression of outrage, as the only means by which the heavy vengeance of a victorious army could be averted; and Whelan would have been executed by the rebel leaders, had they not dreaded the fury of his savage followers. Nor was it without sufficient reason that the turbulent villain was allowed to murder with impunity an envoy despatched by themselves—"so radically had the infernal spirit of rebellion extinguished all sense of duty in the misguided wretches in this temporary frenzy, that it became a service of as much danger to dehort them from their wicked purposes, as to hoist an orange cockade, or to threaten to flog, strangle, or picquet them."†

Meanwhile, the final scene of the tragic occurrences promised to equal, and perhaps exceed, the terrible events which had preceded it. There is little doubt that a general and unsparing massacre of the Protestants had been resolved upon—and although, assisted by an alarm that their camp was being attacked,‡ the Catholic bishop and clergy had induced the greater number of the insurgents to quit the town, still the most ferocious wretches remained, and seemed deter-

* "Lord Kingsborough was considered by the rebel chiefs as a valuable hostage; and, perhaps, if they had fully availed themselves of this advantage, some terms might have been obtained in their favour, though of the lives of hostages in general, no account seems to have been made by the commanders of his Majesty's troops. The deluded multitude would probably have committed a tremendous massacre on the 21st of June—the day of General Moore's march towards Wexford—if they had not been persuaded by their devoted leaders that conditions of surrendry would be obtained. For this purpose Lord Kingsborough, who on the occasion entered into certain engagements in favour of the rebels, was liberated, and sent to General Moore. How far his lordship endeavoured to fulfil these engagements, which probably was quite beyond his power, I am not authorized to say."

† Plowden's Historical Review.

‡ "Governor Keugh came into the street, and cried aloud, "Gentlemen, fly to the camp at the mountain of Forth; you have nothing else for it: Go there and defend yourselves.' Some of them, as they were retreating (but particularly young M'Gauley, of Oulart, who was afterwards hanged) cried out, 'Let us set fire to the town!' but they had not time to do so, for in a few minutes there was not a rebel in it."—*Taylor's History.*

mined to conclude a period of anarchy and terrorism by a scene of indiscriminating slaughter.

"During this confusion which their flight occasioned, the bloody Thomas Dixon, mounted on a very fine horse which he had taken from Mr. Cadwallader Edwards, rode through the streets, with a broad-sword drawn, and upbraided the rebels for their timidity and their dilatoriness. 'If you had followed my advice,' he said, 'in putting all the heretics to death three or four days ago, it would not have come to this pass.' Mrs. Dixon, who accompanied him on horseback, with a sword and case of pistols, clapped the rebels on the back and encouraged them, by saying, 'We must conquer: I know we must conquer:' and she exclaimed repeatedly, 'My Saviour tells me we must conquer!'

"They repaired to the bridge to stop the retreat of the rebels, but in vain, though Mrs. Dixon drew a pistol and swore vehemently that she would shoot any one who would refuse to return with her to put the remainder of the heretics to death. They endeavoured to raise the portcullis of the bridge, to prevent retreat, but were unable to do so."*

It has been said, and I believe with justice, that the butcheries on Wexford bridge were perpetrated by a small section of the insurgents, kept by that sanguinary monster in a state of constant drunkenness, and ever ready to execute his ruthless orders. Every means were used by the ruffian to play upon the credulity, and excite the worst passions of his followers—and his fiendish inventions to irritate a brutal mob appear almost incredible. "Orange furniture being found by the wife of this man in the drawing-room of Mr. Le Hunte, four miles from Wexford, particularly two fire-screens with emblematical figures, Dixon informed the mob that this room had been the meeting-place of orangemen, and that the figures denoted the manner in which the Roman Catholics were to be put to death by these conspirators; that they were to be first deprived of their sight, and then burned alive, without the exception even of children; and particularly, that the seamen of this communion were to be roasted to death on red-hot anchors."†

The approach of Moore's brigade, however, freed Wexford from the presence of the banditti who infested it to the last moment, and averted the intended massacre. Captain Boyd, the member for the town, and commandant of a corps of mounted yeomen, having ascertained that the great body of the rebels had returned, asked and obtained permission from General Moore to enter Wexford, and announce that the army was on its march to occupy the place. Attended only by a dozen mounted yeomen, Captain Boyd galloped down the streets, proclaiming to the inhabitants their deliverance. At five in the evening, Moore's brigade arrived at the heights commanding Wexford, and bivouaced on the

* Taylor's History.

† "The rage for retaliation, which operated as strongly from the representation of false as of true facts, the barbarous Dixon inflamed by whiskey and supported by the most inhuman exhortations."—*Plowden's Historical Review.*

Windmill-hill, while a wing of the Queen's regiment marched into the place and took military possession.

That the excesses committed by the soldiery, upon a town previously devoted to plunder and destruction, fell infinitely short of what might have been expected, is an undoubted fact. That a few lives were lost is not to be denied—and while Plowden asserts "that all the wounded men in the hospital were put to the sword, and some of the straggling inhabitants lost their lives," another writer, himself present in the town, eulogizes the conduct of the troops, and describes their entrance into Wexford as having been orderly and inoffensive.*

A bloody episode in the Wexford history occurred at Gorey, on the day when the former town was recovered by the royalists.

"On the departure of General Needham from the latter town to Vinegar-hill, on the 20th of June, he had sent an express to Captain Holmes, of the Durham regiment, who commanded in Arklow, ordering him to despatch immediately to Gorey, that part of the Gorey cavalry who remained in Arklow, and informing him that on their arrival at their place of destination, they should find an officer to command them and a large force with which they were to unite. By the same express, the Gorey infantry were ordered to remain in Arklow; but these, and the refugee inhabitants of the place, hearing of a large force to protect their town, were so impatient to revisit their homes, that they followed the cavalry contrary to orders. This body of cavalry, amounting only to seventeen in number, found, on their arrival in Gorey, to their astonishment, not an officer or soldier. They, however, had the courage or temerity to scour the country in search of rebels, with the assistance of some others who had joined them, and killed about fifty men whom they found in their houses, or straggling homewards from the rebel camps."†

This act of severity on the part of the royalists, provoked insurgent retaliation—and the rebel column, under Peny, then in full retreat towards the mountains of Wicklow, determined to avenge the death of their late associates. On the 22nd, they marched rapidly on Gorey—the little garrison taking a position outside the town to oppose the entrance of the insurgents. From the smallness of their force, the

* "Captain Boyd cautioned the prisoners not to come out till the arrival of the army, lest they might be taken for rebels (not having military clothes), and put to death: and shortly after the Queen's royals arrived. Description fails in attempting to set forth the emotions which arose in the breasts of the poor Protestants who had been doomed to destruction. The entrance of the army was peculiarly striking; for instead of rushing in with all the violence of enraged men, as might be expected, they marched along in such solemnity and silent grandeur, that not a whisper was to be heard through the ranks. Many wept with joy to see their deliverers, who soon opened the jail doors, 'and set the prisoners free.' Thus the town of Wexford was recovered on the 21st of June, 1798, after being in possession of the rebels twenty-three days. Had the army arrived a day sooner, they would have saved ninety-seven Protestants, who were cruelly butchered on the bridge. Indeed the shocking acts of barbarity practised during this period would make as many pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the history of the martyrs"—*Taylor's History.*

† Gordon.

resistance of the royalists was short—and perceiving that they should be immediately surrounded, they hastily retired to Arklow, each of the infantry being carried off, *en croupe*, by the horsemen. A number of the helpless refugees were consequently abandoned—and upon them the vengeance of the rebels was let loose. Forty of these defenceless persons, all of whom had been non-combatant, were ruthlessly put to death—and age or infirmity was equally disrespected. "However, no women or children were injured, because the rebels, who professed to act on a plan of retaliation, found on inquiry that no women or children of their party had been hurt. This was owing to the humanity of a young gentleman of seventeen years of age in the yeoman cavalry, who had, by his remonstrances, restrained his associates from violence with respect to the fair sex. In the action of this day, which will be long remembered in the town under the title of *Bloody Friday*, only three of the yeoman infantry were killed, and none of the cavalry. The rebels having accomplished their purpose of revenge, their only motive for deviating from their course to visit Gorey, resumed, after a short repast, their march to the Wicklow mountains."*

If Plowden may be credited, the barbarous excesses committed by the royalists on the preceding day were quite sufficient to infuriate the rebels, and produce this horrible retaliation. "They had been exasperated," he says, "as they came along, by discovering several dead men with their skulls split asunder, their bowels ript open, and their throats cut across, besides some dead women and children—even they met the dead bodies of two women, about which their surviving children were creeping and bewailing them. These sights hastened the insurgent force to Gorey, where their exasperation was considerably augmented by discovering the pigs in the streets devouring the bodies of nine men who had been hanged the day before, with several others recently shot, and some still expiring."†

The Wexford prisons had been scarcely emptied of the Protestant prisoners who had occupied them, until they were tenanted by those who had lately been the directors of the insurrection. General Lake arrived on the 22nd, and took up his quarters in the house of Keugh, the ex-governor, the latter exchanging his former domicile for a jail.

Immediately after the recovery of Wexford the general issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

To prevent the further effusion of blood, the fatal effects of depopulation, and the total destruction of property in this once happy county, the General wishes to hold out to the last moment in his power, the means of forgiveness, and of returning happiness, to the unfortunate multitude, who from ignorance, and the persuasion of interested, wicked, and designing men, have been seduced from their allegiance to rise in arms and rebellion against their sovereign and the laws of their country, and to commit acts of murder, cruelty, and depredation, that would

* Gordon. † Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 764.

disgrace the most savage nation. From this horrid state, and from the impending ruin of the county and its inhabitants, the general is most anxiously desirous of rescuing them; and hereby promises to all deluded persons who have yielded to the threats or persuasion of the infamous promoters of rebellion, that if they will immediately abandon their wicked course, and return as peaceable and good subjects to their respective homes and occupations, their persons and property shall remain unmolested, and in perfect security from injury. But, as a proof of their sincere repentance, and desire to return to their allegiance, they must, in the first instance, and in the course of three days from the date hereof (making allowance for the more distant parts of the county), deliver up their arms and amunition as directed in the notice of the 23rd instant, and hereunto subjoined, and also the persons who have been most active in instigating or compelling them to engage in the rebellion; or if this is not in their power, they must give information where they are most likely to be found.

Should the terms here offered not be attended to, it will be the general's indispensable duty totally to destroy every town, cottage, and farm-house, that shall be found unoccupied by the masters of them, and to put to the sword every person who shall be found in arms, or having arms or ammunition in their possession.

A serious consideration of this proclamation is recommended to all persons who have been compelled to join the rebels, and who sincerely repent their past conduct; and they are particularly required to use their utmost exertions in bringing the deluded people to a sense of the ruinous situation into which they have brought the country, and of the only means by which they can rescue themselves and their property from the just vengeance that must be the inevitable consequence of their not attending to the terms of reconciliation now offered, and the last that will be made to them.

Wexford, June 27th, 1798.

While some of the rebel chiefs endeavoured to evade the first outburst of the royalist excitement, by seeking a temporary security in concealment, others, either under the persuasion that the negotiations between the Wexford leaders and the commanding officers of the troops would lead to a general amnesty, or, perhaps, in the desperation of their circumstances, remained in their respective homes, and quietly awaited the fate they knew to be impending. Grogan had retired to his mansion at Johnstown, while Harvey repaired to Bargy Castle, from whence, as a peace-offering, he sent some fat cattle to the commanding officer in Wexford. On the return of the messenger, he found that to the chiefs of the insurgents mercy would not be extended; and quitting his house, never to revisit it, he set out to join a fellow-unfortunate, who had vainly endeavoured to remove himself beyond the vengeance of the outraged laws.

Colclough, with his wife and child, had sought a temporary asylum in one of the Saltees, and with some valuables hastily collected, and a *few necessaries* to maintain life, they had hidden themselves in a cave,

of which the entrance was artfully concealed. There Harvey joined the unhappy fugitives—and chiefly through the indiscretion with which he had neglected to keep his fatal visit secret, the whole party were arrested, brought back, and committed to close custody.

The prisoners were arraigned on charges of high treason, and tried by a court-martial. Among the first to suffer were Father Philip Roach,* Keugh, Hay, and Esmond Kyan.† The executions took place upon the bridge, and they were hurried over with little consideration to the last moments of the dying, or to the feelings of the relations who survived them. Roach was a tall and weighty man, and on being suspended, the rope broke, and he fell to the ground stunned and stupified. Another halter was immediately procured, and he thus suffered the last penalties of the law, it might be said, twice over. After death the sufferers were decapitated—the mutilated bodies cast into the river—and the heads placed upon spikes, and exposed to public view, thus calling into operation again one of the most disgusting remnants of feudal severity upon offenders against the state.

Grogan was next brought before the court,—but from the want of some material evidence, his trial was postponed. Harvey's trial commenced on the same evening—he appeared to be much agitated, and spoke little. It came out in evidence that he acted as commander-in-chief of the rebel forces at the battle of Ross, on the 5th of June, and a letter to the commander-in-chief of the king's troops, signed "B. B. Harvey," summoning him to surrender the town to the rebels, was produced in evidence on the trial, and acknowledged by Mr. Harvey to be his handwriting. The unhappy man produced many witnesses in his defence, but none to contradict the main facts. He did not deny having acted as commander of the rebel forces, but endeavoured to extenuate his conduct by saying that he had accepted the distinction to prevent much greater evils, which must have occurred had it fallen into other hands, and in the hope of surrendering that command, one day or other, with greater advantage to the country. He had no counsel—and after a trial which lasted eight hours, was

* "He had been curate to the Rev. John Synnott, of Gorey; had been a proper man, and would be useful, but indulging in excess of drinking, and beginning to agitate, he became obnoxious and was removed. He was afterwards sent curate, after reprehension, admonition, and instruction by his superior, to Rev. Thomas Doyle, in Bantry, the other extremity of the diocese, last winter. I heard nothing of him there until he joined the rebels, and soon became a leader."—*Letter from Dr. Caulfield to Dr. Troy.*

† Taylor's character of this unhappy gentleman is extremely favourable, and excites regret that he should have been led astray:—"Esmond Kyan, rebel captain of artillery, was the youngest son of the late Howard Kyan, of Mount Howard, in the county of Wexford, Esq., and his mother aunt to Sir Thomas Esmond, Bart. He was about fifty years of age, five feet high, and rather a handsome man. He had lost his left arm some years before by an accident, and a cork one was substituted in its stead. He was liberal, generous, brave, and merciful; and having received a severe wound in his left arm, above where the cork one was joined, and being tired of a rebellious life, he went to Wexford to surrender to the commanding officer, and endeavour to obtain pardon for the past."

Before we turn to the other insurrectionary movements, which were simultaneously occurring with the Wrexford outbreak, to preserve a connection in detail, we will follow the career of the rebel armies of this blood-stained county, and trace their ulterior movements from the hour of their first defeats, until that of their final dispersion.

perience proved useful during the attack on that town on Tuesday morning. On the evacuation of the place in the evening by the troops, he accompanied them to Wexford—and on that town being given up by the king's forces and occupied by the rebels, he found means to shelter himself and his family in a lodging of the poorest description in one of the bye-lanes; and there they lived for some time, chiefly dependant for the necessaries of life upon a few of his Roman Catholic tenantry, who brought milk and such humbler articles of food as could escape suspicion. A young man named Kelly, a rebel captain, took a principal share in protecting the family; and it was not until something called him from the town that my uncle was taken from his concealment, and was on the very point of being put to death on the bridge, when he was saved by mere accident. In return, he preserved the life of Kelly when the tables turned. When Captain B—— was on his way to execution, they were met by Keugh, the rebel leader. They had been brother officers in America, and my uncle said to him, 'Keugh, if you cannot save my life, at least let me die a soldier's death, and be shot, not piked.'

"'The will of the people must be done, Sir,' was Keugh's answer, as he turned coolly away."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

CHAPTER XVI.

ATTACK ON HACKETSTOWN—AFFAIR AT BALLYELLIS—REPULSE AT BALLYRAHEEN—REBELS DRIVEN FROM THE WHITE-HEAPS—AND AFTERWARDS DEFEATED AND DISPERSED AT BALLYGULLEN.

One of the rebel columns which had escaped from Vinegar-hill, and retired in a northerly direction, being joined by a strong body of Wicklow rebels, under the command of the two Byrnes of Ballymanus, determined to attack Hacketstown, then garrisoned by a yeomanry corps, under Captain Hardy, and forty of the Antrim regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Gardiner. Alarmed by the appearance of numbers of the peasantry assembling on the adjacent high grounds, an attack was apprehended—and the corps immediately in the vicinity of the town were called on to aid in its defence. Early on the 25th, an infantry and cavalry corps, reinforced the garrison; and, although under two hundred men, it boldly marched out to receive the rebels, who, as it was reported, were rapidly advancing.

The royalists took a position outside the town, which on the approach of the insurgents was found untenable. Although, north and south, the rebel leaders never exhibited a particle of military talent, still, to the commonest understanding it was evident, that by extension, a handful of men must be surrounded and destroyed by dense masses, no matter what advantages they might possess in superiority of discipline and courage. Accordingly, when in presence of the little garrison, the rebels deployed right and left; and to prevent their flanks from being turned, the loyalists fell back upon the town, the cavalry retreating by the Clonmore road, and hence becoming afterwards non-combatant.

In the course of this short history, we have repeatedly borne testimony to the Irish yeomanry of '98, as a daring and devoted body, whose fidelity was incorruptible, and courage boundless. The memory of none should be held in more sacred estimation—for reckless of the consequences involved, in every trial private considerations were thrown to the winds, and the yeomen took the post of danger. To their efficiency, the brief duration of the rebellion may be traced, for by them partial insurrections were put down, and others entirely prevented. As in every community, civil or military, unworthy members will be found, and the misconduct of the few will bring obloquy upon the many, to the Irish yeomanry cruelty and abuse of power have been charged. But in the aggregate, and "take them for all in all," in the emergency of an empire, as a body they will never be surpassed for unqualified bravery and unbounded devotion.

In their organization a sad mistake had been committed; half their number were cavalry, and consequently they were totally inefficient. In a close country, horsemen cannot act; and no surface in Europe is more overspread in every direction with morasses. Hence, whatever service

irregular cavalry could render in cutting up a disorganized rabble, they could be of no utility so long as they shewed a front. Generally, therefore, horsemen were non-combatant—and too frequently, when they attempted to make an impression on the insurgents, they failed with heavy loss.

On this occasion, in effecting a retreat, they lost their commanding officer and a few men, while the infantry fell back to the barrack, and prepared for an obstinate defence. A house* that looked upon the main street, and commanded the flank of the building occupied by the troops, was garrisoned by a clergyman called McGhee, and nine private individuals. This was indeed a dangerous post; for though the lower part was tolerably secured, a thatched roof seriously endangered its gallant defenders. The town was immediately entered by the rebels, who fired it in a dozen places, and with the exception of the barrack, and a few houses that were detached, Hacketstown was speedily in a blaze. Beside an enormous number of pikemen, the insurgents mustered a thousand musketeers. To oppose them, one hundred and twenty royalists occupied the barrack, and ten determined allies garrisoned the house which formed an outwork.

While the conflagration was at its height, the loyalists were sadly inconvenienced at the dense smoke, which entirely concealed the movements of their assailants. At noon however, the roofs of the burning houses fell in, a brisk breeze dispelled the smoke, the royalists could clearly see their enemies, their exertions were redoubled, and their musketry plied with fatal effect.

The flanking position of McGhee's house, at once shewed the rebels that the barrack could not be attacked successfully, until the covering building was reduced. On the outwork, accordingly, their efforts were directed. To cover their people from a fire steadily maintained from the windows, they attempted to mask their advance, by pushing forward cars loaded with feather-beds. This breastwork, however, proved unavailing—twenty-eight of the assailants were shot down—and the rest, after a trial of twenty minutes, retreated in confusion.

On the barrack the rebels made no impression, and in their vain attempts sustained a heavy loss, and besides a number of cart-loads of dead and wounded which they carried off, many were thrown into the burning houses and consumed. This was not an unusual practice with the rebels—the dead were got rid of to conceal the extent of their loss—the wounded, not unfrequently, to prevent their giving information to the loyalists.

The defence of McGhee's house was truly gallant, but the daring party he commanded would not have been able to defend themselves for want of ammunition, had not Lieutenant Fenton, of the Talbot's-town cavalry, been accidentally prevented from attending his duty

* "The family of Mr. McGhee, all the Protestant women in the place, and even the wife of General Byrne (whom, it is said, he wished to get rid of), took refuge in it. Mr. McGhee barricaded the lower part of his house, placed four men in the rear to prevent it being burned, and the other five in front, not only for its defence, *but to* cover the side of the barrack, which was exposed."—*Musgrave.*

elsewhere, by a severe contusion occasioned by a fall from his horse. Seated between two windows, and protected by the pier, he continued to make cartridges for his companions—while his lady, insensible to danger, boldly continued to visit the marksmen, and supply them with refreshment. When the stock of bullets began to fail, she melted pewter plates, cast them into bullets, and her husband formed them into cartridges.

This singular affair commenced at six in the morning, and terminated at three in the afternoon. Besides the destruction of the town, eleven royalists were killed and fifteen wounded. The rebel loss has been variously estimated—some calling it two hundred, and Musgrave raising it to five; the mean amount would probably give it more correctly—three hundred and fifty rebels perished in an abortive effort against that small but devoted garrison. In the evening the loyalists retreated on Tullow, their ammunition being expended, and the place considered indefensible. Irritated by their defeat, the rebels burned, plundered, and murdered everywhere they went—and the few wretched Protestants who fell into their hands were treated with abominable barbarity.*

Having remained in the immediate vicinity of Gorey for five days, General Needham despatched Captain Hunter Gowen, with the Tinehaly cavalry, to make a *reconnaissance*. Early in the morning the rebels were seen from a height in great force, having received overnight an extensive reinforcement; and on this being reported to General Needham, he detached Colonel Puleston with some of the ancient Britons, 4th and 5th dragoons, and three corps of yeomen cavalry, to hang upon the rear of the enemy, and attack them should opportunity present itself. One of those disgraceful affairs, too frequent during the Irish Rebellion, unhappily resulted, and the tragedy of Tubberneering was once more re-enacted at Ballyellis.

The rebels advanced to Tinahely, and having turned off to Wingfield, burned the old mansion there, and thence proceeded to Moneyseed, where the troops (Puleston's cavalry) first got sight of them. They were pursued two miles to Ballyellis, where, being closely pressed, they blocked the road with cars and baggage, posting a body of pikemen in front of this barricade. The scene that ensued is thus detailed by Musgrave:—

"As soon as our cavalry came in sight of them, at the turn of the road, they charged them with great impetuosity; but when within a short distance, the pikemen leaped over the hedges at each side, on which the horses in front were entangled in the cars; and those in their rear pressing on them, a shocking scene of confusion ensued; both men and horses were involved, and tumbled over each other. The rebels fired on them from behind the hedges and a park wall which was near, and while they were in this state of embarrassment, killed numbers of them with their muskets, and piked such of them as happened to be unhorsed."

* *Vide* Musgrave's Memoirs, p. 515.

In this rash and disgraceful affair, where life was recklessly expended, without an object, and almost without a chance of any of the ill-directed men escaping, two officers and sixty privates were killed. Why severe examples were not made of military commanders who sacrificed troops committed to them, and fanned the expiring flame of rebellion by their ruinous incapability, appears surprising. The utter madness of launching cavalry at pikemen and musketeers in a close country and by a barricadoed road, admits of no excuse and evidences the most unpardonable imbecility.*

Other and disastrous consequences might have arisen from this disastrous attack at Ballyellis. Carnew was but a mile from this scene of slaughter, and as it was only occupied by fifty yeomen, the rebels attempted to surprise it. Fortunately, some of the retreating cavalry put the garrison on the alert; and as the town had been previously destroyed, they retired into a malt-house that was perfectly defensible. The rebel attack was consequently repulsed—and, retiring through Ballyellis, the insurgents took a position on Kilcavan Hill.

The tide of rebellion was ebbing fast—dissension prevailed in their councils—the leaders disagreed—and the Wexford men separated from those of Wicklow; the latter, under Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, moving off to the hill of Ballyraheene, nearly midway between Tinehaly and Carnew.

Here another error in judgment occasioned an unnecessary loss of life. The yeomanry had pursued the rebels closely, but the latter gained the high grounds, and formed in a very strong position. The numbers were enormously disproportionate, and every prudential consideration should have discouraged an attack. Some of the yeoman officers were of opinion that their troops ought to halt, and that they should content themselves with watching at a safe distance the movements of the enemy. Contrary opinions prevailing, an attack was made up the hill, when the rebels, who had wished to avoid a battle, rushing down, put the royalists to flight, killing ten of the infantry; but the cavalry escaped. Two officers fell in the beginning of this action, Captain Chamney of the Coolattin, and Captain Nickson of the Coolkenna company, both greatly lamented. "The slaughter would have been far greater, if sixty of the infantry, under Captain Morton and Lieutenant Chamney, had not taken refuge in Captain Chamney's house at the foot of the hill, where they sustained, during fourteen hours, the attacks of the rebels, who attempted repeatedly to fire the house. Some, particularly a very large man from Gorey, named John Redmond, nicknamed Shaun Plunder, advanced under a covering of feather-beds to the hall door, with the design of burning it, and thus

* But for an accidental occurrence, the losses of the royalists would have been much heavier. "During this transaction, the Wingfield dismounted cavalry and infantry, under the command of Captain Gowan, came up with the rebels, and having no particular uniform, the enemy thought they were part of their own forces; but the yeomanry seeing their opportunity, attacked them with great spirit, killed a number of them, and then retreated to Gorey, without the loss of a man. By the defeat of the patrole, the rebels acquired a supply of arms and ammunition."



ously, and cut down great numbers. It was computed that between two and three hundred of the deluded peasantry were killed—and this defeat was so decisive and dispiriting, that they never in the county Wexford assembled in any force, or ventured to oppose in a body the royalists and yeomanry. In predatory bands they infested for months afterwards Kildare, Carlow, and Meath, committing robberies and murders, and keeping the country in confusion. Of their leaders, Fitzgerald and Aylmor surrendered, and Kearns and Perry were hanged.* "Many of their followers died by the sword and gibbet; others turned robbers; and but few returned to their respective homes."

Such was the sad summary that too faithfully describes the termination of the Wexford insurrection.

"A brief account of Anthony Perry, one of the rebel generals above mentioned, may serve to shew what difficulty a man may find who endeavours to extricate himself from a conspiracy against government, when he has once engaged in it. This gentleman, a man of amiable manners and well-informed understanding, was yet weak enough to be seduced into the conspiracy; and having acted so as to cause much suspicion, was arrested and confined in Gorey a little before the insurrection. He repented heartily of his misconduct, and gave information useful to government; but such was the state of things, that he was treated in prison with the utmost harshness and indignity. Among other acts of severity, a serjeant of the North-Cork militia, nicknamed *Tom the devil*, cut away all his hair close to the head, and then burned the roots of it with a candle. Being liberated by the magistrates on the morning of the 28th of May, he returned to his house, four miles from Gorey, where he hoped to be permitted to remain—unconcerned for the future in plots and conspiracies. But he was soon followed by some yeomen, who destroyed his effects, and obliged him to abscond for the preservation of his life. Finding no alternative, he disguised himself in the habit of a beggar, and thus crossing the country, threw himself into the arms of the rebels. In the course of the war he exerted himself to restrain the cruelty of his followers; and as he disapproved both of their cause and conduct, he was always meditating an elopement from them. In an attempt, some time after the assault at Hacketstown, to penetrate into the northern parts of the kingdom, where he hoped to abscond from the rebels, and to conceal himself from the partisans of government, he was taken and hanged at Edenderry, in the King's County, a little before the end of the rebellion."—*Gordon.*

opening a passage into the house; but they were killed in the attempt, the bullets penetrating even this thick tegument. As a discharge of musketry was maintained from the windows on the assailants, whose associates injudiciously set fire to the neighbouring house of Henry Morton, the illumination enabled the garrison to aim at their enemies in the night, and the loss of the rebels was very considerable—amounting, according to some accounts, to a hundred and thirty men—by others, to two hundred. This ill-judged affair occurred on the 2nd of July."*

The rebel corps, from Ballyraheen proceeded to high grounds called the White-heaps, and there bivouacked until the 4th. Their new position was immediately beside the village of Coolgreney, some six miles north of Gorey where General Needham commanded; Sir James Duff was stationed at Carnew, and the Marquis of Huntley at Arklow.

On ascertaining that the insurgents were in force in their immediate neighbourhood, the royalist commanders determined to dislodge them, and a combined movement against the White-heaps was arranged. While their retreat by the Wicklow Gap was to be intercepted by General Duff's troops, the Croghan Mountain, to the northward of Coolgreney, was to be occupied by the column under Lord Huntley, —the task of driving them from the height devolving upon General Needham.

At day-break, the latter officer, favoured by a thick fog, had nearly reached the insurgent position, when the advanced guard was discovered by some straggling rebels posted at a farm-house, which the Byrnes had made head-quarters. An alarm was instantly given—and, under cover of the mist, the rebels decamped, and abandoned the White-heaps before the royalists could gain the summit. At noon the fog dispersed, and the insurgents were seen ascending the Croghan Mountain, never dreaming that this outlet for escape was closed against them by the Marquis of Huntley. On making the discovery however, they rapidly descended, directing their course for the Wicklow gap. There, in the thick weather, they came unexpectedly on the column under Sir James Duff—and on the opening of the royal artillery, they turned and made off to a hill near Moneyseed. General Duff pursued them closely, and General Needham finding it impossible to overtake them with the infantry, detached his cavalry in pursuit. Driven hither and thither for a dozen miles, harassed by the cavalry, exhausted with fatigue, and despairing of escape, they turned at Ballygullen, and awaited an attack.

The action opened with a sharp cannonade from four six-pounders, protected by the cavalry. As the infantry had not got up, the rebels endeavoured to carry the guns—but they were steadily repulsed. Duff's column presently came into action, and the rebels were thrown into confusion and routed, when the fox-hunters, under Lord Roden, and the yeomen cavalry, under Captain White, pursued them vigor-

* Gordon.

made the best dispositions for defence which his small force permitted. He occupied a turret which domineered the road with half a dozen musketeers, and, with the remaining twenty, retired into the old mansion-house. Having selected his best marksmen, they were placed at such of the windows as offered the best positions for firing with effect upon the assailants—while the remainder of the corps were secured behind the walls, and employed in loading spare muskets, to replace the firearms when discharged.

The rebel cavalry, amounting in rough numbers to three hundred, formed an advanced guard, and were commanded by a man named Farrall. Unconscious that the garden turret was occupied, they came forward in a trot, and the first intimation that they were already under fire, was conveyed by a shot from the youngest Tyrrell—a boy only fifteen years old, which mortally wounded the rebel captain. A volley from the other loyalists emptied several rebel saddles; a panic ensued; and the horsemen galloped out of musket range, leaving several of their companions dead upon the road.

With more caution and better success, the rebel footmen came forward under shelter of a hedge, and, lining an opposite fence, they opened a sharp fire on the turret, while the column itself pushed forward to surround the house, and unite itself with another division which had advanced to join them by a cross road. To cut off all communication, and prevent the garrison from receiving reinforcements, the bridge was occupied by a rebel guard—but as it lay directly under the fire of the house, half a score of the occupants were rapidly shot down—the bridge cleared of its defenders—the western road laid open, and the garrison communication maintained.

In both their first attempts the insurgents were heavily repulsed—but defeat seemed only to exasperate them, and they again came forward to the attack. Penetrating by the rear, an immense number filled the garden, and seized the lower portion of the turret. As the ladder had been drawn up by the defenders of the upper story, the rebels, by climbing on each other's shoulders, attempted to force through the trap-way—but every one who tried it perished. In vain they fired through the floor from below, and struck their pikes through the ceiling—still the fatal fire of the loyalists was kept up—at every shot a rebel fell—and on the ground-floor lay seven-and-twenty bodies. At last, despairing of success, they procured a quantity of straw, and fired the building. To force a passage through the rebels was almost a desperate attempt, but to perish in the flames, which had now seized the building, was the sad alternative. Two yeomen were killed in their effort at escape—but, fortunately, the other four, by jumping from a window into a hay-yard, under cover of the garden-wall, succeeded in reaching the main body who were posted in the dwelling-house.

For six long hours this unequal contest had been maintained, and still no impression had been made upon the gallant royalists. To confuse the garrison, the assailants set fire to the toll-house and adjacent cabins—but the conflagration served no better purpose than to consume their own slain, whose bodies they flung into the burning houses.

Happily, succour was at hand—and at five in the evening a reinforcement was descried by the wearied royalists, advancing rapidly to relieve them.

"One of the yeomen who had been excluded by the sudden shutting of the gates in the morning, finding he could be of no use in defending the house, repaired to Kinnegad, and represented the alarming situation of his friends at Clonard; upon which, Lieutenant Houghton, with fourteen of the Kinnegad infantry, and a serjeant, with eleven Northumberland fencibles (this being all the force that could be spared), immediately marched to their succour. The pass by the bridge having been kept open in the manner before related, Lieutenant Tyrrell now sallied from the house, and soon effected a junction with this reinforcement. A few volleys completely cleared the roads, and having placed the Northumberland fencibles and Kinnegad infantry in such situations as most effectually to gall the enemy in their retreat from the garden, the lieutenant himself undertook the hazardous enterprise of dislodging them from thence.

"At this time it is supposed there were four hundred rebels in the garden; a large body being posted on a mount planted with old fir trees, which afforded considerable protection, while many lay concealed behind a privet hedge, from whence they could see distinctly every person who entered the garden, though unperceived themselves. The brave Tyrrell, at the head of a few chosen men, now rushed into the garden, and was received by a general discharge from both bodies of the enemy; but he instantly attacked the party behind the hedge, which being defeated, retired to the mount. Here a warm action ensued, the enemy appearing determined to maintain this advantageous situation; but the yeomen, though fatigued with the heat and burden of the day, and six of them badly wounded, persevered with the most undaunted courage, and directed such a steady and well-directed fire against the mount, that the enemy were at length dispersed, and in their flight, the Northumberland fencibles and Kinnegad infantry made great havoc among them."*

The rebel loss, when it is remembered that it was inflicted by a garrison not numbering thirty men, may appear to be overstated. In killed and wounded it was said to reach two hundred. Nor is there any reason to question the accuracy of the return. A close and well-directed fire was maintained for half the day—and some of the yeomanry were supposed to have discharged one hundred rounds a man.

After this severe repulse, they retreated to Carbery, and plundered the mansion of Lord Harburton—and next day entered Meath, by John's-town and the nineteen-mile house.

On the 12th of July, they were again overtaken, brought to action, and defeated by a detachment under Colonel Gough—hunted afterwards by General Myers, and driven upon Slane, and encountered and routed by General Meyrick. In all these affairs they suffered a con-

* Taylor's History.

tinued loss, and at last had become so totally disorganized, that, as a body, they ceased to have existence.

While endeavouring to escape, Perry and Kearns were arrested by a couple of yeomen. Their trial was short, and their execution immediate. The former died firmly and with perfect resignation; but although the priest had undergone the ordeal before,* "he was sullen and silent, except when he upbraided Perry for his candour in frankly confessing his guilt."

The horde of insurgents with whom Father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, escaped from Vinegar-hill, retreated through the Scullagh-gap, and selected Kilkenny as their field of future operations. Their progress was marked by the customary atrocities of plundering and murder, and the line of march towards Castlecomer might have been readily traced by property destroyed and houses laid in ashes.

On the night of the 22nd, they burned the village of Kiledmond, and at daylight the next morning, proceeded to Gore's-bridge, a little town upon the Barrow, then garrisoned by half a company of Wexford militia, and a serjeant's party of the 4th dragoon guards, both under the command of Lieutenant Dixon.

On receiving certain information that the rebels were moving on the town, the lieutenant sent an express to apprize Sir Charles Asgill, who commanded at Kilkenny, that Father Murphy was in march—but the roads were so much infested with insurgents, that the mission failed, and the dragoons were obliged to return. Determined, notwithstanding the weakness of his little garrison, to hold the town if possible, and not aware that the Barrow was fordable in many places, Lieutenant Dixon barricadoed the bridge, and there awaited the threatened onset of the enemy.

In a few minutes afterwards the adjoining heights were crowned with rebels, while a heavy column advanced by the Kiledmond-road. Too late, the commander of the royalists discovered the mistake he had committed in taking a position that was not tenable. In a bootless attempt to retreat, at Low Grange the party was surrounded and made prisoners—the officer effecting an escape, by mounting behind a dragoon. Promises of protection given to the soldiers to induce them to lay down their arms were scandalously violated, and in a few hours after their surrender, six privates of the Wexford, two of the 4th dragoons, and nine Protestant prisoners, were savagely butchered at Kellymount, by the orders of a sanguinary ruffian named Devereux,†

* In 1794, Kearns was in Paris, and in the reign of terror was seized upon and actually hanged up. Being a tall and corpulent man, the lamp-iron bent beneath his weight, his feet touched the ground, and thus he escaped strangulation. Through the attention of a physician, he was cut down and restored to life, escaped to Ireland, and until he became a rebel leader, was believed to be a sincere loyalist, and a man who held republican principles in perfect detestation.

† "Walter Devereux had been principally concerned in the massacre at Scullabogue, and yet he remained unnoticed till the month of November, 1798, when, being on the point of embarking on board a ship at the Cove of Cork to sail for America, he



Father Murphy and the heretic bullets



who, in the absence of Father Murphy, had assumed the office of chief commander.

On the 23rd of June, Sir Charles Asgill having received intelligence of the rebel inroad on Kilkenny, marched with the garrison of the city to meet them. From not knowing the exact position of the rebels, the movement was rather dangerous—as Kilkenny was left defenceless, and in the absence of the troops, the city was open to surprise. A *reconnaissance*, under Major Lawder, towards Leighlin-bridge, succeeded in obtaining information, and confirmed reports already made by some of the soldiers' wives who had escaped after their capture at Gore's-bridge. Sir Charles instantly marched towards Kellymount, but on arriving there he found that the rebels had moved on Castlecomer, where the colliers had risen *en masse*—and the troops being completely exhausted, he countermarched in the evening on Kilkenny, detaching, however, a strong cavalry patrol to observe the movements of the insurgents, and attack them should opportunity present itself.

The incursion of the Wexford rebels encouraged the disaffected colliers in the neighbourhood of Castlecomer to break out into open insurrection, and they made a night attack on the barrack of Doonane. In this they were completely repulsed, although the soldiers were taken by surprise, and obliged to defend themselves in their shirts. Next morning the rebels moved to Castlecomer, having bivouacked the preceding night on a ridge five miles from the town.

Reinforced by several detachments of horse and foot, and a number of loyalist irregulars, either from a false security or from having been frequently and unnecessarily got under arms before, when intelligence arrived that the rebels were actually advancing, it was unfortunately disregarded; and, favoured by a thick mist, the enemy had nearly reached the town, before the royalists formed to receive them. The bridge and main street were selected as the best positions—and a strong patrol was sent out, to watch and report the movements of the enemy.

It was the morning of the festival of St. John—and, instead of pushing forward under cover of a fog which rendered objects invisible at the distance of twenty paces, and which would have covered their advance, the rebels halted at Gurteen to hear mass for the second time—and that silly delay most probably saved the garrison. Every thing was favourable for a surprise—the fog was so thick, that the royalist patrol was fired on before it saw the enemy—and had the rebels but pushed the troops, they must have been surrounded and cut to pieces.

Suddenly the mist cleared, and then, for the first time, the royalists perceived the danger that impended. Seven thousand rebels were in front and flank; the main body in close column on the road; the wings, chiefly musketeers, extended right and left; the whole assuming the form

was fortunately recognized by some of the Wexford soldiers, who had been his prisoners,—was apprehended, and afterwards hanged. When arrested, he had the protections of five general officers."—*Musgrave.*

of a crescent. An instant retreat was unavoidable by the road to Castlecomer, which was skirted by high walls and thick plantations, and these already occupied by the enemy. To fall back under a double fire would have tried the steadiness of veterans. No wonder, then, that an irregular body became confused—that horse and foot intermingled—and that it was a rush between the rebels and the troops which should gain the bridge;* and for one soldier that rallied there, ten continued a most disorderly retreat, and the main street was crowded with fugitives.

A few men of the Downshire and Waterford regiments, however, held the bridge and checked the assailants; and that gallant stand eventually saved the garrison. A rebel wing forded the river, and fired the town; but the defenders of the bridge retired into some adjacent houses that commanded it. Their gallantry and their escape were equally remarkable, and the passage in Musgrave's Memoir so strongly illustrates the character of the insurrection, that we will give it in his own words.

"The perilous situation of the loyal few in those houses already mentioned, can be better imagined than described. The bridge crowded with rebels, yelling with rage, crying out for blood, and not a soldier to oppose them, and the back houses all on fire. Here, amidst surrounding flames, and to the very breasts of the rebels, might be seen the gallant Captain Butler, single and unsupported, riding down the street, within a few yards of the rebels, endeavouring to rally the scattered force, calling them back in words that would animate the dead. Amidst balls thick as hail, twice did he ride up and down the street, with an heroic intrepidity, laudable, but unavailing. And now commenced a very sharp but ill-directed fire from the rebels on the bridge, which was as warmly and more effectually answered from the house. For three hours and a half this fire was kept up, and not a rebel was suffered to cross the bridge alive. At length, when their ammunition was almost expended, General Father Murphy, who had kept aloof from the heat of the action near the church where they tried the prisoners, sent a black servant of the Countess of Ormond, whom they had taken prisoner, to inform those who fired from the houses 'That if they marched out with their hats on the top of their guns, their lives should be saved; that it was in vain to resist them any longer, as he expected a reinforcement from Ballyragget immediately.' They detained his ambassador for some time, and at length sent the reverend general word, that they would submit, if he would, by the same messenger, send them a written assurance of mercy.

"This they did to gain time, and soon after they observed the troops from Kilkenny lining the hills and taking their positions to attack the rebels. General Sir Charles Asgill, with nine hundred men

* "An instance of uncommon audacity occurred within a few perches of the town. A rebel captain, with a green sash, rushed out from a bye-road on horseback, and accosting Captain Butler, at the head of his corps, desired him to surrender, and that he, his men, and the town, should be saved. Captain Butler missing fire at him, the rebel wheeled about, fired without effect, and was shot by a yeoman within a few yards of the rebel army."—*Musgrave.*

had gone to their relief, and a few rounds of grape soon dislodged the rebels, who retreated the way they came, in a slow pace and in a most irregular manner."

The defence of Castlecomer was most gallant; its relief, any thing but soldierly. With a sufficient force to have inflicted a signal defeat, Asgill contented himself with a distant cannonade, until the rebels had totally retired. If fifty or sixty men had held the town for three hours, a thousand should have scattered the assailants like sheep. Nothing is more remarkable than the circumstances which influence disciplined and irregular bodies while advancing; the latter has a confidence while assailant, which is annihilated by a repulse—and while the former, feeling and knowing that the rear-guard is then the post of honour, operates with skill and determination, the latter loses heart and energy altogether, and merges into utter imbecility. The greater the mass, the more perfect its dissolution. The thousands on which a demagogue relies, like Falstaff's levies, are only "men in buckram," and the wretched reliance to be placed in popular movements was never better evidenced than—with a very few exceptions—in the utter worthlessness of the Irish insurrectionists,—who, when position and physical superiority should have secured them an easy victory, quailed at the determined attitude of an enemy, whose real strength consisted in nothing but a bold front and honest cause.

It is now difficult to account for the very moderate success with which Sir Charles Asgill contented himself. He confined his operations to a distant cannonade—and the rebel rear-guard retiring from Castlecomer, appeared to be the signal for him to countermarch upon Kilkenny. As a matter of course, the rebels, who witnessed the retreat of the soldiery, returned, and plundered and destroyed the town, while the loyalist inhabitants were obliged to abandon home and property, and seek a shelter where they could obtain it. The whole road from Castlecomer to Kilkenny exhibited "one continued train of fugitives—men, women, and children,—who but a few hours before were possessed of peace and comfort, now outcasts from their houses, seeking an asylum among strangers from the merciless hands of their popish neighbours." Four days the rebels were left in undisturbed possession of the town; at last, the pointed remonstrances of leading loyalists induced Sir Charles Asgill to send a detachment of Glengary fencibles, with Captain Butler's troop, to drive them out. That service was easily effected—they were surprised in helpless drunkenness—some were killed, others hanged, and the greater number escaped and joined their companions, who had decamped from their position, and moved to a new one, four miles distant from Athy.

Father Murphy had determined to attack the town next morning, but the promptitude of General Dunn, who marched to its relief with one hundred of the North Cork and as many yeomanry, prevented it. Finding Athy secure, the general marched at midnight to attack the rebels in their camp, but a priest carried the intelligence of the general's advance, and the camp was hastily abandoned. The pursuit was immediately continued, and although General Dunn failed to

overtake the flying enemy, he drove them into the grasp of Major Mathews.

The latter officer had marched from Maryborough on the 24th of June, to co-operate with Sir Charles Asgill; his force comprising four hundred of his own regiments (the Royal Downshire), the Maryborough infantry, under Captain Gore, and the Ballyfin cavalry, under Captain Poole. On reaching Moyad, the rebels were seen in great force crowning the heights above Doonane—but as it was now evening, the troops rested at Timahoe for the night, determining to bring the rebels to action early next morning. An express from Sir Charles Asgill recalled the troops to Maryborough; but acting on his own responsibility, with sound judgment Major Mathews held his ground, and urged Sir Charles to make a joint attack next morning; and while he assailed them from Doonane, the major would make his attack by Timahoe. "Sir Charles answered the application as early as at seven o'clock, by saying that his troops were too much fatigued to co-operate, but that Major Mathews might engage the rebels, should circumstances prove favourable for that purpose."*

The rebels, however, retreated to Old Leighlin, and afterwards to Gore's-bridge. By expresses, Sir Charles Asgill was apprized of their movements, and Major Mathews was directed at midnight to march on Gore's-bridge, and be in position there, the next morning at five o'clock. While obeying that order, the major ascertained that the rebels were retreating to the mountains—and after apprizing Sir Charles of this change in their movements, he marched rapidly to intercept them, under the guidance of two gentlemen named Moore, whose local knowledge proved invaluable.

At daybreak the insurgents were discovered halted on Kilcomney-hill. The Downshire battalion guns opened, and the rebels, to avoid the cannonade, and gain time to make dispositions to receive the royalists, fell back a mile. While forming, Sir Charles Asgill's artillery were heard firing at a rebel party in their rear, and a few rounds from the Downshire guns completed their discomfiture. They broke, fled, and were cut down, scarcely resisting—the pursuit being continued for two hours with fatal effect.

This was the crushing blow given to the southern insurrection. All was lost,—for baggage, arms, provisions, and ammunition were totally abandoned. A few soldiers and Protestants who had fallen into their hands, and escaped assassination, were mercifully delivered, the insurgents disbanded, and while the Wexford party crossed into their native county through the Scullagh-gap, the wanderers from Wicklow and Kildare went off dispersedly—some of the least guilty returning to their own homes, while others, despairing of forgiveness, commenced an outlaw's life, and sank the rebel in the robber.†

* This appears a strange excuse. Sir Charles had the advantage of a night's rest in a summer bivouac—and surely he might have been able to execute a short march on the following morning. Matters were managed differently in the Peninsula.

† "A part of those who escaped fled towards Ardee, in the county of Louth, while the remainder retreated over the Boyne, towards Garret's-town, in the county of

"Father John Murphy, a priest, who acted as aide-de-camp to the great sacerdotal hero, John Murphy of Boulavogue, and who had accompanied him from Vinegar-hill, fell in this action. He had a dove and a crucifix on his buttons, and letters directed to him were found in his pocket, recommending proper places for encamping. Father John Murphy, the commander-in-chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken at an ale-house by three yeomen, one of them of the name of McCabe, and led a prisoner to Tullow, the head-quarters of Sir James Duff. He was introduced into a room where the general, his aides-de-camp, Colonels Foster and Eden, the Earl of Roden, Captain McClintock, and about twenty officers, were sitting. Major Hall having asked him some questions which gave offence, in a violent rage the priest made a blow of his fist at the major, which would have knocked him down, but that he warded it off with his arm, on which, however, he received a severe contusion. On searching him, in his pockets his vestments were found, with some letters from Mrs. Richards and other ladies, prisoners at Wexford, imploring him to save the lives of their husbands and relations. He was hanged on the same day—his body was burned—and his head fixed on the market-house." *

Meath, where they were again attacked by detachments of the Fermanagh and Carlow militia, the Swords yeoman infantry, and about one hundred cavalry, consisting of a detachment of the Dumfries light dragoons, and three corps of yeomanry, all under the command of Captain Gordon, of the Dumfries. The rebels being in general mounted, Captain Gordon ordered part of his cavalry to pursue them; but on their advancing, the enemy dismounted, and instantly dispersed, not one hundred remaining on the ground, who, when the infantry came up, fled at the first discharge. One hundred and fifty of the rebels fell on this day, without any loss on the part of his Majesty's forces. The small remnant of the insurgent army being now driven to despair, every man thought only of providing for his own safety."—*Musgrave.*

* "He was about forty-five years old, light-complexioned, bald-pated, and about five feet nine inches high, well made, uniting strength with agility. He was exceedingly irascible, and when in a passion had somewhat the aspect of a tiger. His pix, his oil stock, and a small crucifix, were found in his pocket."—*Ibid.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

SUPPRESSION OF THE WEXFORD INSURRECTION—PARTY FEELING AFTERWARDS —GENERAL HOLT—DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY—MORAL AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE WEXFORD REBELS.

With the total suppression of open insurrection, the tranquillity of the country was far from resulting as a consequence. A contest between nations may be pacified at once, and friendly relations immediately re-established; but civil war annihilates social feeling; it is not the struggle that originates in thirst of glory, or a yearning after power; but every bad passion is enlisted—the contest is marked by ferocity—and cruelty generally concludes it.

There is no doubt whatever, but the Irish executive held out the olive-branch to the insurgents, and that, in professing leniency for the past and a redress of grievances for the future, their declarations were honest and sincere. Every act, with one exception, of Lord Cornwallis,* shewed that his object was to conciliate and not coerce; and had he possessed the power to have carried out his intentions, the country would have felt the healing influence of mild government, and the violence of the royalists and outrages of the disaffected would very soon have been effectually repressed.

Whatever might have been the general feeling throughout the kingdom that those terrible scenes which had attended the insurrectionary outbreak should terminate, there was a section of both parties who, from different objects, were opposed to a return of national tranquillity. The royalists were again the ascendant party, and many who before, and through abuse of power, had fanned the smouldering of discontent into the flame of rebellion, were now, from base and interested motives, desirous to interrupt every effort at conciliation, inflame religious prejudices, and exasperate rather than appease. Of the rebels, many considered themselves placed by their crimes beyond the pale of mercy; others were afraid, from the indiscriminating violence of the yeomanry, to avail themselves of the offered amnesty, and surrender and claim protection,†—and not a few were driven to

* "On the 27th of July, the attorney-general brought in a bill of attainder against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and B. B. Harvey, all deceased. This measure was considered rather an act of imprudent severity, or a sort of supplementary vengeance upon the unoffending widow and orphan, and rather as the base posthumous issue of the latter, than the genuine offspring of the present administration. To compensate, however, for this solitary instance of severity, a bill of general amnesty was passed in the course of the session, with the exception only of Napper Tandy, and about thirty others, chiefly fugitives in France."—*Plowden's Historical Review.*

† "The various outrages that were committed in the country prevented numbers from coming into the quarters of the several commanding officers to obtain protections, as many of the yeomen and their supplementaries continued the system of

such reckless desperation, by destruction of property, or the personal indignities they had undergone, that a thirst for revenge overcame prudential considerations, and when the hope of any political change of government was over, and they were perfectly assured that an outlaw's life and felon's death awaited them, they banded in desperate confederacy—their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them.*

Ruffianly and truculent as most of these outcasts were, there were many among them who had been rendered desperate by ill-usage, and were far more sinned against than sinning. Of this number one celebrated leader was an instance—and Holt's simple narrative of the causes which drove him into outlawry is calculated to excite sympathy for his sufferings, and his crime will be half forgiven when the injuries are detailed which provoked it.

"One morning about half-past five, Mr. ——, before mentioned, of road-money memory, came to my house with a party of the Fermanagh militia, and calling my wife out, inquired where I was. She told him I was cutting turf, and he went away. He returned again about twelve o'clock, made the same inquiry, and went away.

"I returned home to dinner, and having heard of the visits of ——, I began to suspect he meant me no good, and yet I could not imagine any mischief he could do me, as I knew there was no guilt in me. While I was musing about the matter, the serjeant's wife came into the room much excited, and said to me, 'God help you, poor man, your life is in danger.' I rose up and asked her what she meant. She said, 'Your house is condemned, and I am ordered out of it; why I

conflagration, and of shooting such of the peasantry as they met; and this necessarily deterred many from exposing themselves to their view, and prevented of course the humane and benevolent intentions of the present government from having their due effect."—*Ibid.*

* "Assassinations, from religious or political motives, would probably have ceased, soon after the granting of protections, if some desperate rebels, reinforced by deserters from regiments of Irish militia, had not remained in arms in the mountains of Wicklow and the dwarf woods of Killaughrim, near Enniscorthy. Desertions from these regiments, composed mostly of Romanists, were much apprehended in the time of the rebellion; but providentially here, as in other instances, the event was too late for the service of the rebel cause. A very few went over to the insurgents while they were in force, and these few seemed not to relish well the change from a regular army to a disorderly multitude. Yet, from some strange movement of the mind, after the rebellion was completely quelled, and only a few desperadoes, probably not above three hundred in all, remained in arms, in the two devious retreats above mentioned, many soldiers, particularly of the Antrim and King's County regiments, joined these desperadoes, with whom they could rationally expect no better fortune than a short life of hardship and rapine, ended by gun or halter. So great, however, was the terror of this banditti in the vicinity of their lurking-places, that those Protestants who had remained in the country in the time of the rebellion, now found themselves under the necessity of taking refuge in towns. But, after a little time, the woods of Killaughrim, scoured by the army, were cleared of their predatory inhabitants, who had ludicrously styled themselves *Babes of the Wood*, and in that quarter tranquillity was restored to the country."—*Gordon's History.*

do not know.' I went to the door, and from thence saw Mr. —— with a party of soldiers in the direction of the turf-bog where I had been employed.

"I recollected his threat of revenge, and judging of his malicious disposition from his burning his own tenants' cabins, and shooting the man, as I have before related, I felt that innocence would be no protection against him, and that if he got me in his power, he would assuredly murder me.

* * * * * * *

"I hardly believed it possible that Mr. —— would proceed to extremities so far as to injure my family or property, though he might have taken a personal revenge upon me. * * *

"How soon was I undeceived; about seven o'clock in the evening, like Lot's wife, I looked back in the direction of my home, where I had left all that was dear to my heart, my darling wife and children, and my neat, well-ordered, and comfortable habitation, where I enjoyed so much happiness, and had hoped to pass all my days in peace and quietness. I saw it in flames! what were my feelings, I leave to the reader to imagine! it is impossible for me to describe them, it was more than man could bear. I did not know the extent of the infliction; my property was destroyed, my wife and children houseless and destitute, that I knew; perhaps too they had been murdered. I roused myself from brooding over my misfortunes, and vowed revenge, and I made the vow in the fulness of my wrath; gracious God! forgive me, I knew not what I did. I was wild with grief, and agitated by the strongest feelings of detestation and hatred against the monster who had, as I believed, from malice, inflicted such miseries upon a wife and children that were a thousand times dearer to me than my own existence. I pictured to myself a thousand evils which had befallen or would happen to them, and the contemplation drove me to madness. Like a fury, I proceeded towards the Devil's Glen, a name very appropriate to my frame of mind."*

Still the game of bloodshed was kept up—and every act of violence committed by the desperate men who had abandoned a once happy home for an outlaw's retreat in glen or mountain, was fearfully retaliated, not on the guilty, but the innocent. As the massacres were found to be committed entirely from a spirit of religious hatred, and as the real perpetrators could not be brought to justice, a mode was adopted, which necessity alone could justify; but it proved effectual. Where any Protestants were murdered by these banditti or their confederates, a greater number of Romanists were put to death in the same neighbourhood by the yeomen. Thus, at Castletown, four miles from Gorey, where four Protestants were massacred in the night by Hacket, seven Romanists were slain in revenge; and at Aughrim, in the county of Wicklow, ten miles from the same place, seventeen were put to death to avenge the murder of a yeoman and his family;

* Memoirs of Holt.

indeed, this atrocious system of sanguinary reprisals was openly proclaimed.*

In this dangerous and unsettled state of things, the best efforts of the lord-lieutenant to pacify the country, and restore friendly relations between conflicting religionists, proved utterly abortive. The people felt no confidence in the promises of protection held out by proclamations, when they daily were plundered by the military, and nightly harassed by domiciliary visits by yeomen and supplementaries, always accompanied by insults, and not unfrequently, with loss of property and life. On the other hand, the royalists were alarmists —they asserted that the snake was scotched, not killed—that the embers of rebellion were smouldering for a time, only to break out more furiously than before. They pretended to have discovered secret plots†—intended assassinations—preparations for a general massacre of Protestants, in which all, from the cradle to the crutch, should be involved in one common sacrifice to the Moloch of Popery; and as these men of evil augury were not confined to the humbler classes, their false representations had well-nigh produced the most tragic consequences, if Plowden may be credited. We give his statement, although we confess we doubt its authenticity:—

"Orders were sent to the different generals and other commanding officers, contiguous to the devoted tract (Wexford), to form a line along its extent on the western border, and on both ends, north and south, on the land side, so as to leave no resource to the wretched inhabitants, who were to be slaughtered by the soldiery, or to be driven into the sea. Even women and children were to be included in this horrid plan of terrific example."

Fortunately, had such a horrible immolation of a whole community, innocent and guilty, been ever contemplated, the humanity of the officers left in command at Wexford caused its abandonment, and those who would have rioted in blood were, in the first place, disappointed, and eventually disgraced.

That the greater proportion of the southern Protestants, however, had suffered grievously during the brief and bloody period of the insurrection, is not to be questioned. To "minister to minds diseased" by the ruthless slaughter of the dearest objects that occupy the human heart was beyond the power of the executive—but so far as worldly losses could be compensated, the government came forward with

* "Numerous atrocious murders were at this time committed on the persons of poor Protestants, who had returned too soon to their dwellings, not thinking that the rebels would again disturb them. So frequent were these murders, that the yeomanry proclaimed through the different parishes, 'that for every Protestant that was put to death, they would kill the priest and twenty Papists, in whatever parish such murder should be committed.' This had the desired effect; there were no more assassinations, though the robberies were as frequent as ever."—*Taylor's History.*

† "Incessant applications had been made to government, by different magistrates in Gorey and its vicinity, complaining that this range of country was infested with constant meetings of rebels, who committed every species of outrage, and these reports were confirmed by affidavits."

extended — while in others, a stern necessity existed for severe example.* As crime is said to generally carry with it punishment, there were few of the rebel chieftains who had not bitter cause to lament their elevation to the dangerous distinction they enjoyed—and their revelations in exile or on the scaffold proved painfully, that a mob command is probably the greatest curse that could descend upon an ill-starred individual.

Before we close this narrative of the southern insurrection, we will give a brief summary of the military and moral character of that portion of the rebel bodies by whom the brunt of the contest was maintained.†

"That among the insurgents, those who were the most scrupulously observant of the ceremonial of religion were most addicted to cruelty and murder, has been remarked by men who had the best opportunity of observation—and heroes of the shilelah, the bullies of the country, who consequently were expected to be the most forward in the rebellion, were, on the contrary, when the insurrection took place, shy of firearms, and backward in battle, whilst the men who had been quiet and industrious were found the resolute in combat and steady under arms.

"Those who were boldest in fight occasionally displayed some ingenuity in their tumultuary warfare, in which they had neither regularity, subordination, nor leaders. They converted books into saddles—when the latter could not be procured—placing the book, opened in the middle, on the horse's back, with ropes over it for stirrups. Large volumes, found in the libraries of the Bishop of Fernes, Mr. Stephen Ram, and Colonel Le Hunte, were thus destroyed. Being short of ammunition, they frequently used small round stones, or hardened balls of clay, instead of leaden bullets; and, by the mixing and pounding of the materials in small mortars, fabricated a species of gunpowder, which was said to explode with sufficient force while fresh, but not to remain many days fit for service. They found means to manage in an awkward manner the cannon taken from the army, applying wisps of straw in place of matches. In their engagements with the military, they availed themselves of hedges, and other shelter, to screen them

* "Those who instigate rebellions are the great criminals, not the poor wretches who are driven by circumstances they cannot control into acts of violence. They are merely the instruments—and it would be nearly as wise to destroy the musket with which a man was shot, instead of the man who pulled the trigger, as to put an unfortunate creature to death who appears as a rebel to avoid death, or who is by infernal agency persuaded that the government, or those in power, wish or contemplate his destruction."—*Memoirs of Holt.*

† In taking Mr. Gordon as a safe authority in describing the moral and military character of the Wexford insurrection, I think I may rely on obtaining an honest estimate of both. I am aware that he was accused of partial feelings towards the disaffected at the time, and the truth of some statements he made respecting royalist severities was impugned. He was himself a resident in the county, and therefore might be expected to be more accurately informed on local occurrences, than men who were strangers, and, consequently, dependent on hearsay evidence—and as he was a Protestant clergyman, it is not likely that he should have had any unfair leaning in favour of men from whom he dissented in religion.

from the shot of their opponents; and when a man could not see the position of his associates, who might fly before he could perceive it, and leave him in the hands of those who never gave quarter, they would not trust one another—a circumstance favourable to the loyal party, since to withstand a well-conducted nocturnal pike-assault would be much more difficult than one in day."*

Nor was the difficulty of restraint confined to men who, in rank and religion, differed from the unruly masses over whom they had assumed command. The popularity of the peasant chief was just as unsteady as that of the Protestant aristocrat, and Harvey and Holt experienced the ingratitude of a barbarous mob, on whose conduct they could place no dependence, and in whose personal attachment not a moment's reliance could be reposed. The hopeless task of directing the movements of a band of insubordinary savages† will be found in many passages of Holt's eventful history—and even he, a man wearied of the world, and almost rendered dead to human sympathies, found that a convict's life was preferable to the leadership of the banditti he commanded. Thus he speaks:—

"I then determined to give up the enterprise I had undertaken, and extricate myself as soon as possible from a connection with the scoundrel party I commanded. I found it impossible to keep them from crime, their whole mind now bent on robbery; and they were tired of a chief who restrained that propensity."

* Gordon.

† "In a few minutes after, I heard the signal from our picquets that the enemy were advancing, but on calling to arms I had not more than two hundred men in a fit state to fight; there were upwards of five hundred lying on the ground in beastly intoxication, which produced such a panic in the rest, that they began to fly in all directions. I did what I could to rally them, and thus effected a retreat, leaving the drunkards to their fate, *who were bayoneted on the ground.*"—*Holt's Memoir.*

CHAPTER XIX.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT OF ULSTER, FROM 1784 TO 1798.

THE Wexford insurrection had justly alarmed the government—but its sudden outbreak, partial success, and total suppression, passed like the dramatic action of a play; and a short month ended the painful history. To account for its violence while it lasted were easy. The fiery character of the southern peasantry—the facility with which their worst passions are evoked—abuse of power, placed for a brief season in unworthy hands, followed by the reaction that violence has always excited—the besotted ignorance of the multitude—and the evil example of those, who, from their callings, should have tranquillized their flocks and nipped rebellion in the bud—excesses of the soldiery on the one hand, and ruthless outrages on the other, produced those sanguinary reprisals at the commencement of the contest, which became still more ferocious at its close. To the cabin, fired by the mercenary Hessian, might, possibly, be traced the infernal tragedy of Scullabogue; and men, innocent of treason, and lacerated through mere wantonness or bare suspicion, called down a fearful retaliation in the cruelties committed in the rebel camps, and perpetrated on the bridge of Wexford.

The Wexford explosion was but the forerunner of one infinitely more formidable. The disaffection, too general in the North, had been gradual and progressive—not the hasty ebullition of turbulent excitement, but the slow and determined antipathy with which republican feeling regarded monarchical institutions. From northern intelligence much more danger was to be apprehended than from the wild and evanescent outbursts of southern ferocity. The Wexford outbreak, like the bursting of a thunder-cloud, was fierce but transitory. The northern conspiracy had all the character of the gathering storm; and the *matériel* of its violence was the more to be dreaded, from the length of time it had been in steadily collecting.

For many years the political state of the North had been in constant agitation—White-boys and Right-boys—Hearts of Oak and Hearts of Steel—Defenders, Orangemen, and United Irishmen, all followed in rapid succession—and the statutory enactments of these troublous times give a silent but striking evidence of the fevered state in which the kingdom remained for five-and-twenty years before the outbreak of '98.

So early as the third of the reigning monarch (George III.), an Act was found necessary to indemnify loyal subjects in the suppression of riots, and the apprehension of all concerned. In the fifth of the same king, "An Act to prevent the future tumultuous risings of persons within the kingdom" passed. "The Chalking Act," to prevent

malicious cutting and wounding, followed—but its provisions, stringent as they might appear, were found inefficient. As the barbarous excesses committed by the White-boys continued to increase, the 15th & 16th of Geo. III. were enacted against them. It recites, that the Act previously passed had been insufficient for suppressing them; and it states, "That they assembled riotously, injured persons and property, compelled persons to quit their abodes, imposed oaths and declarations by menaces, sent threatening and incendiary letters, obstructed the export of corn, and destroyed the same." This is an exact description of the proceedings of the Defenders subsequently. As their turbulence and ferocity continued to increase, and as they made a constant practice of houghing soldiers in a wanton and unprovoked manner, the Chalking Act was still farther extended, and amended by the 17th and 18th of Geo. III. c. 49.

One of the advantages conferred by the Volunteer Association was the suppression of White-boyism, but it was only for a time—for as the *esprit* of that celebrated body subsided, Defenderism increased. The system was brutal in the extreme,* and it produced, in due season, a sanguinary and dangerous reaction.

The Right-boys succeeded the White ones—and they directed their earlier hostility against the church rather than the state. In Ireland, tithes have been ever an obnoxious impost—and in whatever they might otherwise have disagreed, Protestant and Catholic were found generally united on one point, and unfriendly to their exaction. Many of the Irish clergy were neither conciliatory in their manners, nor moderate in their demands. The Catholic was averse to lend direct support to a church which he repudiated as heretical — the Dissenter rejected the impost on conscience-sake—the Episcopalian, as often found reason for complaint, and frequently he fostered privately an opposition to a system, in some cases most arbitrary, and in all, open to exaction and abuse. Many of the Protestant gentlemen, hoping to exonerate their estates of tithes by the machinations and enormities of the Right-boys, secretly encouraged them—and others connived at their excesses till they began to oppose the payment of rents and the recovery of money by legal process—and then their former friends came forward in support of the law.†

In the South, this system of agrarian warfare soon spread beyond its original object; and although, supported by an Act Parliament (passed 1787), the tithe proprietors, lay and clerical, were forced to bend to the storm. The Protestant clergy in the county of Cork were so much intimidated by the menaces and insults which they received,

* "In December, 1784, a body of White-boys broke into the house of John Mason, a Protestant, in the county of Kilkenny, in the night, placed him naked on horseback, and having carried him in this manner five or six miles from his house, they cut off his ears, and in that state buried him up to his chin: they also robbed him of his firearms.

"This year they were so outrageous in the province of Leinster, particularly in the county of Kilkenny, that a denunciation was read against them in all the Popish chapels in the diocese of Ossory, on the 17th of November, 1784."—*Musgrave.*

† Musgrave.

that many were obliged to fly to the city of Cork for protection. The malcontents proceeded from one act of violence to another, and established such a system of terror, that landlords were afraid to distrain for rent, or to sue, by civil process, for money due by note. They took arms from Protestants—levied money to buy ammunition—broke open gaols—set fire to hay and corn, and even to houses, especially those occupied by the army. At last they had the audacity to threaten the cities of Limerick and Cork, and the town of Ennis, the capital of Clare, with famine; and actually took measures to prevent farmers and fishermen from conveying supplies of provisions to the markets. They proceeded by such a regular system, that they established a kind of post-office, for communication, by which they transmitted their notices with celerity for the purpose of forming meetings, which were frequent and numerously attended. This spirit of riot and insurrection occasioned the passing of a law in the year 1787, drawn up by Lord Clare, entitled, "An Act to prevent tumultuous risings and assemblies, and for the more effectual punishment of persons guilty of outrage, riot, and illegal combination, and of administering and taking unlawful oaths."* While the South of Ireland was distracted by these accursed associations, the North was convulsed by two confederacies, furiously opposed to each other, and termed Defenders and Peep-o'-day-boys.

The origin of the former body may be traced back to the summer of '84—and what afterwards proved a most formidable and extensive confederacy, arose from an accidental quarrel betwixt a Romanist and a Presbyterian. The latter being worsted, at a horse-race near Hamilton's Bawn, the contest was renewed—and by the aid of some Catholics who took his part, the Protestant was victorious. At this time, Defenderism seemed to arise solely from the pugnacious disposition of the people, and to be uninfluenced by religious feelings altogether. Both parties recruited and collected arms; "but Presbyterians and Papists mixed indiscriminately, and were marked for some time by the district to which they belonged, and not by any religious distinction. Each body assumed the singular appellation of 'fleet,' and was denominated from the parish or townland where the persons composing it resided."†

But the discordance of the parties was too great ever to admit any solid or permanent coalition. Whatever specious junction might be formed of the religious sects, deep distrust would lie beneath, and explode on the first commotion. Nor was the conduct of the Romanists, by their separate and secret consultations, the publications of some of their clergy, and the spirit of religious hostility betrayed by many of the lower classes, adapted to gain the confidence of the Protestants, or induce them to expect a cordial or sincere co-operation.

In a very short time sectarian hatred began to shew itself—the confederacy was dissolved, and the banner of religion unfurled—the Romanists still retaining their original title of Defenders—the Presbyterians assuming a new denomination, and calling themselves Peep-o'-day-boys.

* Musgrave. † Ibid.

The origin of this singular designation is thus accounted for :—

During the American war, when volunteering was in its meridian, some Presbyterians, who had revolutionary projects, invited the Roman Catholics to join them in arms, from the use of which they were prohibited by law.

"When the restoration of peace had defeated the hopes of the Presbyterians, they resolved to disarm the Roman Catholics, who, animated by the possession of arms and a knowledge of discipline, not only refused to surrender them, but proceeded to collect large quantities of them, and even boasted that they would not lay them down until they obtained a further extension of their privileges, in addition to those which were recently conceded. Such boasting alarmed the fears and roused the indignation of the Presbyterians, who proceeded in large bodies to disarm them, which produced mutual hostility."*

It may be readily imagined that two bodies of opposite religionists, with such objects in view, would soon evince a malignity towards each other in act and feeling, which the influence of the more peaceable would be unable to restrain. No opportunity, indeed, was lost of exercising mutual hostilities—and scarcely a night passed but some scene of violence was enacted. In their domiciliary visits, under the pretext of seeking arms, the Presbyterians destroyed the property of the Catholics, and abused them inhumanly, while, on the other hand, secret assassination was too commonly resorted to by the Defenders. Unfortunately, the exertions of the executive to crush these mischievous confederacies, were marred by the secret countenance shewn by country gentlemen, to both sides, to forward the petty intrigues that distinguished the electioneering transactions of the time—and, though the fountain of justice was unpolluted,† the selfish and corrupt objects of men who should have tranquillized, and not inflamed the bad passions of their respective tenantry, rendered the intervention of the law inoperative, and converted sectarian dislike into implacable hostility.

While some influential land-holders thus pandered to the passions of the opposing parties, to forward their political intrigues, others, and with more mischievous effect, worked upon the credulity of the Romanists. Prophecies were promulgated about intended massacres to be committed by the Presbyterians; and it was said that, on a given night, a wholesale slaughter would take place—that the rivers north of the Shannon would flow with blood—and the ground stink with unburied carcases—for that, from the cradle to the crutch, Catholics would be remorselessly sacrificed. These terrible forebodings worked upon the excitable imaginations of the multitude; and the harvest was abundantly productive in an undying hatred, and a ferocious yearning

* Musgrave.

† "Some persons of both parties were frequently convicted and punished. Two Peep-o'-day-boys, at the spring assizes of 1788, at Armagh, were sentenced to be fined and imprisoned for ill-treating a Roman Catholic.

"Baron Power, in the year 1795, hanged three Defenders and two Peep-o'-day-boys. In the year 1797, government sent the Attorney-General to Armagh, to dispense justice equally to both parties. He tried alternately two of each party, and some of both were found guilty, and punished."

after revenge. In the meantime, the organization of both bodies proceeded;* the disturbances increased—the military were found unequal to repress outrages—till, at last, it became a downright religious war; "and the fanatics of one sect exercised the most barbarous revenge on the innocent members of the other, for the crimes of the guilty."

One most atrocious instance of demoniac cruelty will scarcely now be credited. A large estate had been devised by Mr. Jackson, of Fork-hill, for the improvement of agriculture, and the education of the surrounding peasantry—one of the bequests providing four schoolmasters, for the purpose of giving instruction, free of all expense, to the children of every one, regardless of religious persuasion, who chose to avail themselves of the benefit of the bequest. To carrying these benevolent intentions into effect, the Roman Catholics offered every opposition; and with that end in view, the following atrocity was committed upon an innocent and industrious family:—

"On Friday evening, at seven o'clock, a number of villains assembled at the house of Alexander Barclay, one of the schoolmasters in the parish of Fork-hill, near Dundalk, appointed by the trustees of the late Richard Jackson's charities, to instruct, indiscriminately, the children of the poor of the said parish. They rapped at the door—he inquired who was there, and a man of the name of Terence Byrne, his near neighbour (whose voice he well knew, and whom he had before, at different times, admitted), told him he was there; he opened the door, accordingly, when a number of men rushed in, threw him on his face, and three of them stood on him and stabbed him repeatedly. They then put a cord round his neck, which they tightened so as to force out his tongue, part of which, as far as they could reach, they cut off. They then cut off the four fingers and thumb of his right hand, and left him on the floor, and proceeded to use his wife in the same manner.

"To add to their barbarity, they cut out her tongue, and cut off her four fingers and thumb with a blunt weapon, which operation took them up above ten minutes, one or two of them holding up her arm, while they committed this inhuman action. They then battered and beat her in a dreadful manner. Her brother, a boy of 13 years of age, had come from Armagh that morning to see her. They cut out his tongue, and cut off the calf of his leg, and left them all three in that dreadful situation."†

To enumerate the excesses committed in the North and South by this desperate confederacy would be tedious; and the local history of one county will sufficiently shew both the spirit and the spread of Defenderism. In Armagh, in '95, they frequently and openly assembled—and as the Protestants collected to oppose them, the most serious results, from a collision between the parties, were apprehended. An

* "Sobriety, secrecy, the accumulation of arms, and the giving assistance to each other on all occasions, seemed to have been leading objects with the Defenders. They were exclusively of the Roman Catholic religion. They knew each other by secret signs; they had a grand-master in each county, who was elected at a general annual meeting, and they had also monthly meetings."—*Musgrave.*

† Report of the Trustees to the Lord Bishop of Dromore.

attempt was made to reconcile their existing differences; and an act of amnesty was drawn up and signed by the leaders upon both sides, who engaged, under penalties of fifty pounds, to mutually preserve the peace. But this reconciliation was delusory—and a Protestant gentleman, who had been one of the sponsors for his party, was fired at returning home, when the ink of the friendly compact was scarcely dry. This proceeding led to an open rupture—and a sanguinary conflict was the result.

"The Defenders, in violation of these articles, assembled next day in arms, and attacked the Protestants, who again proposed peace and mutual forgiveness, but in vain.

"The Defenders, elate with their numbers, having sent for reinforcements to the mountains of Pomeroy and Ballygawly, made an attack on the Protestants near a village called the Diamond; and were heard to declare that they would not suffer a person of their persuasion to remain in the country. The shouts and firing of the Defenders alarmed the Protestants, who assembled from all quarters; and an engagement having ensued, forty-eight of the Defenders were killed, and a great number were wounded, on the 21st of September, 1795."*

This appeal to arms at the Diamond, annihilated the last hope of appeasing the excited passions of the opposite religionists—and the triumph of the Protestants, so far from abating their animosity to the vanquished, seemed only to encourage a still deadlier feeling towards the Romanists. The domiciliary visits became more frequent and more ferocious—houses were fired—furniture wantonly destroyed—and to be a Catholic, was now considered a fair excuse for the commission of every cruelty and insult. In vain, the unfortunate Romanists expected that these ferocities would abate, and that vengeance would be glutted to satiety. The hope was unreal—and at last, the only resource left to the sufferers, was the abandonment of home and country—and leaving their cold hearths to those who persecuted them to the death, they sought shelter in a distant province.†

That the cruelties ascribed to the northern Protestants did not emanate from opposite religionists, whom prejudice might induce to give a false colouring to the story of their wrongs, is not to be disputed. An authority, too high and too impartial to be doubted, verifies the extent of Catholic persecution. At a meeting of magistrates, assembled on the 28th of December, '75, to consider the state of the country, Lord Gosford, the Governor of Armagh, made the following painful disclosure of the actual state of parties at the time:—

"Gentlemen," he said, addressing the crowded assembly, "it is no secret that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious

* Musgrave.

† "The disappointed hopes of the people, their despair of legislative address, the insulting severity of the Camden administration, the cruel and wanton religious persecutions of Armagh, where 10,000 unoffending Catholic inhabitants were driven from their homes at the point of the bayonet, or by the torch of the incendiary, and this barbarous proscription, if not encouraged, at least not opposed, by the government or local authorities, first led the inhabitants of Ulster into a general association for self-defence."—*Teeling's Personal Narrative.*

cruelty which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this country; neither age nor sex, &c. is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is a crime indeed of easy proof; it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith, or an intimate connection with a person professing this faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species of delinquency, and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible—it is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and an immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription—a proscription that certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient or modern history can supply; for when have we heard, or in what story of human cruelties have we read, of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived, at one blow, of the means, as well as of the fruits of their industry, and driven in the midst of an inclement season to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them? This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this country; yet, surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in the coldest bosoms. These horrors are now acting with impunity; the spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing better than an instrument of tyranny) has for a time disappeared in this country, and the supineness of the magistracy of Armagh is become a common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom.

"I am as true a Protestant as any gentleman in this room. I inherit a property which my family derived under a Protestant title, and, with the blessing of God, I will maintain that title to the utmost of my power. I will never consent to make a sacrifice of Protestant ascendency to Catholic claims, with whatever menace they may be urged, or however speciously or invidiously supported. Conscious of my sincerity in this public declaration, which I do not make unadvisedly, but as the result of mature deliberation, I defy the paltry insinuations that malice or party-spirit may suggest. I know my own heart, and I should despise myself if, under any intimidation, I could close my eyes against such scenes as present themselves on every side, or my ears against the complaints of a persecuted people."

In the earlier pages of this memoir, the rise and progress of the United Irish system have been detailed—and it will be only necessary to observe that previous to the outbreak in the South, the organization, military and political, of Ulster was reported to be complete. Nothing, however, could be more distinct than the objects and principles of the Irish conspirators. In the one, religious bigotry was the actuating spring—and the object, a fond hope of establishing a papal ascendency; in the other, a passionate admiration of republican theories—the example of America and France—a wish—most sincere in some—to reform state abuses, and infuse fresh vigour into an enfeebled constitution. These had chiefly, in the beginning, induced the Northerns to unite; but the

purity of early intention became tainted by the spread of doctrines alike opposed to monarchy and religion—and enmity to the throne, and contempt for the altar, were the natural effects resulting from the pernicious imitation of Jacobin example. Indeed, as the conspiracy grew to maturity in the North, infidelity progressed, *pari passu*, with disaffection—and faith and allegiance were equally abandoned.

That very wise law, the Convention Bill, having prevented the clubs from assembling publicly, the leaders of the conspiracy had recourse to another, and fully as effectual a mode of disseminating their doctrines of liberty and equality, by instituting reading-societies, which the lowest classes of the people attended after the labour of their daily occupations was over. This institution was almost exclusively confined to the counties of Down and Antrim, where the mass of the people are Presbyterians, can read and write, and are fond of speculating on religion and politics. These meetings, formed after the model of the Jacobin clubs in France, were usually held in barns and schoolhouses, and were liberally furnished with inflammatory publications, composed by the literati of the United Irishmen, or extracted from larger treatises of a similar tendency in both kingdoms, and published in the form of pamphlets for more general circulation.

The pretext of reading for mutual information and improvement was considered as a plausible motive for the lower class of people to assemble. Subjects of a delicate nature and dangerous tendency were frequently discussed in them; such as, "Under what circumstances are the people justifiable in resisting and uniting against the existing government? From what source is all just government derived, and what is its proper object? Is the majesty of the king or the people most to be respected? On these and similar topics the rustic orators declaimed, with much vociferation and zeal, to the great edification of admiring audiences. The most fluent speakers went usually from one society to another to display their talents, and make proselytes to the new philosophy. Every opportunity was embraced to represent the Christian religion as a system of superstition, calculated to enslave mankind and obstruct the progress of improvement of reason.

The doctrines of a future state, of rewards and punishments, were openly ridiculed and discredited, and public worship despised and discouraged, which materially promoted the designs of the conspirators by extinguishing all moral principle.

Labourers, tradesmen, and even apprentice-boys, enlightened by attending the reading-societies, were taught to decide, dogmatically, concerning the fundamental principles of government and religion; to detect the supposed corruption of the one and the priestcraft of the other; to think themselves amply qualified to dethrone kings and regulate states and empires.*

It was a subject of some surprise that, with infinitely better organization, the northern rebels allowed their brethren in the South to take the initiative—and that circumstance was fortunate as strange. The

* Musgrave.

cause of the standard of rebellion having remained furled in Ulster, while Leinster and Wexford were in a blaze, may be, in the first instance, traced to the want of leaders to direct the movement; in the second, to religious suspicions, which unsettled confidence, and severed a union whose elements were of sand. The chiefs of the northern conspiracy most influential from talent or position, were incarcerated or voluntary exiles—while the purely religious character which the Wexford insurrection had assumed alarmed the Presbyterians, deterring the more timid, and disheartening the most determined. "At a period so critical, it was difficult to trace, in an extended range of nearly fifteen square miles, a resident leader, possessing popular influence and talents for command, who was willing, on the moment, to run the hazards of the field."*

While the Ulster insurgents hesitated to make any open demonstration, the game of rebellion was nearly played in the South, while in the North it had not yet begun—and had severities at the moment been discontinued, it is doubtful but the flickering flame might have expired altogether. "The conciliatory measures used by government had detached numbers from the union; and the salutary coercion used by general officers in disarming the multitude, abated the spirit of the disaffected, by diminishing their hopes of success."

But the system pursued towards the malcontents was discouraging and absurd. Much was promised—nothing effectually carried out; and the proclamation, which commenced by offering an amnesty, merged into sanguinary denunciations, and concluded by devoting whole towns to plunder and conflagration. The system of free quarters brought terror alike to the innocent and the guilty. It was an infernal visitation, without doubt—and although, from party prejudice, over-coloured by a partisan,† still the outline of the picture is unhappily too true:—

"The army, now distributed through the country in free quarters, gave loose to all the excesses of which a licentious soldiery are capable; 'formidable,' in the language of the gallant Abercrombie, 'to all but the enemy.' From the humble cot to the stately mansion, no property —no person was secure. Numbers perished under the lash, many were strangled in the fruitless attempt of extorting confessions, and hundreds were shot at their peaceful avocations, in the very bosom of their families, for the wanton amusement of a brutal soldiery. The torture of the pitch-cap was a subject of amusement both to officers and men, and the agonies of the unfortunate victim, writhing under the blaze of the combustible material, were increased by the yells of the soldiery and the pricking of their bayonets, until his sufferings were often terminated by death. The torture practised in those days of Ireland's misery has not been equalled in the annals of the most barbarous nation, and the world has been astonished, at the close of the eighteenth century, with acts which the eye views with horror, and the heart sickens to record. Torture was resorted to, not only on the

* Charles Teeling. † Ibid.

most trivial, but groundless occasions. It was inflicted without mercy on every age and every condition: the child, to betray the safety of the parent; the wife, the partner of her conjugal affection; and the friend and brother have expired under the lash, when the generous heart scorned to betray the defenceless brother or friend."

Whether it might have been dreaded by the Northerns, that the suppression of the insurrection in the South would leave the government perfectly unembarrassed, and then, that their well-known disaffection would be visited with sweeping penalties—or, that the decision of the few overcame the disinclination of the many, the Down and Antrim rebels resolved to take the field, and a local occurrence precipitated the rising.

The governor of the county, Lord O'Neil, having received information that the northern insurrection was postponed, but not abandoned, determined to counteract the plans of the rebel leaders, and for that purpose convened a meeting of the magistrates to be holden at Antrim, on the 7th of June. His lordship, *en route* from Dublin, slept at Hillsborough on the night of the 6th, and reached the appointed place, at noon, next day. The meeting being called by public notice, was, of course, a matter of notoriety—and the seizure of the magistrates, and possession of the arms which had been surrendered from time to time, and had not been removed to Belfast, at once struck the rebel leaders as expedient. Orders were accordingly issued to the disaffected—and the long-dreaded rising took place.

CHAPTER XX.

OUTBREAK IN ULSTER—BATTLES OF ANTRIM, SAINTFIELD, AND BALLYNAHINCH.

THE sudden determination of the northern leaders to unfurl the banner of rebellion and risk an appeal to arms, was attended with the usual results consequent upon hasty and inconsiderate decisions. The order for rising was obeyed—but when the disaffected were actually in the field, it was found that Down was without a leader. Russell, on whom that dangerous distinction had been conferred, some time before, had been arrested and imprisoned—and Steele Dickson, a presbyterian minister, and a fierce and uncompromising revolutionist, was elected to the chief command; but before he could assume it, he too, was arrested and lodged in prison. Finally, the leading of the insurrection was intrusted to a cotton-manufacturer, named McCracken.

The folly of precipitating into action tumultuary masses of men, under chiefs incompetent to direct their movements, will be best understood from the narrative of Charles Teeling; and the detail of the northern rising proves, that although the insurrectionary elements were abundant, the power of direction was imbecile beyond contempt:

"Antrim had determined to act in conjunction with Down, and by dividing the attention of the enemy, these counties would have been an overmatch for the British troops which garrisoned both. The period of action had been previously arranged, and the respective duties assigned; but Antrim being prepared for the field, could not be induced to wait the appointment of a new commander for Down. To supply the place of Dickson was not an easy task, nor to restore that confidence to the minds of his countrymen which his arrest had sensibly weakened. Down urged the necessity of delay, but Antrim was resolved—was already committed. Her military chiefs had assembled in council; numbers had quitted their homes for the field; they had bidden an affectionate, and some an eternal adieu to the objects of their tenderest regard. All waited orders from the first in command, when, to their inexpressible astonishment, his formal resignation was announced.

"There was now no safety in return—no encouraging hope in advance; the secession of the chief communicated doubt and alarm to others; mutual suspicion and mutual fears were excited in the breasts of all: the council wavered in their decisions, they ordered and counter-ordered, and eventually retired to deliberate anew. In the meantime, intelligence arrived that the British troops were on their march, and their advanced guard of cavalry within one mile of the seat of deliberation."

The possession of Antrim was certainly an important object with the conspirators. Equidistant from the two great military stations—

Belfast, and the camp at Blaris—it opened a communication with Derry and Donegal, both counties, seriously disaffected, and from which extensive assistance might be expected. Antrim, was consequently selected as the first object of insurgent operation, and on the 7th of June, the rebel columns directed their march upon the town.

The decision of their ill-directed councils had immediately transpired—and General Nugent, who commanded the north-east district, promptly adopted measures to defeat the intended attack. The second light brigade* was directed to make a forced march from Blaris camp on Antrim—and two hundred and fifty of the Monaghan, a troop of the 22nd light dragoons, the Belfast yeomanry cavalry, under the command of Colonel Durham, marched to support the garrison by the line of Carmony and Templepatrick. Major Seddon, the commandant at Antrim, had been made acquainted with the intended movement,† and assured that he should be reinforced, and enabled to repel the attack of the insurgents.

It is hard to determine whether Antrim offered to the assailants or defenders the greater advantage. The town is nearly a mile long, and that space from the Scots' quarter to the market-house, about two-thirds of its length, and nearly a straight line. The main street is a continuation of the Scots' quarter, and at right angles with the wall of Lord Massareen's garden, which is about forty yards from the market-house, and lies nearly in the centre of the street. The wall of the garden completely commands the street, and the entrance to the market-house, which is a square building, supported by stone pillars, and very difficult to set fire to. The guard-house was there, and a number of prisoners confined in it. There was a second wall at right angles with the garden, which flanks it, and commands Bow-lane. The two walls are joined with each other by one part of an old fortification. The wall is about fifteen feet high towards the street—and being but four feet high on the garden side, it forms an excellent breast-work. The church is about half-way between the market-house and the end of Scots' quarter, built on a rising ground, and surrounded by a wall, which is about eight feet high towards the street and four on the inside. The church is nearly in a line with the houses on one side of

* It comprised the 64th regiment light companies of the Armagh, Monaghan, Dublin, Kerry, and Tipperary militia; one hundred and fifty 22nd light dragoons, two light six-pounders and two howitzers, the whole under the command of Colonel Clavering.

† "The orderlies arrived at Antrim at nine o'clock, but did not perceive any extraordinary movement in the country, or any indication of insurrection. However, the drums immediately beat to arms, the yeomanry assembled in a short time, and the inhabitants of the town were called on to turn out in its defence. In sending the summonses through the town, it was discovered that all the notorious United Irishmen had left it early in the morning, which convinced Major Seddon that General Nugent's information was well founded. Of four hundred men capable of bearing arms, two hundred turned out on the occasion; but they could be supplied with no more than eighty stand of arms, as there were no more serviceable; and there was so great a scarcity of ammunition, that after borrowing eight hundred rounds from Major Seddon, the yeomanry had but twelve rounds a man, and those who volunteered but five."—*Musgrave.*

the Scots' quarter, and part of the wall is parallel to the houses at the opposite side, and the distance between it and the houses about twelve yards.*

The plan of the rebel attack was simply, a combined effort by superior numbers, simultaneously made at three separate points. The insurgents moved towards Antrim in four heavy columns—two advancing by the Belfast and Carrickfergus roads, united at the junction of these roads at the Scotch quarter; a third was to attack by Paty's-lane; the fourth, commanded by a brother of the celebrated William Orr, from Dunolty, Randalstown, and Shane's Castle, was directed to push through Bow-lane immediately after the united columns, under McCracken, had commenced their attack.

By a singular coincidence in time, the assailants and part of the reinforcements from Blaris camp entered the town together in opposite directions—the rebel columns debouching by the Scotch quarter, as the advanced guard of the light brigade crossed the Massareen bridge, and formed in the main street. The 22nd light dragoons, under Colonel Lumley, drew up in the rear of two six-pounders, which opened on the rebels with case-shot, and as the insurgent attack was made in close column, the service of the royal guns was very destructive.

The customary system of placing their musketry at the head of the column supported by pikemen, was observed by the rebel leaders, and having advanced one of the six-pounders† which they brought into action, they returned the fire of the royalist guns for a round or two with some effect; but from the clumsy manner in which it was mounted, the gun was disabled by its own recoil. Their street-firing was more successful—and while the pikemen were detached across the fields, to take the royalists in the rear, the musketeers pressed boldly forward, and seized the churchyard. That important post once occupied, it became necessary to retire the guns. The order was given to limber up, and the guns retreated to another and safer position, covered by a very daring charge of cavalry led gallantly by Colonel Lumley.

As was too frequently the case, the charge of the 22nd dragoons was brilliant as it was indiscreet. The enemy held the churchyard, and directly under the parapet its wall afforded to the rebel musketry, the charge was made. To launch cavalry at a body in close column, with an unbroken front and flanks secure, is almost invariably fatal. About eighty men charged, returned, and cut their way through the column they had broken. What was the result? In two minutes

* Musgrave.

† "They brought this gun from Templepatrick, where they had it and another brass six-pounder, concealed under one of the seats of the dissenting meeting-house. They cut a tree, of which they made a trail, and mounted the gun on the wheels of Mr. M'Vickar's carriage, Lord Templeton's agent, and had wedges to elevate and depress it. It was formerly attached to the Belfast volunteers, but lay concealed for six years. They had originally eight, which also lay concealed, but six of them were discovered by General Nugent about a week before."—*Musgrave.*

they had five officers, forty-seven rank and file, and forty horse *hors de combat.*

The guns, which had been retired under the garden wall of Lord Massareen's domain, were served for a time with considerable effect, but they were finally abandoned, Colonel Lumley retreating by the Blaris road, by which he knew the light brigade was advancing.* In endeavouring to follow the cavalry, Lord O'Neil's horse became restive. A pikeman dragged his lordship from the saddle—and although directly under the fire of the yeomanry who held the castle garden, this excellent and gallant nobleman was killed by a pike-wound.

"On the retreat of the dragoons, the rebels, flushed with success, rushed on with a horrid yell, and seized the curricle guns, but every man of that party was killed by the yeomen, and the remainder retreated into the houses and by-lanes of the town. On that Mr. John Macartney, of the Antrim yeomanry, assisted by his brother, Mr. Arthur Macartney, a lieutenant in the royal Irish artillery, who volunteered on the occasion, made a sally from the garden, with twenty of the Antrim corps, and drew up, in the midst of the rebel fire, the guns and the ammunition-cart; and having planted them on the garden wall, they dislodged the rebels by a few discharges."†

Within a mile of the town the retreating cavalry perceived the light brigade in march from Blaris camp, and a mounted yeoman brought intelligence that the reinforcement from Belfast was rapidly approaching. The town was immediately re-entered, and while the royalists returned with renewed strength and spirit to the contest, the coward leader of the fourth rebel column, frightened at a burning cabin,‡ or the appearance of a few retreating horsemen, left his comrades to their fate, and retreated without having even ventured into the presence of the enemy.

That the rebels fought with great determination at Antrim is not to be denied—and that they were not successful, from their overwhelming

* "Two errors appear to have been committed by Colonel Lumley at Antrim. The first, in making his attack before the infantry had come near the town; for had he permitted the rebels to enter it, as they were doing, they would have been cut off. Secondly, his attempting to charge back into the town, when the rebels had secured themselves in houses and inside the walls of the churchyard. His first charge must be considered a successful one, a number of the rebels being regularly cut up; and had he even then been contented to have awaited the arrival of the infantry, the rebels must have felt uneasy at his being in possession of that outlet by which numbers of them afterwards escaped. Both these errors in judgment, however, are pardonable, as they originated in the chivalrous confidence of a young dragoon."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

† Musgrave.

‡ "About one o'clock, and before the rebels arrived, several pikes were discovered in a garden in the Scots' quarter: in consequence of which the house to which the garden belonged was set on fire, and the flames communicated to seven more, which were consumed. The rebels having perceived the fire as they were marching towards the town, halted for near half an hour, doubtful if they should make the attack, not knowing the real cause of the fire. During that delay, there arose a dispute among the Roman Catholics and Protestants of Orr's column; the former insisting on putting the Orangemen in Antrim to death, but were opposed by the latter, who declared they would not consent to any act of cruelty."—*Musgrave.*

numbers, and very superior *matériel* to the insurgents of the South, is in a great degree attributable to the imbecility or cowardice of their leaders. Some there were, undoubtedly, whose personal intrepidity was unquestionable—but while many betrayed want of judgment, and a total absence of military talent, others, when called into action, evinced weakness and indecision bordering on fatuity. If one leader led his followers with spirit and determination, another paralyzed the effort by leaving him unsupported. At Antrim this was fatally experienced—and the bravery McCracken displayed was neutralized by the pusillanimous conduct of his second in command. A writer who, with greater zeal than discretion, endeavours to gloss rebellion over, and invest every malcontent with the virtues of a patriot or hero, offers the following miserable apology for the insurgent defeat at Antrim:—

"The troops (rebels) from the northern district of Antrim were on their march; they had obeyed the prompt order of the commander-in-chief, and forced the timid garrison, which opposed but feeble resistance.* They were within a short distance of the appointed rendezvous, when meeting a corps of retreating cavalry, who had been forced to abandon the town, they mistook their flight for a charge, and, under the impression that their division had arrived too late to afford relief or co-operate in the action of the day, they precipitately fled.

"This circumstance restored confidence to the British troops; they halted, and reinforcements having arrived from Belfast and the camp of Blaris Moor, the fugitive garrison, in conjunction with these, became the assailants.

"The transaction was witnessed by a small corps of observation which followed the enemy's retreat to mark their movements; this corps hastened back to the town, and communicating the panic, it rapidly extended to others. Their flight was more fatal than the most determined resistance, for encountering a body of cavalry, many were cut down with an unsparing hand, and fell victims to that terror which too often plunges men into the misfortune they seek to avoid."†

The defeat of the rebels army at Antrim was decisive—and with one hundred and fifty of their number killed and wounded in the town, it was computed that two hundred were cut down in the rout that followed their repulse. An immense quantity of pikes and muskets were abandoned; and the guns they used in the attack fell into the hands of the royalists two days after their defeat.

After abandoning Randalstown, on the evening of the 7th, the remainder of that portion of the insurgents took possession of Toome, and held the town for two days. General Knox, however, advancing in force from Dungannon, they hastily abandoned the place, breaking down the bridge across the Baun.

McCracken, with a few hundred of the beaten rebels, retreated in

* "The rebels attacked Randalstown at half-past one on the 7th of June, and got possession of the lower part of the market-house, in which there were fifty of the Toome yeomanry—the building being set on fire, the yeomanry surrendered, and were removed by ladders from the windows."

† Teeling's Personal Narative.

great disorder upon Ballymena, where the greater portion of his followers disbanded. A few of the more desperate took post on Donegore-hill, but in two or three days accepted an amnesty offered them by Colonel Clavering, from which, however, their leaders were excluded. McCracken, after an idle effort to carry on a brigand war in the hill country he had retired to, was gradually deserted by the few who had hitherto followed his desperate fortunes—and eventually, was apprehended,* convicted, and expiated his treason on the scaffold.

Short and evanescent as the insurrection proved, the rising was pretty general—and some of the rebel efforts were directed with much ability, but indifferent success.

"When Down caught the flame of rebellion, a body of insurgents assembled in the Barony of Ards, and moved on Portaferry.† Their object was, on taking that town, to have crossed the Ferry, and proceeded, with whatever aid they could get in Lecale, to the attack of Downpatrick. The plan shewed some head; for the presumption was, that the garrison of Downpatrick would either have marched (as was the case) to co-operate with Gen. Nugent, at Ballynahinch, or that the rebel approach from the Portaferry side would keep it still in Downpatrick. In the former case, the town would be open to them; in the latter, Gen. Nugent would have been deprived of the assistance of the garrison. The yeomanry of Portaferry, however, gave matters a different turn. When this body of rebels was on their way to that place, they halted about a mile from the town, at a large and well-stored public-house, the owner of which held the rank, I believe, of baronial committee-man. Here they ordered out all the house contained—and eatables and drinkables rapidly disappeared. I must give what followed in the words of my informant, who was brother to the man of

* "It was on Sunday afternoon, the 8th of July, my birth-day, that we got intelligence that Henry was taken prisoner by four Carrickfergus yeomen, one of whom, Niblock, knew him. John Query and Gawin Watt were with him at the time, and were likewise arrested. Harry had obtained a pass in another name, and was then on his way to the place appointed for embarkation on board of a foreign vessel, with the captain of which an agreement had been made for his passage. At a place where they stopped on the road, Watt contrived to get hold of one of the guns of the yeomen, which had been laid down for a few minutes, knocked out the priming without being perceived, and told Harry to save his life; but seeing the impossibility of doing so without involving his associates in additional danger, he thought it better to try, by other means, to save all. He had a written acknowledgment for a sum of thirty pounds on his person, which was the same as money; and this he offered to Niblock, if he would allow himself and his companions to escape. Niblock refused the offer, but McGilpin, another of the yeomen, was willing to let them go. McCracken had nearly effected an arrangement when they stopped at a public-house; one of the party went out unperceived, and brought back with him an officer, who secured the prisoners."—*Account of his arrest by McCracken's sister.*

† "Captain Mathews having received intelligence in the morning that the town was to be attacked, had the arches of the market-house filled up with a dry temporary wall to prevent the rebels from setting fire to the loft, which these leaders had resolved to do; and Captain Hopkins, being in the river with the revenue cruiser which he commanded, rendered the most important service on the occasion with his guns. The loss of the rebels was considerable, while not a single yeoman was hurt."—*Musgrave.*

the arrest of Dickson; at this moment, Monro arrived, and presenting himself to the assembled forces, was unanimously elected their commander."*

On the next day (Sunday) a large body of insurgents entered Bangor, and compelled numbers to join them. Proceeding to Saintfield, they joined the body which held that town; and on the next morning (Monday, 11th of June) the whole proceeded to the rebel camp at Ballynahinch,† where the insurgent head-quarters were established.

On the morning of the 12th General Nugent marched from Belfast. His force consisted of the Monaghan regiment, some yeomanry, horse and foot, part of the 22nd light dragoons, and where he formed a junction with Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart with the garrison of Downpatrick on the morning of the 13th; the royalists mustered, probably, 1,600 men, with eight pieces of light artillery.

On learning Nugent was on his march to attack him, Monro detached a body of 500 men, under the command of a person named Johnson, to impede the advance of the royalists. The attempt was ill-judged and unsuccessful—the rebels were dispersed by the advanced guard and flanking parties of the royalists, and the march was uninterrupted, while the detachment disbanded, most of the insurgents retiring to their respective homes.

The town of Ballinahinch lies in a valley, having on the north the Windmill-hill, and on the south the commanding eminence of Montalto, forming, with its plantations, a very strong position, and both were occupied by the rebels on the afternoon of the 12th of June, when General Nugent, moving from Saintfield, drove those who occupied the Mill-hill from it, and hung up one of their leaders, who was too late in escaping with his men to the opposite height of Montalto. General Nugent occupied the Windmill-hill that night.

"In the course of the night, the troops having entered the town, much disorder prevailed, and chiefly amongst the yeomanry corps; a numerous body of these had marched under Nugent's command, and giving loose to pillage and excess, brutal intoxication consequently followed. Men and horses were promiscuously scattered through the streets, houses fired in several directions, a general relaxation of discipline prevailed, or rather all discipline was sunk in licentiousness." This intelligence was carried to the rebel camp by a partisan inhabitant, who pointed out to Monro the facility of a night attack which the drunken condition of the soldiery presented—but with a fatuity hardly to be conceived, the imbecile commander let the golden oppor-

* Teeling.

† "On the insurrection fairly breaking out in Antrim, government took the wise measure of assembling a brigade of 1,000 loyal yeomanry, with four troops of the 24th dragoons, at Lisburn. The communication between Down and Antrim was thus completely cut off—while at the same time a vigilant watch was kept upon Belfast, then the very focus of disloyalty. A portion of this force was also in readiness to bear upon the rebels at Ballinahinch, had General Nugent considered their assistance needful—and it was nearly being so."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

tunity escape, and sealed the destruction of himself and hundreds of his wretched followers.

"A council of war was assembled,—the voice of the people declared for instant action, the commander-in-chief alone opposed it. The discussion was warm and animated,—the best spirit prevailed amongst the troops,—the proudest feelings had been roused by the bold exertions of the day, and those feelings had not yet subsided. The ammunition was insufficient for to-morrow, but ammunition was not wanting for a night-attack, for the pike and the bayonet were more efficient. To-morrow might reinforce the enemy's ranks,—to-night every thing favoured an attack, while fortune seemed to have placed an easy victory within their reach. Such were the arguments advanced; but the mind of Monro was not to be changed, his resolution had been formed and remained immovable. 'We scorn,' said he, 'to avail ourselves of the ungenerous advantage which night affords; we will meet them in the blush of open day, we will fight them like men, not under the cloud of night, but the first rays of to-morrow's sun.' This determination was received with discontent by the troops, and many retired from the field. A division of seven hundred men, and more generally armed with muskets than the rest, marched off in one body with their leader. Such was the romantic character of the man in whose hand was placed the destiny of thousands."*

Another version of the occurrence, and one more favourable to Monro, is given by my friend the field officer:—

"Colonel Stewart was to march from Downpatrick with a body of troops, so as to co-operate with him by an attack upon the right of the rebels at daybreak, on the 13th. Monro, aware of the intention, determined to anticipate the attack by falling upon the king's troops on the Windmill-hill at midnight, with a chosen band of pikemen, when they were asleep and weary after a hot march; and had he been allowed to follow up this plan, the chances are that he might have succeeded. But there were too many commanders to admit of prompt action—and religious jealousy also had arisen; and while the question was still debated, day dawned, Nugent's troops got under arms, and Stewart was already on his ground. Such is Monro's own account of the matter. The rebels defended their position with desperate resolution, actually charging up to the muzzles of the guns of the Moneghan regiment; but their right being turned by Colonel Stewart, their defeat was decisive."

The extraordinary delusion under which Monro laboured, not only involved his immediate adherents in defeat and all the penal consequences attendant on overt acts of rebellion, but, by a false assurance of success, and the infusion of imaginary confidence, paralyzed the efforts of the insurgents elsewhere, and disorganized any plans of action they might have formed. Late on the evening of the 12th, in a hasty despatch from his bivouac on Lord Moira's lawn. Monro de-

* Teeling's Personal Narrative.

clared, "that victory was certain, and the British army within his grasp." This idle vaunt was communicated to the station selected as the rallying-point for the central division, and the most fatal consequences to the rebel cause resulted. The insurgent councils had been already sufficiently distracted; conflicting opinions were ardently maintained—opposite views were held by different leaders—religious differences had been openly exhibited—and Monro's rank folly annihilated the last chances,—the last hopes of the disaffected.

"Two plans of operation had been suggested—the one to march direct to Ballynahinch, notwithstanding the communication of Monro, and thus to render more certain the defeat of the British army within the town. The other, in the anticipation of Monro's success, to wait the issue of the night, then press for the important post of Newry; and by extending the insurrectionary movements along the borders of Armagh on Louth, intersecting the direct line of communication between the seat of government and the Ulster province, ensure the general co-operation of the north. These opinions were advanced and maintained with considerable warmth on either side; it was therefore determined, that the adoption should be referred to the decision of a military council. The council was formed, but the most valuable moments were wasted in discussion. Whilst some pressed for an immediate march on Nugent's position, to secure beyond the possibility of hazard a victory which circumstances might still render doubtful; others, from the recent despatches, conceiving that victory as already secure, represented the more important advantage to be obtained by the capture of a garrison town, commanding, from its local situation, the key of the province. The subject was warmly debated, but the latter opinion prevailed. The night was now far advanced, and the remainder was passed in hasty preparation for the morrow; but with to-morrow came the astounding intelligence of Monro's defeat! Fugitives from his army were the first to announce the disaster; and victory on the part of the royal troops was represented as so decisive, that, in the general panic which succeeded, few were found bold enough to entertain the idea of opposing further resistance. The arms of Britain had triumphed, but never was there a moment more critical to British influence, nor a victory achieved by a more fortuitous event. If Monro's conduct has been censured for the pertinacity with which he opposed a night attack on the army of Nugent in its disorganized state, however we may arraign the judgment, we cannot question the zeal or the courage of the man who sealed with his life his attachment to the liberties of his country."*

At daybreak on the 13th, the royalists and rebels mutually prepared for action. Under a fire of some ship-guns, the insurgents attacked the town, deforced the Monaghan regiment for a few minutes, and gained the centre of the place—where, "exposed to a cross-fire of musketry in the market square, raked by artillery, their ammunition

* Teeling.

exhausted, they still pressed boldly on the royalists with pike and bayonet." But the Monaghan regiment instantly rallied and repulsed them. Colonel Stewart had succeeded perfectly in his supporting attack—a general dispersion ensued—and the rebels were totally routed, leaving four hundred men *hors de combat*. Many were saved from the nature of the country, which being wooded and uneven, was unfavourable to the action of cavalry; others owed escape to accidental circumstances;* but the blow delivered on the 13th of June was crushing, and the flame of rebellion was extinguished. The unfortunate leader of the scattered rebels fled, alone and unattended, towards the mountains. But escape was not permitted; he was speedily detected by some royalists concealed in a potato furrow under some loose litter, in an open field, five or six miles distant from the scene of his folly and defeat. On being apprehended, he endeavoured to bribe his captors and obtain his liberty, but he was brought into Hillsborough, and afterwards transmitted to Lisburn, tried by court-martial on the next Friday, and paid the penalty of his treason with his life.

The following interesting narrative of Monro's last moments is, for the first time, given to the world, and it offers a singular picture of the terrible visitations on both the guilty and the innocent, which were unfortunately too common in those turbulent times of civil warfare:—

"I was near him—his demeanour was firm, without any bravado. He acknowledged and gloried in the part he had taken; and after sentence, was communicative enough. In the afternoon he was led out for execution in the market-place, nearly opposite to his own door. I stood very near him when at the foot of the gallows, and he settled his accounts as coolly as if he had been in his own office, a free man—and particularly, a disputed one with an old gentleman, Captain Stewart, who was on the spot in command of a corps of yeomanry. This done, he said a short prayer, and made a spring up the ladder. It was a bad one—and, light as he was, one or two of the rungs gave way, and he came heavily to the ground. 'I'm not cowed, gentlemen,' he said, as he re-ascended the ladder more carefully. When the halter was adjusted, he arranged that he should give the signal of readiness by dropping his handkerchief—and after a pause of a few seconds, he dashed it to the ground, exclaiming, 'Tell my country I deserved better of it.'

"A wretched being, a prisoner, had been brought out of the guard-house to act as executioner; and, weak and terrified, he was actually unable to turn the ladder over. The moment was a trying one. Beckoning to my orderly serjeant (Thomas Porter, still living), we performed an

* "The town of Ballynahinch was pillaged and fired. So intent were the British troops on plunder, that many fugitives escaped the slaughter to which they must otherwise have fallen victims. Subsequent courts-martial, however, afforded an ample scope for the indulgence of the sanguinary passions."

act of mercy to the unhappy man by lending our aid to launch him into eternity. It was a scene I shall never lose the recollection of. Another fearful reminiscence is connected with it—I understand his wife and mother were, from an opposite window, composed witnesses of Monro's death!!!"*

"The trial of Monro was followed by that of a Presbyterian minister, named Birch. He was clearly proved to have taken an active part among the insurgents, and on the Sunday preceding the Battle of Ballinahinch, he preached an encouraging sermon to them at Creevey, near Saintfield. He did not shew the resolution of Monro, but after some lame attempts at a defence, was convicted, sentenced to death, and the troops were actually under arms to attend his execution, for which every preparation had been made, when a respite unexpectedly arrived.

* During this reign of terror, it would appear that worse than the bitterness of death was frequently endured by the female relations of the sufferers—and the feelings of McCracken's sister were lacerated equally with those of Monro's wife and mother.

"The time allowed him was now expired: he had hoped for a few days, that he might give his friends an account of all the late events in which he had taken a part. About five P.M. he was ordered to the place of execution, the old market-house, the ground of which had been given to the town by his great great grandfather. I took his arm, and we walked together to the place of execution, where I was told it was the general's orders I should leave him, which I peremptorily refused. Harry begged I would go. Clasping my hands around him (I did not weep till then), I said I could bear any thing but leaving him. Three times he kissed me, and entreated I would go; and, looking round to recognize some friend to put me in charge of, he beckoned to a Mr. Boyd, and said, 'He will take charge of you.' Mr. Boyd stepped forward; and, fearing any further refusal would disturb the last moments of my dearest brother, I suffered myself to be led away. Mr. Boyd endeavoured to give me comfort, and I felt there still was comfort in the hope he gave me, that we should meet in heaven. A Mr. Armstrong, a friend of our family, came forward and took me from Mr. Boyd, and conducted me home. I immediately sent a message to Dr. M'Donnell and Mr. M'Cluney, our apothecary, to come directly to the house. The latter came, and Dr. M'Donnell sent his brother Alexander, a skilful surgeon. The body was given up to his familly unmutilated; so far our entreaties and those of our friends prevailed.

"My heart sank within me when we were told all hope was over, and that a message had been brought from the general that the funeral must take place immediately, or that the body would be taken from us. Preparations were made for immediate burial. I learned that no relative of his was likely to attend the funeral. I could not bear to think that no member of his family should accompany his remains, so I set out to follow them to the grave.

"A kind-hearted man, an enthusiast in the cause for which poor Harry died, drew my arm within his, but my brother John soon followed, and took his place. I heard the sound of the first shovelful of earth that was thrown on the coffin, and I remember little else of what passed on that sad occasion. I was told afterwards that poor Harry stood where I left him at the place of execution, and watched me until I was out of sight; that he then attempted to speak to the people, but that the noise of the trampling of the horses was so great that it was impossible he should be heard; that he then resigned himself to his fate, and the multitude who were present at that moment uttered cries which seemed more like one loud and long-continued shriek than the expression of grief or terror on similar occasions. He was buried in the old churchyard where St. George's church now stands, and close to the corner of the school-house, where the door is."—*Account given of his death by the sister of McCracken.*

He owed his escape from the gallows to the circumstance of his having a brother, a medical man of some repute, resident in Newtown-ards, who was a yeoman of distinguished loyalty. He had also a son, who adhered to the principles of his uncle, the doctor, in preference to those of his father—and the reverend traitor owed his life to the consideration in which both were held.

"A few executions more ended the outbreak in Ulster; for the accounts of the bloody goings-on in Wexford had their full share in bringing the Northerns to their senses, as many of them made no scruple of declaring at the place of execution."*

It would be hard to account for the extraordinary rapidity with which this short-lived and dangerous insurrection was suppressed, but from assuming that the elements of rebellion were themselves in an advanced progress of dissolution before any overt act had been committed, as the discrepancy of views between the Presbyterians and Romanists† had betrayed itself in the council-room, before these unsteady confederates, with mutual suspicion and dislike, had banded in the field.

Another cause for the apparent supineness of some, and the partial defection of others, was the pacific system which government for a moment seemed disposed to adopt; in which, as has been already observed, had it been sincere, conciliation, no doubt, could have been effected with the people. This favourable disposition, however, was soon interrupted, and the angry passions on either side were rekindled with increased fury.

But probably the true cause of the prompt suppression of the Northern rebellion will be found in the terrible severity fulminated not only against the actual insurgents, but also those who resetted or assisted them. When the rebels were declared in arms, after calling on them to disband and surrender their leaders and their weapons, and instantly return to their allegiance, the general commanding thus proceeds:—

"Should the above injunctions not be complied with within the time specified, Major-general Nugent will proceed to set fire to, and totally destroy, the towns of Killinchy, Killileagh, Ballynahinch, Saintfield, and every cottage and farm-house in the vicinity of those places, carry off the stock and cattle, and put every one to the sword who may be found in arms. It particularly behoves all the well-affected persons who are now with the rebels from constraint, and who, it is known, form a considerable part of their numbers, to exert themselves in having these terms complied with, as it is the only opportunity there will be of rescuing themselves and properties from the indiscriminate vengeance of an army necessarily let loose upon them."

* MS. Journal of a Field Officer.

† "Dickey, a rebel leader, who was hanged at Belfast, declared a short time before his execution, that the Presbyterians of the north perceived, too late, that if they had succeeded in subverting the constitution, they would have ultimately to contend with the Roman Catholics."—*Musgrave.*

Nor were the penalties attendant on concealing rebels less stringent. Colonel Durham, commandant at Belfast, during the absence of General Nugent, thus denounces that offence :—

"And shall it be found hereafter that the said traitor has been concealed by any person or persons, or by the knowledge or connivance of any person or persons of this town and its neighbourhood, or that they or any of them have known the place of his concealment, and shall not have given notice thereof to the commandant of this town, such person's *house* so offending shall be *burnt*, and *the owner thereof hanged*."

Now, however men may expose themselves in hazardous undertakings, when success is very doubtful, property at times, carries with it considerations superior to penal consequences to the person. With all the dearest relations of life, home is intimately blended—and the most reckless will hesitate before he risks making his hearth desolate, and his house a burning ruin. On the Northerns the lesson was not lost, and the immediate pacification of the country resulted. Indeed, further resistance would have been sheer folly—"every breeze wafted over fresh troops from England—every tide bore new-raised levies from her shores—regiment followed regiment in succession, until Ireland presented the appearance of one vast encampment. Commerce, manufactures, and husbandry were suspended, while the country seemed to have exchanged a rural for a military population."

There is an episode connected with the rebel defeat at Ballynahinch, which, as it has been wedded to verse, and chronicled in prose, it would be ungallant to pass over unrecorded. We may observe, however, *en passant*, that for a young lady, a battle-field is a very romantic, but a drawing-room a safer locality by far.

We will give Charles Teeling's version of this love affair :—

"Amongst those who perished on this occasion was a young and interesting female, whose fate has been so feelingly recorded in the poetic strains of our distinguished countrywoman, Miss Balfour. Many were the romantic occurrences of a similar nature at this unfortunate period, but none, perhaps, are more deserving of our sympathy than the interesting subject of the present incident. The men of Ards were distinguished for their courage and discipline, and their division bore a full share in the disasters of the day. In this division were two young men remarkable for their early attachment and continued friendship. They were amongst the first to take up arms, and from that moment had never been separated. They fought side by side, cheering, defending, and encouraging each other, as if the success of the field solely depended on their exertions. Monro had assigned on the 12th a separate command to each, but they entreated to be permitted to conquer or perish together. One had an only sister; she was the pride of a widowed mother, the loved and admired of their village, where to this hour the perfection of female beauty is described as it approximates in resemblance to the fair Elizabeth Grey. She had seen her brother and his friend march to the field; she had bidden

the one adieu with the fond affection of a sister, but a feeling more tender watched for the safety of the other. Every hour's absence rendered separation more painful—every moment created additional suspense. She resolved to follow her brother—her lover—to the field. The fatal morn of the 13th had not yet dawned when she reached Ednevady heights. The troops of the union were in motion. The enthusiasm of love supported her through the perils of the fight, but borne down in the retreat, she fell in the indiscriminate slaughter, while her brother and her lover perished by her side."

CHAPTER XXI.

PARTIAL OUTBREAK IN MUNSTER—STATE OF THE WESTERN PROVINCES—LANDING OF THE FRENCH IN KILLALLA BAY.

THE pacification of the North was followed by the suppression of the smouldering embers of rebellion in Leinster, which, like expiring fires, scintillated occasionally before they were finally extinguished. Connaught, either from imperfect organization, or a better affection in its population to the government, had remained quiet; and in the South no outbreak occurred, except a trifling demonstration, whose flame was quenched as speedily as it had been kindled.

On the subsiding of this outbreak in the north-eastern quarter of Ireland, another local rebellion, much inferior in vigour, and very easily suppressed, commenced in the opposite south-western quarter, in the county of Cork—accompanied with the same kind of violent acts as elsewhere in the South, and exhibiting nothing extraordinary or peculiar, it requires little notice. The principal action, and the only one which government has thought proper to communicate to the public, took place near the village of Ballynascarty, where, on the 19th of June, two hundred and twenty men of the Westmeath regiment of militia, with two six-pounders, under the command of their lieutenant-colonel, Sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Cloghnakilty to Bandon, by a body of between three and four hundred men, armed almost all with pikes. This was only a part of the rebel force, here placed in ambush in a very advantageous position. The attack was made from a height on the left of the column so unexpectedly and rapidly, that the troops had scarcely time to form; but the assailants were quickly repulsed with some loss, and fell back upon the high grounds. Here, had the soldiers pursued them, from which they were with great difficulty restrained, they would probably have been surrounded and slaughtered, like the North-Cork detachment at Oulart. While the officers were endeavouring to form the men again, a body of rebels endeavoured to seize the cannon, and another body made its appearance on the high grounds in the rear; but, at the moment, a hundred men of the Caithness legion, under the command of Major Innes, who, on their march to Cloghnakilty, had heard the report of the guns, came to their assistance, and, by a brisk fire, put the assailants to flight on one side, after which those who were on the heights behind retired on receiving a few discharges of the artillery. The loss of the rebels in this action may perhaps have amounted to between fifty and a hundred men; that of the royal troops, by the commander's account, only to a serjeant and a private.*

With the exception of clan feuds, and occasionally some agrarian outrages, the west of Ireland was generally considered tranquil, and

* Gordon.

until the end of '97, the United Irish system had made very little progress in Connaught. In the general report of their organization to the provincial committee assembled at Dungannon in the autumn of that year, it was stated that the system was gradually progressive then in Mayo and Sligo, and that many of the Northerns who had emigrated from Ulster in the spring of '98, to escape, as they pretended, the persecutions they were exposed to for conscience' sake by the Orange party in the North, had given a fresh stimulus to the disaffection of the Western peasantry, which hitherto, like a half-ignited fire, seemed uncertain whether it would tardily kindle into life, or become extinct altogether.

These Northern emigrants were hospitably received. With their fellow Romanists, the story of religious persecution was sufficient to secure a welcome—and with the Protestant landholders, their superior intelligence and industrious habits formed a striking contrast to the ignorance and idleness of the Connaught peasantry, and their advent was considered, from acquirements and example, as likely to be attended by local improvement and the establishment of a linen manufacture. In consequence of these favourable opinions, several hundred families were permitted to become settlers on the Western coast, and for a time their general conduct was orderly and industrious.

But before long suspicion arose that their emigration from the North was not altogether occasioned by the religious rancour of the Protestants, and that they had, in a great degree, provoked it. It was discovered that they speculated in politics—obtained newspapers —and in secret meetings discussed their contents. They also promulgated a number of strange and alarming prophecies, which they pretended had been delivered by ancient Irish bards, foretelling wars and calamities which were about to take place immediately, and declaring that the most terrible cruelties would be inflicted by the Protestants on the Romanists, until the rivers would run blood, and the unburied dead should occasion a general pestilence.

The credulity of the lower Irish is proverbial. No rumour, however monstrous, will be refused credence, and the wildest creations of a distempered mind will be received as the outbreakings of inspiration.

On an excitable and superstitious peasantry, these prophecies had, therefore, due effect—and considering Protestants to be deadly enemies, they banded together for mutual protection—they bound themselves by solemn ties to overturn the constitution, and extirpate those who held any doctrines save those of the Church of Rome ; and so secretly was the conspiracy hatched, that many thousands were thus united before a discovery of these treasonable proceedings was effected. Emissaries were engaged to propagate their seditious doctrines—money levied to defend the conspirators on trial, and maintain the families of those who were obliged to abscond from the country—and, in short, every preliminary means was used to assist their brethren elsewhere, and take an efficient part in the general insurrection, which it was known was on the eve of bursting out.

As the conspiracy in Connaught was almost entirely confined to the Roman Catholics, the bond of union there was cemented by a religious tie which could not be employed but very cautiously in Leinster or the North, from so many Protestants being members of the confederacy. This was the institution of a mystic order, professedly religious, called "The Carmelites," but secretly devised for the better and more extensive spread of treason.

"They provided funds for the support of the wives and children of those men who were severed from their country and the sweets of domestic life; powerful exertions were made to recover some from banishment, and to procure others the protection of more friendly states.

"These exertions were not always unsuccessful, nor could they escape the observation of a vigilant government, and consequently its censure. Another subject of disquiet to men in power was the difficulty they sometimes encountered in procuring convictions for political offences. The spy and informer were guarded with the most watchful attention. Their informations were considered secret as the inquisitorial tribunal, and yet these informations were often communicated to confidential individuals; which enabled the committee intrusted with the prisoners' defence to defeat the informer's treachery, and rescue the intended victim from the snare of death."*

Its directors were chiefly mendicant friars, a low and degraded order of the Catholic Church. As the advantages of belonging to the Carmelite Society were great, and the price of obtaining admission into a body whose members were insured eternal beatitude was a trifle, numbers of the dark-minded peasants joined this ridiculous association.

"At their initiation they received a square piece of brown cloth, with the letters IHS inscribed on it, meaning *Jesus Hominum Salvator*, which was hung round the neck with a string, and lying on the shoulder next to the skin, was, from its situation, called a scapular. The price of it on initiation was, to the poorer class, one shilling; to those who could afford it, higher in proportion to their ability. This distinguishing badge of the order having received the priest's benediction, was supposed to contain the virtue of preserving the disciple, not only from outward dangers and injuries, but also from the attacks of the ghostly enemy. They ascribed to these scapulars the power of protecting a house in which one of them happened to be from being consumed by fire, or of extinguishing one on fire, if thrown into the flames, while the sacred extinguisher would remain perfectly safe from the power of the fire, like the three Hebrews in the Babylonian furnace.

"The ignorance and credulity of the popish multitude were imposed on by the following device: the cloth of which these scapulars was originally made, being composed of the Asbestos, possesses a quality to resist fire: and on receiving the priest's benediction, they were com-

* Teeling.

mitted to the flames, where, to the astonishment of the beholders, they were found to preserve themselves safe and entire; and having undergone this fiery ordeal, the supernatural power which produced it was ascribed to the priest's benediction.*"

To such an extent was this disgusting system carried, that at last the wearing of a scapular became the test by which true believers were to be distinguished. Bags of these holy emblems were sold publicly in fair and market, and "a shop was opened soon after the landing of the French, where all the sons of Erin, with their pikes in their hands, were supplied with scapulars at a regulated price."†

The system of terrorism was also incessantly persevered in—general murders were announced—and the people continued not to sleep in their own houses to avoid surprise. The strangest means by which these imaginary massacres were to be effected, were invented, promulgated, and believed—and the peasantry in many places actually remained night after night in the open fields, as the only means of escaping the devilish devices of the destroyers.‡

Such was the state of Mayo and Connaught generally, when, on the 22nd of August, '98, three French frigates, with English colours flying, entered Killalla Bay. No suspicion was occasioned by their appearance, and under the belief that they were British cruisers, several gentlemen from the town visited the strangers, and when declared prisoners, first discovered their mistake.

Killalla was then a bishop's see, being one of those suppressed on the passing of the Reform Bill. On the day when the French appeared in the bay, the lord bishop was holding his annual visitation, and the clergy of the diocese were collected in the castle, as the see-house was popularly called. The strange vessels, however, excited no alarm—dinner passed quietly—the guests were preparing to depart—when that intention was accelerated by the arrival of a breathless messenger, to inform the company and their host, that the French had actually landed, and an advanced guard of three hundred men were marching on the town.

Killalla was feebly garrisoned by a party of the Prince of Wales' fencibles and a few yeomanry, the whole not exceeding fifty or sixty men—but still they offered a bold resistance, until, with the loss of a few killed and wounded, they were finally driven into the castle, and obliged to surrender. Humbert, after summoning the bishop to his presence, and having announced that he came from the great nation to give the Irish liberty, and sever the yoke of England which had so long oppressed them, proceeded to put into requisition his lordship's

* Musgrave. † Gordon.

‡ "A few days before the French landed, a report was industriously circulated, that the Protestants had entered into a conspiracy to massacre the Roman Catholics, and they would not spare man, woman, or child. It was said, that for this purpose a large quantity of combustible stuff had been introduced by the Orangemen, who made a kind of black candles of it; that they were of such a quality, that they could not be extinguished when once lighted, and that in whatever house they should be burnt, they would produce the destruction of every person in it."—*Musgrave.*

horses, sheep, and cows, intimating, at the same time, that the Irish directory, to be established immediately in Connaught, would pay the full value of the same.

The French officers gave the following account of the expedition: "About eighteen days before 1,500 men, some of whom had served under Bonaparte in Italy, the rest had been of the army of the Rhine, embarked on board three frigates at Rochelle, and of a very dark night, eluded (beyond their expectation) the vigilance of the English fleet, which was close behind them. Two of them had forty-four guns, eighteen-pounders, the other thirty-eight guns, twelve-pounders. They said, also, that they brought nine pieces of cannon, and arms for 100,000 men; but this was a French gasconade, as they had arms only for 5,500 men, and but two four-pounders. The meager persons, and the wan and sallow countenances of these troops, whose numbers did not exceed 1,060 rank and file, and seventy officers, strongly indicated the severe hardships which they must have undergone.

"They hoisted a green flag in front of the castle with the Irish words, 'Erin go braugh!' inscribed on it, which signifies, in English, 'Ireland for ever,' and they invited the people to join them, having assured them that they would enjoy freedom and happiness by doing so.

"The first day they passed in landing arms and ammunition; the second, in clothing and arming the natives, of whom great multitudes flocked to their standard, and in granting commissions to Irish officers."*

Compared with the other armaments destined for the invasion of Ireland, Humbert's was by far the smallest. The grand army, termed "The Reserve," which was commanded by General Kilmaine, amounted in round numbers to 10,000; and a second, lying in the harbour of Brest, under General Hardy, had 3,000 men on board. Neither, however, attempted to put to sea—and although Kilmaine never appeared in person, his proclamations were abundantly distributed.†

* Bishop Stock's Narrative.

† "*Health and Fraternity to the People of Ireland!*

"The great nation has sent me to you with a band of heroes, to deliver you from the hands of tyrants. Fly to our standards, and share with us the glory of subduing the world. We will teach you the art of war, and to despise the low pursuits of toil and industry; you shall live on the spoils of war, and the labours of others. The acquisition of wealth is the acquisition of misery, and the enjoyment of ease is inglorious. We have made all the nations we have conquered happy, by arresting their property, by applying it to the common cause, and consecrating it to the champions of liberty! Property is a common right, belonging to the valour that seizes it. We have already destroyed the unaspiring tranquillity of Switzerland! and the wealth, and the power, and the bigotry of Italy are no more! If then the justice of France has thus extended its reforming vengeance to unoffending nations, consider with how much more rigour it will visit you, if you shall slight its benignity. Fly to our standard, and we will free you from spiritual as well as temporal subjection; we will free you from the fetters of religion, and the frauds of priestcraft. Religion is a bondage intolerable to free minds; we have banished it from our own country, and put down that grand impostor the pope, whose wealth we have sacrificed on the altar of reason. Fly to our standard, and we will break your connection with England, we will save you the mortification of seeing yourselves under an invidious government, and exalt you into the rank of those countries which now enjoy



The Rebels storming "The Turret" at Lieut. Tyrrell's.

UNIV. OF MICH.



Humbert's was a bold but wild experiment, but still it evinced the daring character of the adventurer. He had encountered difficulties that would have disheartened a soldier less enthusiastic. To land with 1,200 men, in a country in full military occupation—as Ireland then was—without money, necessaries, or any resources but what chance and talent gave, proved, indeed, that the French general was no common soldier.

The sketch given by Bishop Stock of the invading army and their daring leader is not only graphic, but faithfully descriptive of the bold adventurer and his hardy followers:—

the benefits of French fraternity. Let not the ties of kindred, the seductions of ease, or any other unmanly attachment to the comforts of life, teach you to neglect this friendly call of your countryman and fellow-citizen.

"KILMAINE, LIEUT.-GEN."*

"*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Union!*

"IRISHMEN,

"You have not forgot Bantry-bay; you know what efforts France has made to assist you. Her affections for you, her desire for avenging your wrongs and insuring your independence can never be impaired.

"After several unsuccessful attempts, behold Frenchmen arrived amongst you.

"They come to support your courage, to share your dangers, to join their arms, and to mix their blood with yours in the sacred cause of liberty.

"Brave Irishmen, our cause is common; like you, we abhor the avaricious and blood-thirsty policy of an oppressive government; like you, we hold as indefeasible the right of all nations to liberty; like you, we are persuaded that the peace of the world shall ever be troubled, as long as the British ministry is suffered to make, with impunity, a traffic of the industry, labour, and blood of the people.

"But exclusive of the same interests which unite us, we have powerful motives to love and defend you.

"Have we not been the pretext of the cruelty exercised against you by the cabinet of St. James's? The heartfelt interest you have shewn in the grand events of our revolution—has it not been imputed to you as a crime? Are not tortures and death continually hanging over such of you as are barely suspected of being our friends? Let us unite then and march to glory.

"We swear the most inviolable respect for your properties, your laws, and all your religious opinions. Be free; be masters in your own country. We look for no other conquest than that of your liberty—no other success than yours.

"The moment of breaking your chains is arrived; our triumphant troops are now flying to the extremities of the earth, to tear up the roots of the wealth and tyranny of our enemies. That frightful Colossus is mouldering away in every part. Can there be any Irishman base enough to separate himself at such a happy juncture from the grand interests of his country? If such there be, brave friends, let him be chased from the country he betrays, and let his property become the reward of those generous men who know how to fight and die.

"Irishmen, recollect the late defeats which your enemies have experienced from the French; recollect the plains of Honscoote, Toulon, Quiberon, and Ostend; recollect America, free from the moment she wished to be so.

"The contest between you and your oppressors cannot be long.

"Union! liberty! the Irish republic!—such is our shout, let us march—our hearts are devoted to you; our glory is in your happiness.

"Health and Fraternity,

"HUMBERT, GEN."

* "Lieutenant-General Kilmaine did not arrive with the French troops."

"Intelligence, activity, temperance, patience, to a surprising degree, appeared to be combined in the soldiery that came over with Humbert, together with the exactest obedience to discipline. Yet, if you except the grenadiers, they had nothing to catch the eye. Their stature for the most part was low, their complexions pale and sallow, their clothes much the worse for wear; to a superficial observer they would have appeared incapable of enduring almost any hardship. These were the men, however, of whom it was presently observed, that they could be well content to live on bread or potatoes, to drink water, to make the stones of the street their bed, and to sleep in their clothes, with no covering but the canopy of heaven. One-half of their number had served in Italy under Bonaparte; the rest were of the army of the Rhine, where they had suffered distresses that well accounted for thin persons and wan looks. Several of them declared, with all the marks of sincerity, that at the siege of Mentz, during the preceding winter, they had for a long time slept on the ground in holes made four feet deep under the snow; and an officer, pointing to his leather small-clothes, assured the bishop that he had not taken them off for a twelvemonth.

"Humbert, the leader of this singular body of men, was himself as extraordinary a personage as any in his army; of a good height and shape, in the full vigour of life, prompt to decide, quick in execution, apparently master of his art, you could not refuse him the praise of a good officer, while his physiognomy forbade you to like him as a man. His eye, which was small and sleepy (the effect, probably, of much watching), cast a side-long glance of insidiousness and even of cruelty—it was the eye of a cat preparing to spring upon her prey. His education and manners were indicative of a person sprung from the lowest orders of society, though he knew how (as most of his countrymen can do) to assume, where it was convenient, the deportment of a gentleman. For learning, he had scarcely enough to enable him to write his own name. His passions were furious, and all his behaviour seemed marked with the characters of roughness and violence. A narrower observation of him, however, served to discover that much of this roughness was the result of art, being assumed with the view of extorting, by terror, a ready compliance with his demands.

"This latter trait in Humbert's character was personally experienced by the bishop. An offer of the presidency of the Connaught Directory was declined by his lordship, on the plea of his sworn allegiance to the king—a pledge, he said, never to be violated; and a command that he should issue orders to place every horse and vehicle in the country at Humbert's disposal, for mounting his cavalry and the transport of his guns, stores, and baggage, was evaded by an assurance that his lordship had been but lately a resident, and, from want of local knowledge or authority, had not the means of compliance with the French general's request.

"Next morning, Humbert finding that no cars or horses had been procured, became furious, uttered a torrent of vulgar abuse, presented a pistol at the bishop's eldest son, and declared he would punish his father's disobedience by sending him to France; and accordingly he

marched off the bishop towards the shore under a sergeant's guard; but when they had advanced a short distance, a mounted orderly recalled the party, and Humbert apologized to the bishop, and excused, under the plea of military necessity, a very gross departure from the laws of *politesse*.

"The 24th, was occupied by a French *reconnaissance* on Ballina, which was repelled by a party of carbineers and some yeomanry. In the evening the royalists advanced to Killalla, in return, had a smart skirmish with the enemy, and after losing a few men, were hastily driven back."

CHAPTER XXII.

BATTLE OF CASTLEBAR.

On Sunday, the 26th, Humbert took the offensive, leaving six officers and two hundred men in Killalla, to garrison the town, secure his spare ammunition, and drill such recruits as should join the standard of the republic. The French mustered about nine hundred bayonets, with treble that number of peasant partisans. They entered Ballina unopposed, and Humbert expressed considerable disappointment when no respectable persons welcomed his *entrée*—and the body of an active agent suspended to a tree, executed by the troops before they retreated for having a French commission in his pocket, while it afforded an exhibition for Gallic civism,* gave still but a sorry omen of success.

Before he had commenced his operations, the French general felt difficulties, which, in some degree, he was unprepared for. He came totally unprovided with money—and in the co-operation he was led from the reports of Irish agents to build upon as certain, he was miserably disappointed. The first of these difficulties he endeavoured to overcome by the issue of assignats on the Irish Directory that was to be.

"For the first two or three days many people did apply for such drafts to the French commissary of stores, whose whole time appeared to be taken up with writing them. Indeed, the bishop himself was of opinion that the losers would act wisely to accept of them, not, as he told the people, that they would ever produce payment where it was promised, but because they might serve as documents to our own government, when, at a future period, it should come to inquire into the losses sustained by its loyal subjects. The trouble, however, of the commissary, in issuing drafts on a bank in prospect, was not of long duration. The people smiled first, and he joined himself in the smile at last, when he offered this airy security."†

The second of the French leader's difficulties was still more vexatious than what arose from an empty military chest. In France, it was generally believed that the Irish, Protestant and Catholic, were equally ill-affected to the existing government, and Humbert had been assured that the announcement of a landing would alone be re-

* "The French officers having found his body suspended when they entered the town, each of them gave it the fraternal embrace, and bedewed it with tears of sympathetic civism; and after having exposed it some time in the street, to excite the indignation of the populace against the loyalists, it was carried to the Romish chapel, where it lay in state with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been the greatest hero or patriot of the age."—*Musgrave*.

† Bishop Stock's Narrative.

quisite to bring the people *en masse* to his standard. Alas! no promise could have been more deceptive—the mob who flocked to join him were numerous enough—but, with two or three exceptions, not a man of property or respectability, Protestant or Catholic, took any part in the movement.

The leaders whom the Connaught rebels found among themselves were, with scarcely an exception, men of debauched habits, who would, by infamous example, have ruined any cause they had espoused. "Bellew, their earliest officer, was a drunken brute, to whom nobody paid obedience, even before he was turned out of office by the commandant. Little better for sobriety was O'Dowd, a man of some estate in the county, and almost the only gentleman that took arms with the rebels, for which he paid the forfeit of his life at Ballinamuck. Richard Bourke, of Ballina, had some military knowledge, was a good drill-sergeant, firm in combat, and popular; so that he might have done the harm he wished, if the habitual stupefaction of drink had not been an overmatch for his malice. O'Donnell knew nothing of arms, nor was he likely to learn the profession quickly, his petulance making him unfit for discipline. Yet the vulgar, who can discern in others what they have not in themselves, followed this young man more readily than any other who pretended to lead them, because they saw he had more sense, more command of himself, and more moderation in the exercise of authority. Even the loyalists at Killalla acknowledged great obligations to him for the industry with which they saw him exert himself to prevent pillage, patrolling the streets on horseback for several nights together, and withholding, both by threats and persuasion, those whom he found bent upon mischief. This testimony, whatever his failings might be, is extremely honourable to the memory of O'Donnell, who was killed in battle in the retaking of Killalla."*

Fallen and despicable as Bellew was, there is a romance attendant on his earlier life, that points the moral of the mutability of human fortune well. That very man, degraded even in the eyes of savages, and repudiated disdainfully by invaders, who courted an alliance with any removed a shade beyond the brutal mob—that fallen man had once his foot upon the path of fortune—and the name of Bellew bade fair, in early manhood, to rival that of any successful soldier who figured in those stirring times.

"This unfortunate individual† was brother to Doctor Bellew, Roman Catholic bishop of Killalla, and when that gentleman was at Rome studying divinity, their father sent out his second son Matthew, to have him educated for the priesthood under his brother. He submitted for some years, though reluctantly, to the course of study necessary to qualify him for the pastoral office; but being of a lively volatile disposition, and having formed an acquaintance at Rome with some Austrian officers, who encouraged him to join them, he entered

* Gordon.

† This memoir, as given by Musgrave, is substantially correct.

into the imperial service, and was soon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant; but not finding sufficient employment for the activity of his mind and body at that time in Germany, he entered into the Russian service, where he found sufficient occupation for the energies of both, in the bloody war which broke out between the Russians and Turks. Here, his courage and conduct were so conspicuous, that he was soon advanced to the rank of major in a regiment of infantry. But his rapid career in military fame, of which he ever seemed immoderately fond, was suddenly checked by an unforeseen accident. At the siege of Ismail the enemy sprang a mine, which blew up part of the works, and buried in the ruins our unfortunate hero and a great many Russian soldiers. Happy had he been to have been numbered with the dead, and to have finished his life as he had begun it—like a soldier! But Providence reserved him for a more ignominious fate, and exemplified in him the uncertainty of human affairs. In his early days he fought for glory in a foreign land, and fought with courage the battles of alien princes. In his maturer years, he incurred disgrace and infamy at home, and took up arms against his lawful sovereign and his native country. When extricated from the ruins, he had but few symptoms of life; he languished a long time under his wounds, and his intellects were so much impaired, that he was found unfit for service. It was thought advisable then to give him a long leave of absence, and to let him return to his friends, in hopes that tranquillity and his native air would restore him.

"Fresh misfortunes awaited him on his return to Ireland. As he had no fortune, he lived with his friends and his brother, on whom he had great dependence; but when the gloss of novelty wore away, they grew tired of him, and manifested by their conduct that they considered him a troublesome and unwelcome guest. This drove him into low company, and a habit which he had acquired of drinking spirits increased his derangement, and made him disagreeable and offensive. His brother having quarrelled with him, refused to admit him into his house, and used to billet him among his priests, month about—a situation very disagreeable to him, as he disliked the principles, and was disgusted with the ignorance and vulgarity of his hosts, which, in his gayer hours, were a subject of his merriment and ridicule.

"By the death of an uncle he became entitled to six hundred pounds, which he frequently solicited, to carry him back to Russia; but, notwithstanding the most pressing solicitations, he could not obtain it from his brother, who transacted the affairs of the deceased. He was frequently invited to the tables of the genteel and respectable families at Bellina; but from the want of clothes and cleanliness, and the filth and squalidness of his person, he soon became unfit for society. Being in this state of misery and wretchedness on the arrival of the French, he had not firmness and fortitude enough to resist the temptations which they offered him to enter into their service. His first offer, however, was to his king and country; and just as the enemy were about to enter Ballina, he earnestly entreated two gentlemen whom he knew, to supply him with arms and a horse, declaring that

he was ready to accompany them and share their fortune. With this request it was impossible at the moment to comply, and being left then no other resource but to fly or join the enemy, he embraced the latter. The French were happy to find a man who could speak their language well, and who was likely to be useful to them, from his long experience in military matters; they therefore conferred on him the rank and dignity of general in the army of the Irish republic. But as he continued to give way to his former habits of dissipation and drunkenness, they found him rather an encumbrance than a benefit."

While Humbert had boldly taken the offensive, the intelligence of his unexpected descent occasioned the liveliest alarm. Ireland, it is true, was quiet at the moment—but it was the dangerous tranquillity which precedes the second bursting of a volcano. The lord-lieutenant took instant measures to secure the tranquillity of the kingdom, and check the advance of the invaders. Major-generals Hutchinson and Trench, both commanding in Connaught, were directed to march at once on Mayo with any troops they could collect, taking care that the bridges on the Upper Shannon should be protected; and the chief command was intrusted to Lieutenant-general Lake, who proceeded to Galway to assume it. The viceroy, in person, followed the movements of his lieutenants, gradually drawing towards the scene where danger was apparent, and gathering together any disposable force as he went along, which local circumstances permitted to be used.*

Hutchinson reached Castlebar on the 25th †—and in full expectation

* He arrived at Philipstown on the 26th, with the 100th regiment, the first and second battalions of light infantry, the flank companies of the Bucks and Warwick militia, and on the 27th proceeded to Kilbeggan; the troops having made a progress of forty-four Irish miles in two days.

† For the valuable information contained in this and some subsequent notes, marked ☞, I am indebted to a gentleman at the time a field officer with the armies serving in the west of Ireland. From the rank he held, and his intimacy with the generals in command, his knowledge of passing events was extensive. An able and gallant officer himself, none could offer a more correct opinion on the military occurrences of those troubled times. The opening of Humbert's short and daring campaign he thus notices:—

"I left Dublin on the 24th of August, 1798, with Lord Ormonde, in order to join our respective regiments; and we arrived at Castlebar between one and two o'clock the next day. I immediately visited General Huchinson, who was a very intimate friend of mine, and found him in bed confined by a slight fever, and taking James's powders. I learned that the Kerry militia had marched that morning by his orders for Foxford, and in consequence requested General Huchinson to allow me to remain with him as extra aide-de-camp. This he positively, and for me fortunately, refused—observing that it was my duty to be with my regiment, and added that he was perfectly convinced that the movement of the French would be by Foxford, as the more direct route to the capital, and on that account he had sent the Kerry there, upon which regiment he placed great reliance. I accordingly proceeded to Foxford, where I arrived in the evening, and finding General Taylor in command there, I conveyed to him the impression of General Huchinson as to the probable movement of the French army. On the following morning General Taylor was earnestly urged, as there were no indications of the French advancing by Foxford, to march by the side of Lough Conn, so as to act on the flank or rear of the French, in their expected attack upon Castlebar. This advice he declined to follow, but made a *reconnoissance* for a few miles on the Ballina road; and no enemy was seen.

that Humbert would advance, made the necessary dispositions to receive him.* At that time, two roads—both now generally disused —connected Ballina with Castlebar. One, by the east of Lough Conn, passed through the small town of Foxford, crossing the river Moy—there a deep wide river—by a long and narrow bridge. This, the lower road, was by far the easiest by which an army could advance; and to defend this pass, the Kerry regiment, some companies of the line, and a yeomanry corps, with two battalion guns, were detached by General Hutchinson,—and General Taylor arriving at Foxford, took the command. By this, the lower road, it was supposed that the French only could approach—while the upper line, running westward of Lough Conn, was disregarded, as being impracticable.

But nothing could be more erroneous than the idea that the mountain road was not easily traversed by men in light marching order as Humbert's troops were. They had brought with them only two light four-pounders, called in the parlance of the day, curricle-guns. There was an abundant supply of peasants to carry them over any height—and but for the defects of the carriages, the cannon would have been little impediment to the march.

The point in that route, which was considered by the commanders at Castlebar to be a Thermopylæ without the trouble of defence, was the pass of Barnageeragh.† Looking down on the Tyrawly side, it is certainly formidable to any approaching it directly; but on either side, half an hour would turn it without trouble, and Sir Richard Musgrave is sadly in error, when he says, "that one company with a battalion gun posted there would have checked the progress of the French." In false confidence that the invaders must advance by the lower road, the upper one was totally neglected. British generals had yet to learn the art of war, and Humbert gave them a practical lesson on the memorable 27th of August.

Humbert had made himself well acquainted with the country between himself and the royalists, and determined to advance by the mountain road. Keeping his intention profoundly secret, he announced his design of marching direct on Foxford, which intelligence, as he had expected and intended, was conveyed to head-quarters at Castlebar. To give stronger colour to the deception, he took the lower road on his departure from Ballina—but on reaching a cross-road two miles

In the course of the day, however, we were informed of the defeat of our forces at Castlebar, by the arrival of parties of the 6th dragoon guards and other troops, and General Taylor, on the morning of the 27th, retired with the force under his command to Swineford. I would here remark that the account contained in Sir Richard Musgrave's Memoir as to the attack on Castlebar is quite authentic, having been communicated to him by Generals Huchinson and French."

* The troops with which he moved towards Castlebar were, the Kerry militia from Galway, a detachment of the Fraser fencibles from Tuam, the Kilkenny militia from Loughrea, the Longford from Gort, a detachment of Lord Roden's fencible cavalry, four six-pounders, and a howitzer from Athenry. These troops were afterwards joined by the skeleton of the 6th regiment, about one hundred men, from Galway; the latter town being left in charge of some yeomanry.

† This celebrated defile is variously termed—Barnagee—Barnageehey—and Barnageeragh. The latter spelling is the correct one.

from the town, he wheeled to the right, and marched rapidly towards the pass of Barnageeragh.

So perfectly satisfied were the British generals that Humbert's movements would be by Foxford, that accident alone prevented the surprise from being complete. A yeoman, who had a mountain farm in the immediate vicinity of the pass, had been as early as three in the morning examining his cattle—and observing a strong column of men dressed in blue advancing rapidly towards Barnageeragh, he galloped into Castlebar, and alarmed the garrison. General Trench proceeded in the direction of the pass, but at a league from the town his escort was fired at by the French advanced guard, and the yeoman's report too truly confirmed. The garrison, already under arms, marched to the position marked out by the generals the preceding day—forming on a range of rocky heights north of the town, which ran in a direction east and west, and commanding a rising ground at a thousand yards' distance, which Humbert must of necessity cross under the fire of Hutchinson's artillery.

The royalists were formed in two lines, crowning the heights of the position. The first, consisted of the Kilkenny militia, some regulars (the skeleton of the 6th), and a party of the Prince of Wales's fencibles—the Fraser fencibles and Galway yeomanry formed the second line. To the left of the Kilkenny regiment, and in a valley in their rear, four companies of the Longford militia were in reserve. The bulk of the cavalry—part of the 6th dragoon guards (carabineers), and 1st fencibles—were drawn up in the rear of the first line; the artillery were a little advanced; two curricle-guns being on the right of the road, under the command of Captain Shortall—and parallel to them, the battalion-guns of the Kilkenny militia were in position in front of that regiment, and on the left of the road.

At eight o'clock the French appeared, marching in close column, and Humbert examined the royal position and the formidable force to which he was opposed. Before he crowned the ridge, he covered his grenadiers with a body of rebels in French uniforms, to draw on them the fire of the artillery. To the rabble who attended him, as they could be of no service, he gave no attention whatever—and, indeed, had he counted aught on their assistance, he would have been fatally deceived.

When the enemy crowned the height, the royal artillery opened, and a round shot from one of Captain Shortall's six-pounders, pitched into the head of the French column, and completely divided it.* The confusion occasioned by this well-directed shot, obliged Humbert to fall back behind the dip of the hill and re-form. Again he advanced—and a second shot struck the column with similar precision. About fifty of the French rushed forward and got under cover of a house—but the main body were obliged again to retire and re-form.

* ☞ "At Castlebar Captain Shortall and the royal artillery behaved with the utmost gallantry and coolness. The non-commissioned officers of the Longford also stood their ground with great firmness after the regiment broke, until they were overwhelmed by numbers."

After disappearing five minutes, the French column, a third time, crossed the ridge, and by forcing cattle forward in their front, endeavoured to secure themselves from a cannonade they had found so fatal. Even this effort failed—and, finding he could not advance in column under the destructive fire of the guns, Humbert commenced deploying rapidly from his centre with open files, until he formed line, mostly in rank entire, nearly parallel with that which occupied the front of the royal position.

Here the first and fatal mistake of this disgraceful day was made.* Instead of holding their ground quietly, and allowing the enemy to close, the militia regiments opened a useless fire at a distance which rendered it perfectly ineffective. The French attributed it at once to panic, or its real cause, want of judgment—and rushing forward, *en tirailleur*, they seized some hedges in front of the royalist line, and commenced extending rapidly, with the intention of outflanking it.

And now a disgraceful scene began. The line exhibited a general appearance of unsteadiness—and notwithstanding the excellent practice of the guns, which had exchanged round for case shot, and fired with decided effect, the supporting infantry gave way and fell back, leaving the cannon exposed to a rush from the enemy.

When Captain Shortall had only time to fire three rounds, the guns, as might be expected, were carried—and the troops went off, *pêle-mêle*, towards the town. A few of the Longford regiment, with stragglers from other corps, were rallied by the exertions of their officers—and favoured by the numerous inclosures, they kept up a retiring fusilade, checking the advance of the enemy—and afterwards formed on the bridge of Castlebar, where a curricle-gun had been placed, served by the royal artillery.

"The party who defended the bridge, consisting of some gallant officers, some of the Longford, a few of the Kilkenny and Fraser fencibles, suffered most severely, as they were exposed to a cross-fire, both from the roads leading to it, and from the houses on either side. The men often fell back, but were again rallied by their officers. At length, most of the Royal Irish artillery, who worked the gun, having been killed or wounded, it became useless; and the enemy were able to push forward a body of cavalry, whose charge was repulsed by this small party, and two of the foremost hussars killed within the ranks. By this charge, however, the numbers of the royalists were much reduced; and having been deprived of the assistance of one captain and one subaltern,†

* "The great error in the case of Castlebar was, that there was no combined plan of operation. The troops at Castlebar and Foxford were completely separated; Barnageeragh should have been occupied in force. Four hundred men and a few guns judiciously placed would have stopped the French and forced them to retrograde on Foxford, which was a more defensible position than Castlebar."

† "With respect to the Kerry, although the corps was detached, and consequently non-combatants at Castlebar, one of our officers had a very singular escape. Lieutenant Mahony had been on picquet, was on the field, and when the troops fled, he remained on the ground—was attacked by an officer of French grenadiers, and, after a sharp sword fight they grappled and came to the ground together, when a French grenadier placed the muzzle of his firelock on Mahony's temple,

who were desperately wounded, they were at last obliged to retreat, after having lost half their number." *

The French appeared men qualified not only to obtain, but also to improve a victory—and with singular daring, a party of hussars, not exceeding ten in number, hung on the rear of the retreating royalists, and overtook and captured a gun, which they were about to turn on the runaways, when a superior number of Lord Roden's fox-hunters charged back, killed five, and drove off the rest. The slain were buried where they fell—and in memory of the event, the place is still called French-hill.

Although no attempt to follow them was made, a panic seemed still to operate on the troops, who retreated so quickly, as to reach the town of Tuam, thirty miles from the scene of action, on the night of the same day, and renewing their march, after a short refreshment, they retired still farther towards Athlone, where an officer of carabineers, with sixty of his men, arrived at one o'clock on Tuesday the 29th, having performed a march of sixty-three miles—the distance between Athlone and Castlebar—in twenty-seven hours. The artillery taken in this disgraceful defeat consisted of fourteen pieces, of which four were curricle-guns. Beside that of the carabineers—of which no return has been published—the royalist loss has been stated at fifty-three killed, thirty-four wounded, and 279 prisoners, or missing. In the return of wounded, two lieutenants and three sergeants were included. Among the prisoners and missing were two majors, three captains, six lieutenants, three ensigns, two officers of the staff, ten sergeants, and two drummers. Of the privates missing, the greater part belonged to the Longford and Kilkenny militia, who afterwards deserted to the enemy—and this, with other circumstances, gave grounds for suspicion that treachery had a share in the defeat at Castlebar. That not one of these deserters escaped the death which their defection merited, is perhaps not unworthy of remark. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was much greater than that of the royal army.

It is almost impossible to conceive any thing more disgraceful and unaccountable than the defeat of the royalist army at Castlebar. That the strength of King's army fully warranted its commander in covering the town and taking an open position, cannot be denied—but still, as there was some uncertainty touching the number of the assailants, in the event of disaster, measures should have been arranged for rallying the troops within the town, which, a very little trouble would have made thoroughly defensible against a force so inferior as Humbert's. That the general spirit of the troops was excellent, many individual

and discharged the musket. Strange to say, the ball glanced from the bone, and formed a groove round his skull, one side of his face being completely blackened with gunpowder. Lieutenant Mahony was subsequently conveyed on horseback by Mr. Blake, of Garracloon, hanged afterwards, at Ballinamuck, a rebel officer, with whom he had been previously well acquainted, and he ultimately reached Athlone."

* Musgrave.

cases proved*—and with a superior cavalry and artillery—the latter particularly well served—the contest should not have lasted ten minutes. But Humbert's estimate of the British commanding officers will give a key to the secret cause of their defeat. "I met," he said, "many generals in Ireland—but the only general I met after all—was —Colonel Vereker."

* "The French approached the new gaol to break it open. It was guarded by a highland Fraser sentinel, whom his friends had desired to retreat with them; but he heroically refused to quit his post, which was elevated, with some steps leading to it. He charged and fired five times successively, and killed a Frenchman at every shot, but before he could charge the sixth time, they rushed on him, beat out his brains, and threw him down the steps, with the sentry-box on his body."—*Musgrave.*



George Cruikshank

Heroic conduct of the Highland Sentinel



CHAPTER XXIII.

FRENCH OCCUPATION OF CASTLEBAR—HUMBERT'S MOVEMENT TO THE NORTH —SURRENDER OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

DURING the period that Humbert occupied Castlebar—that is, from the 27th of August until the morning of the 4th of September—the French behaved with the greatest moderation, protecting the Protestants from insult, and repressing every attempt at cruelty on the part of their ignorant and useless allies. Invariably the invaders regarded the Irish mob who accompanied them as a pack of senseless savages—and no pains were taken to disguise these feelings of contempt. "The French ate the best of meat and bread, drank wine, beer, and coffee, and slept on good beds. They compelled the rebels to eat potatoes, drink whiskey, and sleep on straw. They beat and abused them like dogs, in the name of liberty, equality, and fraternity. A volume would not contain an account of the brutal actions of the rebels; and the women, who were worse than the men, carried off hides, tallow, beef, cloth, and various other articles."*

Bad as the peasantry were, the few gentry who had joined the French were even still more contemptible. All were men who, through drunkenness or poverty, had lost *caste*, with the exception of two or three, who, from imbecility or silly pride, had been led to declare for the invaders—and, wanting both in energy and influence, they were allies but in name.

From the determination exhibited by the better classes to keep aloof from any political connection with the invading army, Humbert had long been convinced that nothing but another French descent upon the coast, and that too, in imposing strength, could, in the present state of Ireland, make any serious impression. On any real advantage which could arise from the co-operation of the priesthood and the peasantry, he had ascertained, by melancholy experience, that no dependence could be placed. Not a respectable person in holy orders had openly countenanced the movement—and such men as Gannon, Macgowan, and Cowley† were a disgrace to their own profession, and hence, their adherence to any cause would be damnatory. No wonder,

* Musgrave.

† Gannon had been in France for many years, spoke the language fluently, and hence, was useful to Humbert. His character was very bad, and he was grossly immoral. Macgowan was a fellow of very low parentage, and a confirmed drunkard. He broke his neck returning home inebriated from a christening. Cowley was a peasant's son—illiterate and truculent; and, had he not been prevented by a misguided, but most humane man named Barrett, he would have proved one of the most sanguinary monsters of that fearful time. "Though this wretch escaped the gallows,

therefore, that to the Irish priesthood the French officers exhibited a marked antipathy;* and indeed the few who joined them were but a sorry specimen of the order. Frequently, a latent hatred of Protestants became too apparent; but any attempt—and many were made—to give a religious turn to the war, was on the French part furiously repelled. The freest exercise of worship was permitted to the Protestants—and, infidels themselves, the faith of others was scrupulously respected by the invaders.

Doctor Ellison, the rector of Castlebar, had formerly been a cavalry officer, and was remarkable for personal intrepidity. Slightly wounded and made prisoner at Killalla, he afterwards returned to Castlebar, and remained there in constant communication with the French officers, who treated him with great respect. On one occasion, while conversing with Humbert and his staff, a drunken priest entered the room to ask the French general's permission to celebrate mass in the Protestant church. Humbert laughed, and replied, "that he might say mass where he pleased, provided that he did not require him to attend it." The priest returned thanks, and was retiring, when Doctor Ellison called him back.—"So," he said, "Father ——, you intend offering mass up in my church?" "I do," was the reply. "I cannot prevent it," returned Ellison, boldly—"but mark what I promise. Offer the insult you intend to my church, and, by heaven! within one fortnight I'll have you hanged upon the steeple!" The threat had the desired effect—but, every thing considered, few men would have been bold enough to hold it out.

Nor was it alone when under the immediate eye of the commander-in-chief, that person and property were protected. The detachment which was left to garrison Killalla had been intrusted to a French officer called Charost,† and during the occupation of that town,

he suffered a more severe and painful death. Having wandered about the mountains for some months, suffering all the miseries of hunger, thirst, watching, and fear, his friends formed a subterraneous cavern for him, under a corn-field, of which the aperture was covered with a large stone, so as to elude the observation of his pursuers, who often passed close to it. His provisions were let down to him by a rope. At last, he was found dead in his den, and his death was imputed to suffocation from coals, which his friends supplied him with, to correct the humidity of his cavern."—*Musgrave.*

* "The wonder was, how the zealous papist should come to any terms of agreement with a set of men, who boasted openly in our hearing, 'that they had just driven Mr. Pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him so suddenly in Ireland.' It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their service, declare, 'that they were come to take arms for France and *the Blessed Virgin.*' The conduct of the several priests who engaged in the same treasonable enterprise was yet more surprising than that of their people. No set of men could be treated with more apparent marks of dislike, and even contempt, than these were by the French, though against the plainest suggestions of policy, which recommended attention to them, both as having an influence over their flocks, and as useful interpreters, most of them, from their foreign education, being able to speak a little French. Yet the commandant would not trust to their interpretation; if he wanted to know the truth, he waited till he could see the bishop."

† "Lieutenant-colonel Charost had attained the age of five-and-forty. He was born in Paris, the son (as the writer was told) of a watchmaker in that city, who

the chief care of the gallant colonel was, not only to secure his prisoners from insult, but to make them feel their captivity as slightly as circumstances would permit.* Nor was urbanity of manner, and a total absence of dishonesty, confined to those in command. The conduct of the whole was exemplary; and the following testimony from Bishop Stock is, indeed, truly honourable to the character of the French soldiery:—

"It would be an act of the greatest injustice to the excellent discipline constantly maintained by these invaders while they remained in our town, not to remark, that with every temptation to plunder which the time and the number of valuable articles within their reach presented to them in the bishop's palace, from a sideboard of plate and glasses, a hall filled with hats, whips, and great-coats, as well of the guests as of the family, not a single particle of private property was found to have been carried away, when the owners, after the first fright was over, came to look for their effects, which was not for a day or two after the landing. Immediately upon entering the dining-room, a French officer had called for the bishop's butler, and gathering up the spoons and glasses, desired him to take them to his pantry. Beside the entire use of other apartments, during the stay of the French in Killalla, the attic story, containing a library and three bed-chambers, continued sacred to the bishop and his family. And so scrupulous was the delicacy of the French not to disturb the female part of the house, that not one of them was ever seen to go higher than the middle floor, except on the evening of their success at Castlebar, when

sent him over early to some connections in St. Domingo, where he was fortunate to marry a wife with a plantation for her dowry, which yielded him, before the troubles, an income of two thousand pounds sterling per annum. By the unhappy war which desolated that island he lost every thing; even his wife and his only child, a daughter, were taken on their passage to France, and sent to Jamaica. His eyes would fill when he told the family that he had not seen these dear relatives for six years past, nor even had tidings of them for the last three years. On his return to France he embraced military life, and had risen by due degrees to the rank which he now filled. He had a plain, good understanding; seemed careless or doubtful of revealed religion, but believed in God, was inclined to think that there must be a future state, and was very sure that while he lived in this world, it was his duty to do all the good to his fellow-creatures that he could. Yet what he did not exhibit in his own conduct, he appeared to respect in others, for he took care that no noise nor disturbance should be made in the castle on Sundays, while the family and many Protestants from the town were assembled in the library at their devotions. Another French officer was Ponson, only five feet and a half in stature, a person of great animal spirits, and incessantly noisy. 'He was hardy, and patient to admiration of labour and want of rest. A continued watching of five days and nights together, when the rebels were growing desperate for prey and mischief, did not appear to sink his spirits in the smallest degree. He was strictly honest, and could not bear the want of this quality in others; so that his patience was pretty well tried by his Irish allies:' but he expressed a contempt of all forms of religion."—*Bishop Stock.*

* "The Protestants of Killalla enjoyed, under the protection of the French officers, the privilege of attending divine service every Sunday in the bishop's palace, commonly called the castle. The cathedral remained shut, and the Romanists often threatened to seize it for their own use; but they were always restrained by the presence of Charost and his men."

two officers begged leave just to carry to the family the news of the battle, and seemed a little mortified that the intelligence was received with an air of dissatisfaction."

No reinforcements had arrived from France—no insurrectionary movement in the other provinces followed the descent at Killalla, and the unexpected success at Castlebar. The game was played—Lord Cornwallis was within thirty miles—another day, and surrender would be inevitable; but still a chance might be "upon the die," and like a brave adventurer, Humbert determined to put it to the hazard. After mature consideration, he decided to march in a northerly direction, as that part of the country he understood to be disaffected: and also, the route leading through Sligo and Donegal, was tolerably free from troops, and consequently, more open to him. Accordingly, on the night of the 3rd of September, he sent off his baggage and cannon, with part of his troops, towards Sligo; and about seven next morning set out with the remainder, about four hundred in number.

With the abandonment of the capital of Mayo, Humbert's Irish career may be said to have closed—and, probably, the most summary but faithful account of his extraordinary campaign, is contained in his own report to the French Directory:—

"After having obtained the greatest successes, and made the arms of the French republic to triumph during my stay in Ireland, I have at length been obliged to submit to a superior force of 30,000 troops, commanded by Lord Cornwallis. I am a prisoner of war on my parole." Never was a despatch more brief, nor yet more true.

On the day that he evacuated Castlebar, Humbert despatched Doctor Ellison with about eighty prisoners to Lord Cornwallis; and on his route to Hollymount, the doctor fell in with a strong cavalry detachment of Hompech's dragoons and Lord Roden's Foxhunters, under the command of Colonel Crawford, who were in march to make a *reconnaissance*. On being apprized of Humbert's retreat, Colonel Crawford advanced—and at nine o'clock the same evening, Castlebar was re-occupied by the royalists.

The French were accompanied in their march by a horde of rebels, who every hour deserted by twenties. Their first halt was at Barley-hill—there Humbert remained two hours—and resuming his march, reached Swineford at seven in the evening. Still pressing forward, he halted near the village of Tubbercurry, and after a trifling skirmish, dispersed some yeomen cavalry who had advanced to reconnoitre. At Tubbercurry, Humbert was joined by a mob of rebels, who had crossed the mountains from Ballina. Sligo appeared now to be his first object, and he continued his march towards that town.*

* ☞ "At Swineford General Taylor divided his force, moving himself on Sligo, and directing the Kerry and Fraser fencibles, with a squadron of the 6th dragoon guards, upon Trenchpark. The day after we reached Trenchpark we received orders to retire upon Sligo, and I was so fully impressed with the extreme danger of such a course, as it would expose the two main lines to the capital, Carrickonshanna and Tarmonbarry, to the enemy, and also enable the counties of Longford and Roscommon to rise, both of which were fully organized for the purpose,

On ascertaining that the French were advancing, Colonel Vereker, with a detachment f the City Limerick militia, a corps of yeomanry, and two curricle-guns, marched from the garrison, and took a position at Colooney, a village five miles from Sligo. His force did not exceed three hundred men, but he had the advantage of a strong position—his right was on a height, his left rested on the river—and there he boldly risked an action. The result was only what might have been expected from the numerical superiority of the enemy. Vereker's right was turned—and consequently, he was obliged to retreat across the river, after maintaining a sharp and spirited action of an hour.

It was said that, on both sides, there was a misconception. Humbert thought that Vereker's was the advanced guard of a large force, and engaged him cautiously; while the colonel believed he had only the van of the French army before him, when, in reality, the entire was in his front. To the British commander, the action was most creditable—and, although he retreated without his guns, the loss he inflicted on the enemy was most serious* and discouraging. One important result followed.

"This opposition, though attended with defeat to the opposers, is supposed to have caused the French general to relinquish his design on Sligo." He directed his march by Drummahair, towards Manorhamilton, in the county of Leitrim, leaving on the road, for the sake of expedition, three six-pounders, and dismounting and throwing five pieces of artillery over the bridge at Drummahair into the river. On approaching Manorhamilton, he suddenly wheeled to the right, taking his way by Drumkerin, perhaps with the design of attempting, if possible, to

that I ventured, notwithstanding the irregularity of such a proceeding, to remonstrate with the commanding officer against obeying the order, and urged him to refer for further instructions to Lord Cornwallis, at Athlone. After a good deal of discussion, he consented to take the opinion of the field officers of the regiment, who unanimously concurred in my opinion, and I was authorized to draw up a statement explanatory of our decision and forward it to Lord Cornwallis, which the colonel accordingly signed and despatched in duplicate to Athlone. The lord-lieutenant sanctioned the course taken, and we were ordered to assemble, together with the other corps, at Boyle, under General Lake, and immediately advance upon Castlebar. The general, in obedience to these orders, marched with his entire force to Frenchpark, and the following afternoon bivouacked in an advantageous position, to the east of the cross-roads at Ballahadareen. In the course of the night, the French, who had made a rapid movement from Castlebar, exactly in the line we foretold, viz. towards Frenchpark and Carrick, reached the cross-roads, and were informed of General Lake's being halted there. Sarazin, the second in command, strongly urged a night attack upon the bivouac—but Humbert overruled the proposal, suddenly turned to his left, and marching on Colooney, encountered there the Limerick militia. General Lake, informed by his picquets of the French movement, beat to arms, and the troops were on march soon after two in the morning—and he advanced so rapidly in pursuit of the French, as to arrive at Ballinamuck in time to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, in compelling the surrender of Humbert's army."

* It was said that the French lost twenty-eight killed, and above thirty wounded. Vereker returned his casualties at nine killed, and twenty-two wounded.

reach Granard, in the county of Longford, where an alarming insurrection had taken place. Crawford's troops hung so close on the rear-guard of the French as to come to action with it on the 7th, between Drumshambo and Ballynamore, in which action, however, they were repulsed with some loss."*

Four days had passed since the French and their auxiliaries had abandoned Castlebar—and during that time they had been harassed continually. So closely were they pressed, that the fusilade between their rear-guard and the advance of the royalists was almost incessant. His great superiority in cavalry, enabled General Lake to hang closely on their rear, from which it was impossible to shake him off—and by mounting light infantry behind dragoons,† so vigorously was Humbert pushed, that he was obliged to halt the head of his column, and receive an attack from the advancing enemy.

While forming the leading division, the rear-guard, under Sarazin, were overtaken within half a mile of Ballynamuck, and that general, who commanded *en second*, at once surrendered. Indeed, in doing this, Sarazin exercised a sound discretion in preventing the useless expenditure of human blood—and, from the daring intrepidity of his character, the sacrifice, most painful to a soldier's feelings, would never have been made by him until every hope was over.

The following circumstances, says Musgrave, attended the surrender of the French:—"The Earl of Roden and Colonel Crawford, who led on the advanced guard, consisting of his lordship's fencibles, perceiving an officer who seemed desirous to communicate with them, Lord Roden ordered his trumpet to sound, which was answered by the French, when his lordship and the colonel advanced into the French lines. The officer politely asked them what their wishes were. They answered—to save the effusion of blood, and desired them to surrender. The officer said, that he did not command, but that he would go to General Humbert, which he accordingly did. Humbert came up, asked the same question, and received a similar answer. He then demanded half an hour to give a final answer, which was granted, on condition that he halted his troops; to which he made no reply, but retreated with precipitation. Lord Roden then ordered his trumpet to sound the advance, and came up to the first and second brigade of the French army, who surrendered to about 300 cavalry, under his lordship and Colonel Crawford. After this they advanced with about twenty dragoons, and took possession of three French guns. Shortly

* Gordon.

† "General Lake encamped on the night of the 7th, at Ballintogher, between Drummahair and Coloony. He was under the necessity of constantly sending accounts of his movements, and those of the enemy, to Lord Cornwallis, which was distressing, as it could not be effected but by strong patroles. He marched to the south of Drumshambo, halted there about three hours, and proceeded to Clane, four miles from Ballynamuck, where, a little after sunrise, on the 8th of September, he saw the rear of the French army, whom, with about 150 light infantry, mounted behind as many cavalry, he endeavoured to harass as much as possible."—*Musgrave.*

after Humbert rallied his grenadiers—the only part of the army, except the chasseurs, that had not surrendered—consisting of about 400 men, who surrounded Lord Roden and his twenty dragoons. They were given in charge to the hussars. While they were their prisoners, which lasted about fifteen minutes, the French officers loaded the United Irishmen, their allies, with execrations, for having deceived and disappointed them, by inviting them to undertake a fruitless expedition. They also declared that the people of Ireland were the most treacherous and cowardly they ever knew.* Lord Roden and Colonel Crawford continued prisoners till his regiment of fencibles advanced in quest of their colonel, which the French hussars perceiving, requested that his lordship would desire them to halt, as they meant to surrender, and by doing so, he prevented them from being cut to pieces."

The retreat of the French from Mayo did not immediately produce the consequences that might have been expected. The ignorance of the mob who had taken arms, and the brutal stupidity of their leaders, prevented them from perceiving that the departure of the invading army would be the certain advent of retributive justice. Without any apparent object, they still continued in arms—and far worse consequences were to be dreaded by the loyalists of Mayo, from the defeat of Ballinamuck, than the victory of Castlebar.

From the commencement of Humbert's movement toward the North, until his surrender, not an hour passed without the vengeance of the royalists falling on the deluded wretches, who still continued rather to embarrass than assist the French army while retreating. Every straggler that was overtaken was cut down by the Hompeschers and Fox-hunters who hung upon Humbert's rear; and when the invaders laid down their arms at Ballinamuck, if blood could have atoned for treason, it was fearfully exacted—for the sword and halter† were used with

* ☞ It would appear that the soldiers of the *grande nation* and their Irish allies were heartily tired of each other. "Part of the royal army remained at Ballinamuck for some days, and courts-martial were established, by which some of the leading rebels were tried and executed, with a vast number of the lower class—who, taken in French arms and uniforms, were sentenced *pro formâ*, with a knowledge that the government would pardon them. They gave a pitiable account of their campaign and treatment by the French, described themselves as nearly starved, very seldom obtaining even raw potatoes, never time to cook, excessively harassed by long and rapid marches, spoke with great bitterness of the invading army, who lived extremely well on the plunder of gentlemen's houses."

† "The only troops actually engaged at Ballinamuck were the light battalion and the Armagh regiment. A French standard fell into the hands of the light company of the Armagh, and it is still kept with the regimental colours in Gosford Castle. After the action, the regiment were marched to Carrick-on-Shannon—where, in the court-house, there were collected a couple of hundred rebel prisoners, taken in arms. An order arrived from Lord Cornwallis, directing a certain number of them to be hanged without further ceremony—and a number of bits of paper were rolled up, the word 'death' being written on the number ordered; and with these in his hat, the adjutant, Captain Kay (on whom devolved the management of this wretched lottery), entered the court-house, and the drawing began. As fast as a wretch drew the fatal ticket, he was handed out and hanged at the door. I am not sure of the exact number thus dealt with, but seventeen were actually hanged. It was a

an unsparing hand. It is impossible to form any correct estimate of the number sacrificed to the fury of the soldiery. During the pursuit of Humbert, as the rebels preserved not even the semblance of order, but straggled where they pleased, it was not unusual to find them sleeping in dozens in the fields, some from fatigue, and more from drunkenness. No questions were asked—the *coup de sabre*, when on march—the arm of the next tree, if halting, ended all inquiry. At Ballinamuck, *væ victis* was pronounced—no quarter was given—and to use Musgrave's words, "dreadful havoc" was made among the unfortunate wretches who were excluded from mercy and cut down by the hundred.*

It is not surprising that, although the surrender of Humbert's army might have been looked to as a certain event, still, until it actually occurred, the Mayo insurgents might have indulged in hopes that were beyond the chances of probability, and desperately continued in arms—but when the fate of the French army was ascertained, it would be supposed that the wretched rabble would have hastily disbanded. Such was not the case†—for, on the 12th of September, they made an attempt to recover Castlebar, and were repulsed by the small garrison of Fraser fencibles and loyalists—and although all the other towns were liberated from the presence of the rebels, they held Ballina and Killalla for fifteen days after Humbert's surrender.

It was a most fortunate circumstance that the rebel garrisons in both places were commanded by French officers, or there is little doubt that atrocities, similar to those committed in Wexford, might have eternally disgraced the Western peasantry. Charost, and his subordinate officers, were unwearied in affording protection to the persons

dreadful duty to devolve upon any regiment; but, somehow or other, men's minds had grown as hard as the nether millstone. I know it from my own feelings. I would go some miles out of my way to avoid an execution *now*, yet I well remember the indifference with which I looked upon such a spectacle in 1798."—*MS. Journal of a Field Officer.*

* "The rebel auxiliaries who had accompanied the French to this fatal field being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and were pursued with slaughter. The number of their killed is reported to have been 500, which seems much less to exceed the truth than returns of slain in the south-eastern parts of Ireland. Notwithstanding its diminution by desertions in its march, the force of the rebels accompanying the French army is said to have consisted of 1,500 men at the time of this surrender. The loss of the king's troops was three privates killed, twelve wounded, three missing, and one officer wounded, Lieutenant Stephens, of the carabineers. The troops of General Humbert were found, when prisoners, to consist of 748 privates, and 96 officers—a loss of 288 being sustained since their first landing at Killalla."—*Gordon.*

† "The intelligence did not seem by any means to produce, on the minds of the rebels, the effect that might naturally have been expected—their gradual dispersion and return to their own homes. On the contrary, the resort to the camp in the bishop's meadows grew greater every day; the talk of vengeance on the Protestants was louder and more frequent; the rebels were drilled regularly; ammunition was demanded, and every preparation made for an obstinate defence against the arms of their sovereign. Careless of the future, or trusting to the delay which must be occasioned by the distance of the king's army, they thought of nothing but living merrily as long as they might, upon the property that lay at their mercy—and they did use their power of doing mischief most terribly."—*Bishop Stock's Narrative.*

and properties of the loyalists; and, in their humane and generous efforts, they were admirably assisted by the younger Barrett, who, it is gratifying to state, escaped the penalties of treason, to which, had he been unfortunately subjected, he would have had the sincere commiseration of the numerous Protestants whom he saved.*

* "After remaining in a state of dreadful suspense for some months, he effected his escape to Sligo, where, in the disguise of a sailor, he entered on board a vessel, and sailed for America.

"There were many good traits in this young man's character which would entitle him to a better fate. He was brave and generous, humane and grateful; and his person and manners bespoke something much beyond his education and expectations in life; and it is only to be regretted that his loyalty was not sufficiently strong to enable him to resist the influence which was exerted to seduce him to join the enemies of his country.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SUPPRESSION OF THE WESTERN INSURRECTION—MILITARY EXECUTIONS—CONTRAST BETWEEN THE WEXFORD AND MAYO REBELS.

THE long-expected arrival of the royalists was at last announced by the sound of their cannon, as they threw a few shots into Ballina and drove out the rebel garrison. The rebels hurried off in dreadful confusion to join their confederates encamped about Killalla—and that succour was at hand, the almost-despairing loyalists were informed. "A troop of fugitives from Ballina in full race—women and children tumbling over one another to get into the castle, or into any house in the town where they might hope for a momentary shelter—continued for a painful length of time to give notice of the approach of an army."*

Early on the 23rd, the royal forces, despatched to crush the dying embers of the Western insurrection, were seen advancing, and the rebels immediately quitted their camp and took a position to receive them.

The place chosen on which to resist the threatened attack, was the high ground outside the town, on the Ballina road; and on either side the rebels lined the low stone walls of the numerous inclosures, which afforded excellent breastworks, from behind which they could fire on the king's troops as they were advancing. Learning that General Trench had divided his brigade at Crosmalina, and detached the Kerry regiment by the Foxford road to cut off the rebel retreat by that line, the insurgents pushed a corps of observation in that direction, and then awaited the coming assault. The affair that ensued was not an action but an execution.

"The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about 1,200 men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the rebels could not be ascertained. Many ran away before the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers on horseback, and running upon death with as little appearance of reflection or concern, as if they were hastening to a show. About four hundred of these misguided men fell in the battle and immediately after it."†

Nothing could be more contemptible than the effort made at resistance. "We kept our eyes," says Bishop Stock, "on the rebels, who seemed to be posted with so much advantage behind the stone walls that lined the road. They levelled their pieces, fired very deliberately from each side on the advancing enemy; yet, strange to tell! were

* Bishop Stock's Narrative. † Ibid

able only to kill one man, a corporal, and wound a common soldier Their shot in general went over the heads of their opponents."

The slaughter that ensued was terrible. The rebels were cut down on every side where they attempted to escape; for, when driven from their post outside the town by a flanking fire of the soldiery, they fled in all directions, and were furiously pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry, who slaughtered many in the streets, and were either intercepted at the other end of the town by the Kerry militia, or, directing their flight to the shore, "the fugitives were swept away by scores, a cannon being placed on the opposide side of the bay, which did great execution."

In almost every instance these besotted men appeared to become only sensible of danger, when it was too late to be avoided. Some rushed for shelter into the houses—and when they succeeded in gaining an entrance, brought on the unfortunate inhabitants the indiscriminating violence of the soldiery. The innocent suffered with the guilty—and notwithstanding "the exertions of the general and his officers, the town exhibited almost all the marks of a place taken by storm. Some houses were perforated like a riddle; most of them had their doors and windows destroyed, the trembling inhabitants scarcely escaping with life, by lying prostrate on the floor; nor was it till the close of next day that their ears were relieved from the horrid sound of muskets discharged every minute at flying and powerless rebels. The plague of war so often visits the world, that we are apt to listen to any description of it with the indifference of satiety; it is the actual inspection only that shews the monster in its proper and full deformity."*

In this scene of bloodshed and confusion, even loyalty was not a security.† A gentleman was killed in his own hall, by a shot directed

* Bishop Stock.

† One melancholy instance of the innocent suffering with the guilty preceded the final defeat of the western insurgents. The plan adopted for the recovery of Killalla was a combined attack by Lord Portarlington and General Trench—in which the former, should assail the town by the southern road, and the latter, by the northern one, leading to Ballina. In accordance with these arrangements, Lord Portarlington marched early on the 21st of September, with the Queen's County militia, a troop of the twenty-fourth light dragoons, and the Tireragh corps, with two pieces of cannon. He bivouacked that night at Arkill Lodge. Some rebels appeared on the high grounds, but a round of the guns at once dispersed them. The following night Lord Portarlington halted at a place called Scurmore, and there a strong rebel body, commanded by Henry O'Keown and the younger Barrett, made a feeble attack upon the royalists, but they were easily repulsed, after sustaining a severe loss for their temerity.

"In this affair we have one calamity to lament, which left the strongest sensations of grief in every loyal heart. Not far from the scene of action lies the village of Carrowcarden, where a few Protestant families lived, who, from their peaceable demeanour and good conduct, possessed the regard even of the rebels; so that, partly by giving them entertainment and money as long as they were able, and partly by hiding themselves in the bogs and corn-fields, they had hitherto avoided the captivity which their brethren suffered.

"On this day, a rebel party commanded by John M'Donnough, otherwise Pitcher, on their march to attack the king's troops, were ordered to enter the village, and force every man who was able to carry arms to join their party. They there

at a rebel he was endeavouring to exclude; and the preserver and protector of the Protestants—Colonel Charost—had nearly lost his life through the rashness of an excited soldier. He had returned to the castle for his sabre, and advanced with it to the gate, in order to deliver it up to some English officer, when it was seized and forced from his hand by one of the Fraser fencibles. He came in, got another sword, which he surrendered to an officer, and turned to re-enter the hall. At this moment, a second Highlander burst through the gate, in spite of the sentinel placed there by the general, and fired at the commandant with an aim that was nearly proving fatal, for the ball passed under his arm, piercing a very thick door entirely through, and lodging in the jamb. "Had we lost this worthy man," says the bishop, "by such an accident, his death would have spoiled the whole relish of our present enjoyment. He complained, and received an apology for the soldier's behaviour from his officer. Leave was immediately granted to the three French officers to keep their swords, their effects, and even their bed-chambers in the house."*

Heavily now did the vengeance of the executive visit the misdeeds of the disaffected. Moore, Blake, McDonnell, all gentlemen of old family and some fortune, had already paid their treason with their lives, after the surrender of the French at Ballinamuck; and the total dispersion of the rebellious rabble at Killalla was followed by fresh executions and severities—the leader and the peasant alike, finding ample cause to curse the hour when Humbert debarked upon their coast. On the peasantry, although they might evade the extreme

met with some of these poor Protestants, some of them reaping their corn, others concealed in their houses, all of whom they forced along with them at the peril of their lives, even without arms to defend themselves, and placed them in the front of the line.

"When the rebel army gave way, these unfortunate men fled among the crowd towards their own homes; but, having been overtaken by the cavalry, they fell in the indiscriminate slaughter of the rebels. It was in vain that they endeavoured to explain the cause of their being there, or to justify their conduct; as the troops, elate with victory, and inflamed with revenge, took no time to examine the circumstances of their situation.

"The loyalists had, soon after, the gratification of seeing Captain Pitcher taken prisoner, and having been convicted of that and other crimes, his life was forfeited to the vengeance of the law. This, however, was but a poor atonement to the community for the loss of many loyal, well-behaved, and industrious men, and no consolation to the unfortunate widows and helpless orphans whom they left behind, to deplore a loss which never could be retrieved."—*Musgrave.*

* "I had the great satisfaction of being the first officer to enter the bishop's palace, where we were received with equal joy by the French commandant and his brother-officers—Colonel Charost doing me the honour of presenting me his sword. He was a brave, honest, and most worthy man, and he assured me that he was truly delighted at our arrival, as he had latterly been in perpetual danger of assassination by the rebels; and indeed there was every reason for alarm. Mr. Fortescue, afterwards Lord Claremount, had been shot in the head by a slug fired by a rebel from the garden, a few moments before I entered the house. We passed ten days agreeably with the bishop's family and our prisoners. The table department was unexceptionable—as the house was amply stored with luxuries and wines, plundered from the houses of the principal gentry, with beef and provisions laid in by requisition for the use of the French."

penalty of the law that fell upon those of superior station, still they too had good cause to find that an angry government is not easily appeased—and even the remoteness and wretchedness of their isolated habitations procured no immunity for their crimes. And yet it would have been probably, a wiser policy to have passed their offendings over—but the edict had gone forth, and it was carried into rigorous operation.

"General Trench made haste to clear the wild districts of the Laggan and Erris, by pushing detachments into each, who were able to do little more than to burn a number of cabins, for the people had too many hiding-places to be easily overtaken. Enough, however, was effected to impress upon the minds of the sufferers a conviction, that joining with the enemies of their country against their lawful sovereign was not a matter of so little moment as they had ignorantly imagined—and probably, the memory of what they endured will not be effaced for years. "There are, I know," says the bishop, "those who think differently, and say these mountaineers will be always ripe for insurrection—and who urge in proof, the mischief they did afterwards, by robbing and houghing of cattle. Yet surely our common nature will incline us to make some concession to the feelings of men driven, though by their own fault, from their farms and their dwellings—wretched dwellings to be sure, but to them as valuable as the palace to the grandee. Let a man look round from the summit of one of those mountains that guard our island against the incursions of the Atlantic, and say what he should think of passing a winter among them without the covering of a hut."

For the offendings of the western peasantry much might be pleaded in extenuation. Unlike the northern manufacturers, they were subjected to all the degradation attendant upon a state of serfhood—they were mere hewers of wood and drawers of water—uneducated, superstitious, ignorant of human life, and open to every imposition which persons, less credulous, would have scornfully rejected. Some joined the conspirators without an object or a thought—and others were actuated by terror and superstition. "Great pains were employed by the early insurgents to frighten their neighbours into the same inclosure of peril with themselves, partly by the most horrid menaces in case of refusal to join the common cause, and partly by spreading lies of the Protestants, whom they represented as Orangemen, universally bent on the excision of the Catholics."

"When the united weight of so many temptations is duly estimated, operating besides on a body of peasantry already estranged from their Protestant neighbours by difference of religion, language, and education, it will rather be matter of surprise that so little mischief was the result of the insurrection in Connaught, and that we had not the same horrid scenes of cruelty and religious intolerance to mourn over, as had lately stamped indelible disgrace on the eastern province. It is a circumstance worthy of particular notice, that during the whole time of this civil commotion, *not a drop of blood was shed by the Connaught rebels, except in the field of war.* It is true, the example and in-

fluence of the French went a great way to prevent sanguinary excesses, but it will not be deemed fair to ascribe to this cause alone the forbearance of which we were witnesses, when it is considered what a range of country lay at the mercy of the rebels for weeks after all French control had ceased."*

The only leaders of distinction, in that portion of the county, who underwent the extreme penalty of the law, were Bellew, O'Dowd, and Barrett. The former, who had been previously deprived of the rank of general conferred on him at the landing of the French, "was taken in the town, tried next day by a court-martial, and hanged. His dejection on his trial was such, that he was incapable of making any rational defence. He was a man of quick, lively parts, very shrewd in his remarks on men and manners, and had much sincerity and ingenuousness in his conduct and conversation. He knew the French, Italian, German, and Sclavonian languages well, and spoke the first three with fluency and accuracy. It is much to be lamented that a man who might have been a benefit and an ornament to society should, by a train of misfortunes to which he was not accessary, be reduced to such a state of debasement, and finally driven to make so ignominious an exit."†

O'Dowd, after the surrender of Humbert, attempted to escape, but he was taken and brought before Lord Cornwallis, at the camp of St. John's-town. At first he endeavoured to pass himself as a French officer, but he was easily identified, tried by court-martial, and capitally convicted.

"Colonel O'Dowd—to give him his rebel distinction—was descended from a very ancient family of the same name, who formerly possessed a large tract of country in the counties of Sligo and Mayo—two baronies of which, namely, Tireragh and Tyrawly, had their names from the sons of the original chieftain, who divided his estate between them. On this extensive property they counted twenty-four castles, which were occupied by themselves or their adherents, and many of their ruins are still in existence. O'Dowd having been very active in the rebellion of 1641, this fine estate was confiscated, and divided amongst the followers of the conqueror; a small mountainous tract of land, called Bonneconclane, being given by special favour to one of the family, and so handed down to the late possessor, James O'Dowd. O'Dowd was enrolled in the yeomanry—but on the landing of the French at Killalla, his corps, like many others, was put to flight by the enemy, and O'Dowd deserted his post, and returned to his own house—where, by the solicitations of his wife, and the exertions of one Egan, a bigot, who lived with him, and who had acquired a complete ascendancy over his judgment, he was induced to declare for the cause of rebellion. Having assembled his tenantry and neighbours, he mustered about one hundred men, and putting himself at the head, marched to the French camp at Killalla, where he received his own commission, and arms for his followers; while his wife, mounted on a

* Bishop Stock. † Musgrave.

showy horse, and decorated with green ribbons and cockade, attended the procession and brought up the rear. When arraigned, he pleaded guilty to the charges brought against him, but assured the court that this was his first offence—and declared on his honour, if they would pardon it, that he would ever continue a loyal and faithful subject. On being informed that his request could not be complied with, he begged to have a priest; but as there was not time for this ceremony, he was constrained to submit to his fate, which he met, but not with that fortitude which might have been expected from a man who had spent so much of his life in active service and scenes of war."*

A number of inferior criminals were, at the same time, sacrificed rather to the angry spirit of the times, than to meet the strict ends of justice—and, instead of operating beneficially, this unwise severity kept the wilder parts of the mountain districts disquieted for several years. Men, who thought themselves without the pale of mercy, banded together, commenced an outlaw's life, living by cattle-stealing, and house and highway robbery. Working on the fears of some, they persuaded them that they too had no clemency to hope for from any return to their former industrious pursuits; while numerous deserters, who had fought against their king, and deserted the colours they had sworn to defend, made common cause with the Mayo outcasts, and pursued the same short and desperate career, suffering all the vicissitudes attendant on proscribed life, and ending it most frequently on the scaffold. The immense extent of mountain country lying on the Sligo and Galway boundaries of Mayo, offered to these desperate men, not only the means of concealment, but also an extensive field for plunder—and for years after the rebellion had been suppressed, the proprietors of cattle in these wild baronies complained of heavy losses, incurred equally by robbery and revenge—the common mode of marking their displeasure, being the burning the corn-stacks or houghing the cattle of those who had been so unfortunate as to become obnoxious to them. Gradually however, these disturbers were rooted out—and of two who had acquired some notoriety by their success in evading justice for a time, Gibbons was hanged, and McGreal surrendered and received a pardon.†

* Musgrave.

† Gibbons was a detestable scoundrel—malignant and sanguinary, without a single trait of "savage virtue" in his character. He robbed rich and poor alike, and hence he died without exciting the pity of the peasantry, which in Ireland is seldom withheld from the greatest malefactors. He was apprehended in a poteeine-house near the Killeries, where he had got drunk. As was his custom, he lay down without undressing, first placing a blunderbuss and case of pistols beside him. The woman of the house, who had been repeatedly subjected to his insolence and extortions, seized this as a fit moment for revenge. She despatched a messenger to apprize some yeomanry in the neighbourhood that Gibbons was in her cabin, and then quietly abstracting his firearms from the bed of the sleeping drunkard, she flung them into a water-tub, and rendered them unserviceable. The yeomanry arrived—and when the bandit awoke, he found himself pinioned with a hank of yarn, and a prisoner. Next day he was carried into Westport and hanged.

McGreal, known better by the double *sobriquet* of "Shamus Rhua" (red James) and 'ta Copteeine" (the captain), was a stout, good-natured fellow. No act of

Whether from a natural mildness of disposition, or the example of the French, the contrast between the western and southern insurgents is very favourable to the former. Although held in light estimation by their northern confederates,* the Mayo peasantry, however deficient in ability, were by no means wanting in spirit. "To do them justice," says Bishop Stock, "they never appeared to want animal courage, for they flocked together to meet danger whenever it was expected. Had it pleased heaven to be as liberal to them of brains as of hands, it is not easy to say to what length of mischief they might have proceeded; but they were all along unprovided with leaders of any talent or influence."

Another distinctive mark between the lower classes of Wexford and Mayo, was evidenced in their feelings towards the Protestant clergy. Of ten persons of that order who fell into the hands of the insurgents in the county of Wexford, five were put to death without mercy or hesitation—Robert Burrowes, Francis Turner, Samuel Heydon, John Pentland, and Thomas Trocke—all men of regular conduct, and perfectly inoffensive. Joshua Nunn, rector of Enniscorthy, was preserved under the protection of Father Sutton, of Enniscorthy. Roger Owen, rector of Camolin, escaped by feigning to be deranged in his understanding. This clergyman has given, since the rebellion, full proof of a genuine spirit of Christian charity—for though treated with such cruelty by the rebels, that he could hardly be expected to survive his hardships, he has endeavoured since, as far as in his power, to mitigate the rage of the lower classes of Protestants, who have been too apt to regard all Romanists in the same light. John Elgee, rector of Wexford, was with difficulty saved from death by the gratitude of some of the lowest peasants, for his humanity to the prisoners in the gaol of that town. Henry Wilson, incumbent of Mulranken, was with peculiarly good fortune preserved by the timely interposition of Bagenal Harvey."†

In Mayo no violence was offered to the clergy, and many of the church ministers never retired from their glebe-houses. Even in the fever of the insurrection, a temporary police was organized generally throughout the country; and notwithstanding the anarchy of the times, its functionaries were respected, and infinite good resulted.

The town of Killalla was committed to the protection of one hun-

cruelty was ever imputed to him—and, on more than one occasion, he saved persons and property from the vengeance of Gibbons. After many hair-breadth escapes, he obtained a pardon and surrendered. He never, however, resumed industrious pursuits, but led a rambling life, wandering from one gentleman's house to another. The author's was a favourite residence of "the captain's," and *Shamus Rhua* was his constant follower in grouse shooting and deer stalking—his intimate knowledge of the mountains, with numerous anecdotes of his exploits and escapes, rendering *la Copteeine* both a useful and an amusing companion.

* "It is very remarkable, that these men, the northern emigrants, despising the want of courage and abilities in the Connaught rebels, refused to serve promiscuously with them, but formed a separate corps, who kept together during the rebellion."—*Musgrave.*

† Ibid.

dred and fifty men, in three bodies, all to be observant of the orders of Mr. James Devitt, the civil magistrate unanimously chosen by the people, because he was a substantial tradesman, a Roman Catholic, and a man of sense and moderation. He had under him two assistants of his own religion. The benefits of this regulation were felt immediately in the establishment of tolerable order and quiet, at least in and about the town; and without doubt they would have been felt to a greater extent, if the French power had been firmer.

"The example of Killalla was presently copied in the other departments. Magistrates were elected, always Roman Catholics, but commonly of the better sort among them, persons who had no desire to take arms against the British government. Some of these applied to the bishop for his opinion whether they should incur the penalties of treason by acting under a foreign power, merely for the common safety, and under the conditions stated above. His answer was, that he was no lawyer—but having always found the law of England to be consonant to reason, he would take upon him to say there could be no law forbidding to do, under these circumstances, what was absolutely enjoined by the great law of self-preservation. It is reported, that when the rebellion was over, several persons muttered against this doctrine. It might be conceded, they said, to the existing terror, but it was not sound, because it might be employed as an excuse for a tame and prompt submission to any invaders. To such tranquil declaimers on the merit of casting away life and property, in preference to bowing the head to a storm, it is obvious to reply, that had they changed situations with those who actually felt the distress, it is more than probable they would have seen good reason to adopt the very conduct which, in the fulness of security, they take upon them to condemn. To submit to a king *de facto*, and even to act by a commission from such a one to preserve the peace of the community, provided by so doing you do not preclude yourself from returning under the government of a king *de jure*, is a practice sanctioned by the authority of our most equitable English law."*

The ferocious character of the Wexford war did not, on either side, mark the western outbreak. In the former county, Gordon says that there was reason for believing "that more men than fell in battle were slain in cold blood. No quarter was given to persons taken prisoners as rebels, with or without arms. For one instance—fifty-four were shot in the little town of Carnew in the space of three days! How many fell in this manner, or were put to death unresisting, in houses, fields, and elsewhere, would be as difficult to state with accuracy, as the number slain in battle."

In making a last allusion to the Wexford rebels, horrible and revolting as their cruelties were, amid all their atrocities the chastity of the fair sex was respected. "I have not been able to ascertain," says Gordon, "one instance to the contrary in the county of Wexford, though many beautiful young women were absolutely in their power

* Narrative of occurrences at Killalla.

One consideration may diminish the wonder, but not annihilate the merit of this conduct in the rebels: they were everywhere accompanied by great numbers of women of their own party, who, in the general dissolution of regular government, and the joy of imagined victory, were perhaps less scrupulous of their favours than at other times."

No matter with what qualifications, or to what causes it might be assignable, this was a redeeming trait in the character of the Wexford insurgents, and one also, never to be forgotten. I lament to say, that at a time when military license was unbounded, many gross cases of female grievances were charged not only upon the troops, but upon men, from whose position in society a very opposite line of conduct might have been expected. Evil days they were! With parted life human animosity generally ends—but vengeance went even beyond the tomb. The rights of sepulture were refused to the clergyman,* and the corpse of the priest was subjected to indignities hard to describe, and harder to be credited.†

* The body of Mr. Heydon, who had been greatly beloved for his humane and amiable conduct, was left in the street of Enniscorthy till it was in great part devoured by swine.

† Gordon states that the body of Father Murphy was cut open, the heart taken out and roasted, and the fat melted and used by some of the ancient Britons for greasing their boots.

CHAPTER XXV.

PRIVATE DIARY OF THE BISHOP OF KILLALLA, FROM THE LANDING TO THE SURRENDER OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

THE following interesting diary, detailing the transactions of the French army and their rebel associates, during their occupation of Killalla, was placed at the disposal of the author by a relative of the gentleman, to whom the letters were originally addressed. The journal given by Dr. Stock is faithfully descriptive of the times and the occurrences—and the diary is consequently attached, as a running commentary on the events which marked the western outbreak. It may be remarked, that while the fidelity of the narrative is unquestionable, a spirit of impartiality appears in every line—while indications of a high and Christian courage are discernible throughout the whole, honourable to the memory of a worthy man and a most useful prelate:

Dear ——, Killalla, August 23rd, 1798.

Yesterday morning we descried three large ships in our bay, so near the shore that we could plainly perceive them carrying English colours. This tempted two of my sons to throw themselves into a boat, and put off for what they longed to see (English men-of-war). They were made prisoners, and Arthur is still in their hands on board the fleet. Edwin they brought ashore with them, possibly because he spoke French. We remained some time without suspicion, a large company of us dining together at the castle, whom the visitation (that was to have been this day) had assembled under my roof. Two officers of the carabineers from Ballina made part of the company, and we were just rising from our wine to join the ladies, when a terrified messenger brought the news that the French were landed about a mile from us, and that about three hundred of them were in full march to the town. The yeomanry were collected from the morning, and made up fifty men, with the help of the Prince of Wales's fencibles, now quartered here. The carabineer officers rode off full speed to Ballina with the news. The yeomen and fencibles stood the first fire in the streets, but seeing two of their body killed, they were seized with a panic, and fled, leaving their Captain (Mr. Kirkwood) to stand fifty shots before he was taken. The two persons killed were our apothecary and another yeoman, much regretted. Presently my son Edwin arrived at the castle gate, following the French general, whose name it appears is Humbert. The enemy marched directly into my court-yard, and seized on the English officer (Captain Sills) and his twenty men, and demanded to see "Monsieur l'Evêque." I appeared, and have had full employment ever since as an interpreter, and still more as a contributor to the wants (they say) of a brave people, who are come to set Ireland free from the English yoke. They have already put in requisition five of my horses, five sheep, one bullock, and all the bread and meat in the house—and for our losses we are (they say) to have punctual payment from the Irish Directory, which is soon to be set up in Connaught. You may judge what a time we have had last night, with all the females of the town in this house, and scarcely beds for half the number. Mrs. S—— and poor Mary are truly heroines, intent only on accommodating the refugees and children. The story of this invasion, as I have collected it from the French, is as follows: Fifteen hundred men, mostly of the army of Italy, embarked at Rochelle about eighteen days ago, and in a dark night eluded the vigilance of the English fleet

close beside them; they fetched a circuitous route, and instead of landing in Donegal, as they intended, they were (unfortunately for us) driven by contrary winds to us. Their naval force is two frigates of 44 guns, eighteen-pounders, and one of 38, twelve-pounders. They bring nine pieces of cannon, and arms for 100,000 men. The green flag is hoisted on the front gate of the castle (inscribed "Erin go bragh"), and the people are invited to join their standard, and be free and happy.

This morning, after a hearty breakfast given to three hundred men, forty horsemen were mounted on the best horses in the country, and proceeded to Ballina with sixty infantry; what success they have had against the troops in that town we as yet know not,—but we fear the worst, as there is a report that the town is taken with but trifling loss. The French have hitherto maintained a most exact discipline, and our greatest apprehension of plunder is from our own peasantry. The second in command, a Monsieur Toussont, pleases me much by his politeness and good sense. He complains heavily of the slavery he has undergone here, worse, he says, than any he endured in Italy, when aide-de-camp to Bonaparte. The worst part of the story is, that they form only the vanguard of an army of 30,000 men, who are to leave France in small detachments like the present, and if they elude our fleet, will be here in a fortnight, carrying revolution and liberty to their "*dear friends in Ireland.*" They talk of proceeding towards Sligo to-morrow. All the squadrons are to rendezvous off the coast of Antrim, and push on thence to Dublin.

I am just returned from being sent away under a guard to the ships, in order to be sent to France, because I would not do what the general thought I could do—press cars, and produce them with horses for their artillery, &c. &c., after all our horses had been before carried away. After I had marched half a mile out of the town under a sergeant's guard, a dragoon was sent to recall me; and now they bawl as loudly at me for not having thirty quarts of brandy to give them. Poor Arthur! we hear nothing of him yet. What a pool a grenadier's blood has just now made in the parlour—he was wounded in an engagement with our cavalry at Ballina. The Rev. Dr. Ellison bravely marched out in the first action, and is shot in the heel, which, to hide the wound from notice, he calls the gout.

25th.—Yesterday was a day of sad confusion and utter waste of my substance, attended with the slavery of interpreting, and striving to obey orders next to impossible to be executed. I have lost to the amount of £500 at least, and with little hope of being able to get away to any place of safety. This day I am going to be carried off as one of the six hostages for the safety of the officers and men left here, as a guard to the Protestants against the Irish levies, who, to the amount of thousands, have joined the French, and are certainly dangerous in no small degree. *Allons:* I go cheerfully to save my friends, leaving my poor family in the hands of the Almighty. Harry goes with me. I am to have my own chaise. Adieu!

Ever yours,

J. KILLALLA.

Sunday Morning.—They have changed their minds and left me on my parole, taking Edwin to serve as interpreter, in the place of Harry. The main army (about fourteen hundred French and an unaccountable number of Irish) are gone to Ballina to meet our army, which is said to be three thousand, yeomanry and regulars, as we are informed by Captain Grey, of the carabineers, who came this morning to Killalla, with a flag of truce. They say we are very safe here from the Irish, under half-a-dozen officers and two hundred men. Of the five hostages, Edwin and Mr. Knox, of Bartragh, have got a *cabriole* to the camp, lately belonging to the Rev. George Fortescue of this division, who was mortally wounded at Ballina; the other hostages ride—who are our curate, Nixon, Thomas Kirkwood, lieutenant of our cavalry, and James Rutledge, our custom-house officer. I should have told you Arthur Stock returned to us yesterday, after forty-eight hours' danger by sea and land, and being in a skirmish between our cavalry and the French. I fear the yeomen will never stand against those veterans without the assistance of the regulars. An action must take place very soon, which will probably settle the business; if the French are routed, they must surrender, as they have no ships to fly to, the frigates having returned to France. I am now trying to get leave for Dr. Ellison and John Thompson to return to Castlebar to their families.

27th.—Edwin and the other four hostages returned this morning, and bring word that the main body of the French were marching to Castlebar, from which we anxiously expect news, as we have heard cannon this day in that direction. Think what Dean and Mrs. Thompson and Dr. Ellison must suffer, while all that is valuable to them is in Castlebar. Dean Thompson's brother is also here, who has one of the best houses in that town. There was but very little resistance made at Ballina. The French have been joined by several thousand rebels; the poor deluded peasants "*take on*," as they call it, merely for the sake of clothing and arms, and in the hope of being permitted to plunder, which trade they carry on most dexterously, in spite of their new masters, who forbid marauding under severe penalties, and certainly do not practise it themselves. Civiler men cannot possibly be than those officers who have taken up their quarters amongst us. As we have spent our own provisions, their mess supplies us very readily and plentifully from their own stores. I see now that if I had fled, as I was advised, this house and demesne would inevitably have been destroyed, and I think my presence is of use to the poor, though alas! in spite of every exertion, the depredations of the Irish are dreadful.

Evening.—This is a sad one to us—the danger now grows very serious indeed. An express is just arrived from General Sarassin, second in command of the French army, stating that a complete victory has been gained by them this morning over our troops, eight hundred of whom were taken or slain, five pieces of cannon have fallen into their hands, and Castlebar has surrendered. This first success must swell the number of the Irish insurgents beyond calculation. 'Tis difficult to keep them from doing mischief as it is, but what may not the insolence of victory encourage them to do?

28th.—I was called up last night, just as I had got into bed, by the commandant (who made many apologies for the trouble), to explain the cause why a *Mr. R. Bourke* had been sent to him under a guard from Ballina, without letter or note from the officer there. It seems he had been busy haranguing the populace on the present state of affairs, probably exciting them to fall on the Protestants, a thing which the French will never consent to. He brought also an offer from his brother to raise recruits for the French. Night and day I am busied as an interpreter, so as really to think *in* French, though not *as* French. Reports are coming in fast with respect to yesterday's battle; Humbert writes that he has not seen a more obstinate engagement, even at La Vendée. The killed on both sides amount to about three hundred, amongst whom is a principal officer of the French. A fleet is this morning descried in the offing; the French say 'tis theirs, but we hope 'tis English. A cannonade has been heard about noon towards Foxford. What a suspense!

29th.—Nothing has happened to this day at noon, to ascertain what these ships of war may be. There are three in the road, one of them a line-of-battle ship.

We are now fully informed how matters went at Castlebar on Monday—Toussont, a man of honour and sentiment, was in the thick of the engagement—and he says it was a very obstinate fight, chiefly in the streets of Castlebar. The English were about three thousand, with ten pieces of cannon, new four-pounders, which were all taken, with about two hundred prisoners, fifty-two of whom have taken arms with the French, and have marched in this morning before my eyes to the camp in my demesne. Many say that the number of slain on our part was not near so great as the French, scarcely exceeding fifty, but the event shews that victory was with the French, as they are in full possession of Castlebar, which they have preserved as much as possible from the depredations of the Irish. The houses of Lord Lucan and the other principal inhabitants have been plundered of wine and provisions, but no other harm is done. Toussont, who returns there this evening, is to take Dr. Ellison with him. I find that the real object of the French in this invasion is to annoy England, and force us to a peace. As to forming a republic here similar to their own, they do not expect to be able to accomplish it, with such a handful of men; and they now begin to look on themselves as a forlorn hope, that will probably be forced in the end to surrender. A patrol of eighty men is in future to go round the town every night, to protect the inhabitants from the depredations of the insurgents. The French cannot long find subsistence here for themselves and their new allies. A French officer told me this morning, that he saw an Irish recruit lie down on his

thousand English, which, after recovering Castlebar, are in full march to attack the French before they can reach Sligo. Report says that Lord Cornwallis commands the troops in person. Now is our moment of danger. The Roman Catholics here are mad with apprehension from the Protestants, on whom they have the greatest mind to fall, and pillage, if not murder. I now think we are in real danger.

8th.—Our dismal suspense still continues. Not a syllable of news has reached us from either army, only that a report runs that we have experienced another check at Colloony, on the banks of a river about four miles from Sligo. The French have given out all the arms they brought with them (five thousand stand), and the peasants are now clamorous for iron to forge pikes, with which they say they can do more execution than with the French fusils. I shall be more in fear than ever of those banditti, if they fabricate such arms. We have four French officers now with us, one of whom—a tall Norman, about six feet high—stuns me with vain-glorious boasts of his exploits. He says that he took Newport with his *own hand*, and fought singly against four English troopers.

A new grievance must soon fall upon this town; the commandant has just informed me that he must make a requisition of money, as he has expended what he had of his own in the public service, and has no resource but in a forced loan from the inhabitants. He has sent me a letter to translate, politely inviting the citizen magistrate to instruct the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood to shew by their contributions their zeal for the *glorious cause*. "Some have come forward already," says the letter, "with money;" and he doubts not but many will follow the *good* example. An exact registry is to be kept of the names and sums subscribed, and the French government ask it only as a *loan*. What can we do? If the commandant decamps we shall have nothing left the day after. The *citizens* seem ready to produce fifty guineas. I must borrow or coin the fifth part, at least, of this sum, for I have no cash at all of my own.

9th.—Sunday calls us poor prisoners to prayers in the house, where we make a considerable congregation. But the inhabitants of the town, the richest of whom are all Protestants, have no place of worship at all. The commandant has been obliged to go to Ballina this day, to discharge a number of prisoners, taken up on no other pretext than that of being Orangemen; and as he takes one officer with him, we are to be under the protection of the tall Norman, which is the less satisfactory, as there is generally a crowd in the town of a Sunday. The Catholics ventured to use our bell this morning, to call them to prayers in Mr. Morrison's house, a Protestant merchant. After prayers, we listened to an account brought by Mr. Marshall (a Presbyterian minister), that the people of Sligo had attacked the French and driven them from their town, on Thursday last. They went off towards the county of Leitrim, and it was supposed they would push on to Enniskillen, if not met by our army. A priest has brought another account: that three large ships had appeared off Westport and landed some troops. They were Spanish, French, or English, according to the different wishes of the reporters. But it seems probable they are English frigates, come to the relief of Lord Altamount's family, his lady being daughter to Lord Howe. We count it a mercy that our invaders are French rather than Spaniards, which last would have seconded the intolerance of the rebels against the Protestants. The thing to be dreaded by us is, that if the French push on to some great distance and are defeated, the Irish may fall on us long before our own government could afford us any assistance. The commandant is gone to Ballina, leaving, as a security for his return, thirty guineas (part of the contribution) in our hands, and we shall have news this evening when he returns. We do not know what is become of poor Arthur; whether he has been left at Castlebar, or carried on by the French.

The commandant returned at five o'clock this evening, after discharging above sixty people, confined for being Orangemen. A woman from Castlebar reports that she saw Arthur at large in Castlebar, and that he had got a horse to return home, and had travelled alone about seven miles, but had returned on hearing that a body of pikemen were on the road, marching to that town.

10th.—I have been busy this morning with the commandant, forming a plan for preventing the exorbitant waste of provisions by the marauders, who would soon strip the country, if not checked by authority. Our town-major (O'Donnel) is to

inform the civil magistrate what fresh meat is wanting for the troops. He is to issue a requisition for the quantity wanting, sending out a guard to take so much only from the farmers. Any other person caught driving in or killing any beasts, without a written order from the magistrate, is to be shot. Tolerable obedience is shewn to the magistrate and town-major, so that we hope to repose soon in safety. There is no news to-day from either army, only that it seems certain that the French have been obliged to turn away from Sligo, and have taken the road to Manor Hamilton, where, if ever they arrive, they will stand a chance of being defeated. The country round about Sligo has been so stripped of provisions and inhabitants, that a party sent there were forced to return after two days, without being able to get food, or even fire to dress what they took with them. Some cowardly people from Ballina came galloping in this evening, with news that the English had taken that town, and might be expected here immediately. All became confusion and uproar. In a moment a crowd came to my gate, to demand ammunition to go out and beat them back, under their new town-major, who, notwithstanding his vaunted bravery, shewed his evident trepidation. A French officer was despatched to ascertain the truth, and in the meantime the commandant, with some difficulty, got the people to compose themselves. The officer returned about ten, with a certain account that all was quiet as usual at Ballina; yet the murmurs about ammunition continued so long, that the commandant and his officers thought it prudent to remain up all night.

11th.—This day closes the third week of our captivity. What can Lord Cornwallis be doing? We know no more of what is going on in the rest of Ireland than if we were in Calcutta. Four English frigates, cruising in our seas, serve to inform us that some notice has been taken by our government of the arrival of the French; but those frigates make no attempt at hostilities, although fired on by the Irish, when landing to get water. A great crowd of clowns came in this day, armed with pikes, to offer their services to the commandant. They mustered seven hundred and fifty men, great population in this part of the country to afford such numbers after the French had distributed arms to upwards of 5,500. Such of them as came without pike-handles compelled me to give up three ash trees, and forced my carpenters to work for them. They marched off in the evening, to the great satisfaction of the French officers and ourselves.

12th.—I was groaning in bed this morning, with a sharp fit of the rheumatism, and counting up the persons now under my roof (who are seventy-eight in number), when a faithful domestic of Castlereagh* came to tell me, that all endeavours to protect that house had proved ineffectual, for that yesterday, at noon, a mob broke in and demolished every thing that was valuable, except the wine, which he had concealed; but as there was no chance of its remaining long so, he thought it best that the commandant should take it. Accordingly, as we were preparing to send for it, another messenger comes from Mr. Bourke's, Summerhill, with news that he was threatened with pillage and murder, and begging for a guard and ammunition. My only remaining horse was despatched to Castlereagh, with a French officer, for the wine; another officer, with my son Edwin, was sent to Summerhill, who returned in the evening.

13th.—More depredations are announced this morning. Sir Roger Palmer's house at Castle Lacker has been destroyed. Something must have happened to the French arms, for an express arrived last night from Ballina, and was sent back, in all the rain and darkness. Almost immediately the countenances of our gaolers fell, and they still seem very dejected.

A prisoner has been just brought in, and I am sent for to his examination. It is Mr. Fortescue, member for the county of Louth (the late Lord Clermont), and brother to the clergyman who lost his life at Ballina. He was taken coming to look after his brother, and has been sent here to be tried for a spy. After his examination the commandant took me aside, and gave me a further proof of his confidence in my honour, by trusting me with a sight of two letters, announcing the capture of the whole French army, near the iron mines, county Leitrim, together with the defeat and dispersion of their Irish allies, on Saturday last; and mentioned that the

* The mansion of the Knox family.



French general and his officers were prisoners, and on their road to Dublin. Mr. Fortescue further says, that, as far as he could learn, two bodies of troops were on the road to relieve us.

14th.—The work of devastation still continues. I fear when our friends arrive they will find this country a second Vendée. It is shocking to see families accustomed to ease and affluence arriving here with nothing left but the clothes on their backs, as was the case with Sir J. Palmer's agent, Mr. Waldron, whose losses amount to £4,000. We have not as yet learnt what way the pikemen have bent their course. Nixon and Ponson are gone to Ballina, to see how matters go on there.

15th.—They returned yesterday evening, bringing with them a great treat to us, a *Dublin Evening Post*. It luckily contains the whole report of the Lords, concerning the United Irishmen, but we were surprised that you were still without intelligence of what passed between our fleet and the French in the Mediterranean.

Here the bishop's diary ends abruptly.

CHAPTER XXVI.

REVIEW OF THE WESTERN INSURRECTION—PARTIAL OUTBREAKS—THEIR SUPPRESSION—DESCENT ON RUTLAND ISLAND.

THE excessive caution with which Lord Cornwallis directed the movements of the royal army—and the singular fact, that the presence of a small body of republican troops, not superior in number to an English regiment at its full establishment, attended by an undisciplined and inefficient mob of armed peasants, could hold a footing for three weeks in a country occupied by 100,000 armed men, at the time gave rise to much criticism and inquiry. Lord Cornwallis held a high military reputation—he had ample means to crush a handful of invaders—he was admitted to be an intelligent statesman—and the necessity of extinguishing the flame of rebellion, so suddenly and unexpectedly rekindled, was strikingly apparent to him; and yet, against a body which the wing of a militia regiment had checked at Colooney, he moved thirty thousand men, with all the deliberation and attention to *tactique* that might have been expected, had the whole of the French troops destined for the invasion of Ireland been actually disembarked and in the field. If the Fabian system of his movements were questioned at that day, were it examined at the present, certain condemnation must ensue. At the zenith of the insurrection, a Peninsular division, with one of Wellington's lieutenants, would have crossed the kingdom from St. George's Channel to the Atlantic—and the wonder now is, that the military array of Ireland did not crush the rebellion in its rising outbreak.

But on a calm investigation of the political and military state of the kingdom, much will appear to account for the partial successes of the insurgents in the commencement, as well as the caution evinced by the commander-in-chief at the close of the rebellion. The number of the troops in the country was imposing, but their composition was any thing but satisfactory, or such as would warrant reliance to be placed upon them as an army in the field. The regular troops were disciplined according to exploded systems—their movements crippled by obsolete evolutions—the inferior officers were inexperienced—the superior ones, either wedded to antiquated notions of military science, from which the slightest deviation would have been heresy in their sight, or men unduly elevated to rank to which, professionally, they could advance no claim, and, like that unhappy court *attaché*, Walpole, more likely to commit ruinous mistakes through the arrogance allied to ignorance, than the old-school commander, whose moves were made *selon la règle*, and with all the precision of a chess-player.

To the next arm of the military body, the militia, the same defects, but in a much more extensive degree, might be imputed. Serving for

a limited time, and many serving from compulsion, the general spirit would be indifferent. Their officers were unpractised gentlemen, and, from their own want of military knowledge, badly calculated to discipline the raw levies that were intrusted to them, and which experience in the art of war alone could render effective in the field. Of course, there were many exceptions to this general character of the body. Regiments might be selected—and not a few—equal in every respect to those of the line. Whatever their defects might be in discipline, braver and better affected troops than the British and Scotch legions could not be found. But, unhappily, the Irish regiments had been a great object of corruption with the disaffected, and in many cases they had succeeded too well, and sapped the loyalty of the soldiery.* Scarcely an Irish corps had escaped the contagious influence exercised by rebel emissaries—hundreds of United Irishmen were actually in the ranks—and one dragoon regiment was so radically disloyal, that it was disarmed and disbanded; and to stamp its memory with eternal infamy, by order of the King, its number was eradicated from the British army list.

The fatal, and even yet inexplicable defeat at Castlebar, gave a formidable character to the French invaders, which the paucity of their numbers could not remove. Rumours were general that Humbert's was but a military experiment, which would be far more extensively followed up. The extraordinary success of this handful of men was

* "The United Irishmen and Defenders were years before very active, and, in many instances, successful, in seducing the military from their allegiance, and in attaching them to their cause. They occasioned a mutiny in the 104th and 111th regiments, quartered in Dublin, and endeavoured to procure their co-operation and assistance in an insurrection and massacre, which they meditated, on the 24th of August, 1795. Many of the soldiers deserted from their regiments to join the rebels; and on that day a mob of traitors, who met the castle guard on Essex-bridge, were so confident of being joined by them, that one of their leaders attempted to wrench the colours from the officer who bore them, as a signal for a general insurrection; and another of them mounted on the bridge, began to exhort the populace to rise, in an inflammatory harangue; but he was silenced by a dragoon, who drew his sword, and gave him a desperate wound.

"Another dragoon, who was sent with intelligence of this event to the Lord Lieutenant, who resided in the park, was seized by the rebels, cruelly beaten, and narrowly escaped assassination."

* * * * * * *

"The practice of seducing the military still continued so much, that in the space of one month, the following soldiers were shot for treasonable plots: four of the Monaghan, at Blaris camp; two of the Wexford regiment, at Cork; two of the Kildare, in the Phœnix park, near Dublin; and two of the Louth, near Limerick.

"It was discovered that houses of entertainment were kept open in Dublin, Cork, and Athlone, at a considerable expense, for the seduction of the soldiers. They were regaled there gratis, with the most delicious fare, and even prostitutes were kept to work on their affections.

"In the month of June, the pay of the military was increased, which, at this critical time, was a very politic measure, as the United Irishmen were endeavouring to seduce them with unceasing sedulity.

"One Murtagh McCanwell, sent from the north to the south for that purpose, was known to be so expert, and had done so much mischief in that way, that a general court-martial, sitting at Limerick, offered one hundred and twenty-five guineas for discovering and apprehending him."—*Musgrave.*

calculated to confirm the French Directory in their determination of making Ireland the theatre of war—and by transferring the contest from the continent to her own soil, compel Britain, in self-defence, to secure her safety by a peace. Hence, the descent of an invading army was an event that might hourly be expected—and, unfortunately, the state of the country was most favourable for foreign efforts to disturb, if not dismember the empire.

From secret but certain information, Lord Cornwallis was well-informed that the midland counties were rife for revolt, and that they were only waiting a French demonstration to rise in arms. Meath, Longford,* Leitrim, Westmeath, Roscommon,† Carlow, and Monaghan were tolerably organized and ready for an outbreak. On the news reaching the disaffected that the French army were marching rapidly towards Granard, on the 5th of September, the rebels rose *en masse*, and with a force exceeding five thousand men they advanced to seize that town.

The invaluable services of the Irish yeomanry in the suppression of the insurrection of '98 has never been questioned—and even their fiercest political opponents have generally contented themselves with charges of cruelty and excesses, and, by a tacit admission, left their gallantry and devotion to the existing government unchallenged, and indeed unquestionable. When the insurrection broke out, Captain Cottingham, without a single regular soldier or militia man, marched rapidly from Cavan on hearing that Granard was the first object of the rebels.

"Cottingham's force, composed wholly of yeomen, consisted of only

* "Many Roman Catholics of consideration urged on and headed the insurgents in the county of Longford, and a well-digested plan of co-operation had been concerted with the Monaghan chiefs; but the latter were not to move unless the operations of their Longford brethren proved successful. At the head of these were the two Dennistons, the O'Haras, O'Connells, Farrell, and one O'Reilly, who appeared in arms on the 5th of September, 1798, and led on the attack on Granard. But the issue of that affair disconcerted the plan of the Monaghan chiefs, and prevented the Cavan leaders from attacking the different garrisons in their county, which they had meditated. The two Dennistons and Farrell were members of the Mastrim yeomen cavalry, several of whom fought with the rebels on that day. The elder Denniston was first lieutenant of it."—*Musgrave.*

† "The popish multitude in the county of Roscommon, universally disaffected, were on the point of rising, and waited for nothing but a hint from certain leaders in their respective districts.

"A respectable magistrate of my acquaintance, who had a strong regard for a popish gentleman who meant to have headed a numerous body of rebels, obtained a private interview with him for the purpose of dissuading him from so rash an attempt, which he assured him would terminate in the ruin of him and his family. This chieftain spurned at the advice of his friend, and expressed a downright conviction that his party must succeed, as the mass of the people in every part of Ireland were engaged in it; that as they would rise at the same time, the government must be overturned, and that such persons as resisted them would lose their lives and property; and he even went so far as to advise this magistrate to be very moderate in the part he took, lest his intemperate zeal might mark him for the vengeance of the insurgents—so sure were the disaffected that their party must succeed, though with the aid of but one thousand French!"—*Ibid.*

a hundred and fifty-seven infantry and forty-nine cavalry. He chose a strong position between the assailants and the town, on the hill on which Granard is built; but observing that the rebels, who had at first advanced in one column, divided into three to surround his little army, he retreated to another position still nearer to the town. Here, protected by a bank and other fences, the yeomen awaited the onset of the enemy, who, driving before them a multitude of cattle, which the defensive party turned aside without falling into confusion, advanced very close to their line, and received a destructive discharge of musketry. They persevered, however, in their attempt, with long intervals of pause, during five hours, from between nine and ten in the morning till between two and three in the afternoon, when they fled and were pursued with slaughter. The number of their slain is, in the captain's official account, said to have exceeded four hundred, and in an anonymous account, nearly twice as many are asserted to have fallen; while of the royal party not one was killed, and only two slightly wounded."*

The first attempt of the Westmeath rebels was on a Protestant establishment, called Wilson's Hospital, where twenty old men and one hundred boys were maintained. On the first attack they were repulsed, but on the following day they succeeded.† Lord Longford having hastily collected a force of three hundred men and one gun, proceeded to dislodge them—but with an audacity not easily understood, the insurgents declined waiting an attack, and themselves became assailants.

"A large body of the rebels, of whom about five hundred are said to have been armed with firelocks, marched from the hospital to meet these troops near the village of Bunbrusna. After an abortive attempt of some of their party to seize the field-piece by an impetuous onset, in which, by a discharge of grape-shot, many of them suffered, the insurgents maintained not the combat long. In their flight a party took shelter in a farm-house and offices, which were in consequence burned; and probably many wretches perished in the flames. The troops, as daylight failed, lay on their arms all night, with intention to attack the hospital in the morning; but they found it evacuated by the insurgents, whose loss of men is reported, by very doubtful authority, to have been nearly two hundred in killed and wounded; while that of the royal troops was only two artillerymen, shot by a rebel from behind a hedge."

It was said, but with what truth is doubtful, that the Westmeath rebels were as sanguinary in intention,‡ as the Wexford had proved in act.

* Gordon.

† "Next day they returned to the hospital, converted it into a barrack, seized the cows and sheep, and killed most of them. In short, they left the hospital a perfect wreck. After committing al these atrocities, they had mass celebrated."

‡ "They had twenty-seven Protestant prisoners in an office belonging to the hospital, whom they intended to have put to death by the most cruel torture, had

With these occurrences, the partial movements of the disaffected in the midland counties virtually terminated—and the customary attempts to excite the passions and delude the ignorance of the lower classes were unsuccessful. A man, mounted on a white horse, rode about the country contiguous to Longford on the 4th of September, and propagated a report that the Orangemen were murdering the Roman Catholics, and burning their houses from Edgeworthstown to Carrickboy. To counteract this malignant design, Lord Oxmantown, who, with his corps, was on permanent duty at Longford, rode about the country, and by his exhortations and assurances of protection to the lower class of people, prevented the insurrection from being general, and induced numbers to return to their homes. Similar unsuccessful attempts were made in the counties of Meath and Cavan.

"The rebels shewed a disposition to rise in the country round Belturbet, in the latter county; but it abounds so much with Protestants, who were well armed, that they would not venture to do so, but repaired to the mountains of Ballynamore, about six miles off, where they assembled in considerable numbers. For the same reason they did not venture to rise in the county of Fermanagh, where there were six thousand Protestants well armed. From the battle of Castlebar to the surrender of the French, the blacksmiths were employed in making pikes, in the counties of Monaghan, Leitrim, Longford, Roscommon, Mayo, Sligo, Meath, Westmeath, and Dublin."*

On the 11th of September an amnesty was offered to the Western rebels, and the following Proclamation issued from the castle of Dublin, by order of the Lord Lieutenant—

"CORNWALLIS.

"Whereas, it appears that, during the late invasion, many of the inhabitants of the county of Mayo, and counties adjacent, did join the French forces, and did receive from them arms and ammunition: and whereas it may be expedient to admit such persons to mercy who may have been instigated thereto by designing men, we do hereby promise his Majesty's pardon to any person who has joined the enemy, provided he surrenders himself to any of his Majesty's justices of the peace, or to any of his Majesty's officers, and delivers up a French firelock and bayonet, and all the ammunition in his possession; and provided he has not served in any higher capacity than that of private.

"This proclamation to be in force for thirty days from the date hereof."

This act of amnesty appeared to have been intended rather for the rabble than the chiefs—for after the surrender of the French army,

they not been relieved by a party of the army and yeomanry, under the command of Lord Longford, who routed the rebels with considerable slaughter.

"Some of the rebels proposed to put the boys (who were all Protestants) to death, after having plundered them of their clothes. The labourers and the popish servants of the hospital were the leaders in this nefarious business, and seemed to exult in it."—*Musgrave.*

* Ibid.

many executions followed. Of three Irishmen who accompanied Humbert, in his wild and daring expedition, one only succeeded in avoiding discovery and escaping—while his companions, as might have been expected, paid the penalty of treason with their lives. And yet to both—Matthew Tone and Bartholomew Teeling—much public sympathy was extended. Both, during Humbert's occupation of Castlebar, had conducted themselves towards the loyalists with the greatest humanity and kindness—and during trial, and at the place of execution, their demeanour was manly, and their fortitude unshaken.

Their defence was one not to be recognized—they pleaded that they were aliens, and exhibited French commissions. Teeling spoke with modesty and firmness—and although he adduced no argument to justify his treason, the impression his address made upon the auditory was highly in his favour.

"The trial closed—the court, after some deliberation, pronounced sentence of death, and the sentence was finally approved by his Excellency, the Marquis Cornwallis. Teeling had over-valued the high character of the viceroy—he was deaf to every application for mercy, though solicited by some of the most zealous supporters of the government, who voluntarily came forward, and had the manliness to declare, that the execution of the sentence would be an eternal blot on his administration. A near relative addressed a memorial to his excellency, praying respite of the sentence for twenty-four hours, to the end that the law officers of the crown might be consulted, as to the competency of a military court to decide on cases of high treason, when the civil tribunals were open, and in a case where the accused had no commission from the crown. An interview with his excellency was found impracticable, but the memorial was delivered to an officer of his establishment, whose high and confidential situation rendered him a desirable channel of communication. This officer was a man of humanity, and evinced much sensibility on the occasion. 'Your friend,' said he, 'ought to be saved.' He pronounced this with a most emphatic tone of voice, and retired to present the memorial to his excellency. He returned—and after expressing in general terms his feelings of sympathy and disappointment, concluded with this mysterious observation: 'Mr. Teeling is a man of high and romantic honour.' 'Unquestionably,' was the reply. 'Then I deplore to tell you that his fate is inevitable—his execution is decided on.'"*

Whilst the west of Ireland was still in partial insurrection, a second attempt to disturb the returning tranquillity of the kingdom was made on the northern coast. This trifling descent is thus noticed by an official despatch from the postmaster, addressed to the chief of his department, and dated—

"Rutland, Sept. 17th, Monday, eight o'clock in the morning.

"I yesterday (by post) informed you of a French brig coming into our harbour, and landing three boats full of men; there were a number

* Charles Teeling's Personal Narrative.

of officers, among whom was the redoubted J. N. Tandy,* a brigadier, and commander of the expedition. Tandy, being an old acquaintance, was communicative; he says positively, that France will not make peace with Great Britain upon any other terms than Irish independence. He appeared dejected on hearing of the fate of the late French descent, and of the discoveries made by Bond, M'Nevin, Emmet, &c., but said that they will certainly attempt to land twenty thousand men, and perish all, or succeed. He was astonished when I told him that very few had joined the French. They took every pains to convince the people that they were their best friends, and such stuff. They took a cow and two swine, for which they paid, and this morning, after firing a gun, went to sea, towards the N. East. I have despatched an express (a second one) to the collector of Letterkenny, and am in hopes that some of the Lough Swilly fleet will intercept them. They met several cruisers between England and France, but outsailed them all; they came north about. They were full of arms; the officers of the port were detained aboard them from morning (yesterday) until ten o'clock at night; they report them full of arms, a park of artillery, accoutrements for cavalry, clothing, &c. &c. They expected that the whole country was up, and that they had nothing to do but join their friends. The natives here all fled to the mountains, and seem not at all inclined to join them. We have not a military man nearer than Ballyshannon, forty miles, or Letterkenny, twenty-five, although there is an excellent new barrack here, ready to receive one hundred men They had a great number of Irish on board—their force, about two hundred and fifty men; and are perfectly acquainted with the coast. Their drift is evidently to encourage disaffection. I was a prisoner in my own house four or five hours, until the post came in; they had sentinels on every point of the island, to prevent intelligence being immediately despatched. I am just informed, by one of the officers, that they were determined to land their arms here, but, upon a consultation, after they found their countrymen had been defeated, they altered their plan.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your very obedient servant,

"Francis Foster, P. M., Rutland.

"On their leaving my house, the general (Rey) took a gold ring from his finger, and presented it to Mrs. Forster, as a token of fraternity."

Two proclamations were issued by the commanding officers of the expedition, and both headed

* "James Napper Tandy was indicted at the spring assizes of 1793, held at Dundalk, in the county of Louth, for having distributed seditious handbills the preceding summer, to encourage the people of that county, then much infested by the Defenders, to rise; but having, through his attorney, Matthew Dowling, discovered that there were strong charges for high treason against him, he fled, forfeited his recognizance, and never afterwards appeared, until he was brought a prisoner from Hamburgh, but when he landed in the north in 1798."—*Musgrave.*

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

Northern Army of Avengers. Head Quarters the first Year of Irish Liberty.

"United Irishmen,

"The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds, with artillery worked by those who have spread terror among the ranks of the best troops in Europe, headed by French officers; they come to break your fetters, and restore you to the blessings of liberty.

"James Napper Tandy is at their head; he has sworn to lead them on to victory, or die. Brave Irishmen, the friends of liberty have left their native soil to assist you in re-conquering your rights; they will brave all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood.

"French blood shall not flow in vain. To arms! freemen, to arms! The trumpet calls, let not your friends be butchered unassisted; if they are doomed to fall in this most glorious struggle, let their death be useful to your cause, and their bodies serve as footsteps to the temple of Irish liberty.

"General Rey,*

"In the name of the French officers and soldiers now on the coast of Ireland."

Tandy, the nominal commander of the expedition, in his address to the disaffected, was violent in his denunciations of vengeance upon all opposed to him. His proclamation was in keeping with his character—full of words, "signifying nothing." Of all the rebel leaders, probably Tandy was the most contemptible. In language, a swaggering demagogue—in heart, a rank coward. He had already lost caste in having forced a quarrel upon Toler, the attorney-general—and when hostile conclusions were expected, to the great scandal of his party, he shewed himself a poltroon, and came out of the affair discreditably. He had, to use Shakspeare's words, "a killing tongue and a quiet sword"—and the document he issued to the Rutland islanders might be regarded as a piece of bombastic impertinence, did it not, like the sanguinary manifesto of John Sheares, admit not the apology of insanity, but betray a deep malignity of purpose, which needed but an opportunity to be displayed.†

* General Rey was a very able and a most gallant soldier. He was subsequently engaged in most of Napoleon's campaigns, and terminated a creditable career of arms by a brave and skilful defence of San Sebastian, when that fortress was carried by assault in 1813.

† For the truculent manifesto drawn up by John Sheares, a most "lame and impotent" apology is offered by his biographer:—

"This violent and most infuriated production is the composition of a man phrenzied by political excitement. Before we pronounce it to be the production, however, of a man of a mind naturally malevolent, sanguinary, and vindictive, we must take the madness of the times into account; and we should compare this document with some of the proclamations that preceded it on the other side, issued under circumstances which admitted of more leisure for calm consideration."—*Madden.*

"UNITED IRISHMEN"

"What do I hear? the British government have dared to speak of concessions! Would you accept of them?

"Can you think of entering into a treaty with a British minister? a minister, too, who has left you at the mercy of an English soldiery, who laid your cities waste and massacred inhumanly your best citizens; a minister, the bane of society and the scourge of mankind? Behold, Irishmen, he holds in his hand the olive of peace; beware, his other hand lies concealed, armed with a poignard. No, Irishmen, no, you shall not be the dupes of his base intrigues; unable to subdue your courage, he attempts to seduce you,—let his efforts be vain.

"Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country; your friends have fallen a sacrifice to their devotion for your cause; their shadows are around you, and call aloud for vengeance; it is your duty to avenge their death; it is your duty to strike on their blood-cemented thrones the murderers of your friends. Listen to no proposals, Irishmen, wage a war of extermination against your oppressors, the war of liberty against tyranny, and liberty shall triumph.

"J. N. TANDY."

The fate of this apostle of "war, to the knife," is briefly told. He was arrested at Hamburgh, conveyed to Ireland, arraigned at Lifford, threw himself on the mercy of the crown, pleaded guilty, and was permitted to transport himself.

To several circumstances his escape from capital punishment may be ascribed. The legality of his arrest in a neutral city was questionable —and when arraigned, the passions of the times had cooled down, and it might be considered that justice had already been amply vindicated. In this case, government exhibited a judicious lenity. Hundreds less guilty had been executed—but the hour for vengeance passed—and Tandy was spared to prove, by the obscurity in which he subsequently lived and died, how paltry are the qualifications necessary to form an Irish demagogue.

CHAPTER XXVII.

INFORMERS—INSURRUPTION OF THE SOLDIERY—TRIALS OF THE SHEARES—EXECUTIONS—DEATH OF OLIVER BOND.

THE frequent defeats and final dispersion of the rebels, had no effect in inducing the Irish executive to abate aught in the severity of the measures they had adopted towards the disaffected. The prisons were crowded with persons denounced by those infamous informers, Armstrong and Reynolds, Dutton and Newell,* with a host of subordinate villains, acting under the direction of police agents, themselves steeped deeper in iniquity even than the perjured wretches they suborned. Numbers, innocent in some cases, but generally, too guilty, through the instrumentality of these bad men, were brought hourly to the scaffold —and one of the most distressing tragedies, so frequent in these terrible times, occurred at this period in the execution of the Messrs. Sheares.

The chief agent employed in fostering the dangerous principles advocated by these unfortunate gentlemen, and, finally, in accomplishing their destruction, was a captain in the King's County militia. Arm-

* "Of all the wretches of that band of informers, who rioted on the wages of iniquity in those frightful times, the worst, the most thoroughly debased, the vilest of the vile, was Edward John Newell, a native of Downpatrick, a portrait painter by profession. Treachery seemed to be the ruling passion of this man's life. To every friend or party he connected himself with, he was false. He betrayed the secrets of the United Irish Society, professedly to prevent the murder of an exciseman named Murdock. He ingratiated himself into the confidence of Murdock, and then robbed him of the affections of his wife. He became one of the regular corps of ruffians, called the battalion of testimony, who had apartments provided for them at the Castle, within the precincts of that place which was the residence of the viceroy, and the centre of the official business of the government. Having sold his former associates to the government, and, by his own account, having been the cause of two hundred and twenty-seven arrests, and the occasion of the flight of upwards of three hundred persons from their habitations, and many of them from their country, in consequence of the informations he had laid against them, he next betrayed the government. published their secrets, and fled from the service of Mr. Cooke to that of the Northern United Irishmen."

The wretch met but the fate he merited—he was murdered. During this negotiation he remained mostly at M'Questen's, at Donegore, which he left one evening, in company with two professed friends, and he was never afterwards seen. He had become again suspected by the United Irishmen of being about to give them the slip, and he was therefore consigned to Moiley, then a cant term for assassination. The account says, he was thrown overboard from a boat in Garnogle; another, that he was shot on the road, near Roughfort.

"Mr. Gunning, another of the actors in the struggle of 1798, who recently died, informed me a few weeks before his death, that a Mr. White, of Ballyholme (about ten miles from Belfast), about fifteen years ago, had found there, on the beach, partly uncovered, some human bones; and from all the circumstances connected with the discovery, he believed them to be the bones of Newell, who was said to have been drowned there."—*Lives of the United Irishmen.*

strong—a name still of infamous celebrity—was professedly a virulent republican, and having, by the virulence of his language, induced the belief that he was a deadly enemy to the government and monarchy, he completely succeeded in penetrating the secrets, and obtaining the confidence of the conspirators. By encouraging a favourite object with the disaffected—the corruption of the soldiery—he led his intended victims on step by step—until, from their own disclosures, he conducted them eventually to the scaffold.

It may be here necessary to remark, that even before Defenderism gave place to the formation of United Irishmen, no pains had been spared to tamper with the native regiments, and induce them to swerve from their allegiance. In every garrison town the attempt was made—and sometimes with considerable success. Money, drink, and even the blandishments of degraded women, were employed to sap the loyalty of the unsuspecting soldier—and the extent to which this object was carried, may be collected from the following account, given to the author by an officer who was encamped at the time with one of the disloyal regiments.

"Long before the rebellion actually exploded, the successful efforts used by the disaffected to sap the loyalty of the Irish regiments, may be easily conceived, from a detection made in the camp of Sir Eyre Coote, through the revelations of a drummer. The conspiracy, it appeared, was first set on foot in the year 1796, and so extended had it become that, when discovered, it numbered amongst the troops in camp upwards of five hundred members. A much larger number of civilians were also connected with it. Its object was the assassination of the officers and loyalists in the camp, and a junction with the French in case of a successful landing; but a merciful Providence interposed, and saved those thus marked out for slaughter. The conspirators were divided into parties, and to each party were allotted those who were to be their victims—in many instances the master was to fall by the servant's hand, and the loyal soldier by the agency of his false comrade."

A drum-boy of the County Limerick militia, named Daly, strolling through the fields bordering upon the camp and picking blackberries, chanced to come unexpectedly on the leaders of the conspiracy, concealed in an old double-ditch, and engaged in regulating their intended operations; and, on pain of death, he was immediately sworn a member of the villanous confederacy. So ignorant were those fellows, that not one of them could write—and Daly, soon after, became their secretary, and consequently was intimate with their plans which were fast progressing to maturity. Affection for the captain of his company made Daly inform him of the state of affairs, and Captain Bateman immediately communicated it to Sir Eyre Coote, who commanded in the southern district. Through Daly, lists of the conspirators were procured—and great caution was observed until all was arranged for their arrest.

On the 1st of July, 1796, the troops were ordered for parade, and by a previous arrangement the disaffected regiments found themselves

surrounded by the Hompesch dragoons, the regiments of the line, and the English and Scotch militia regiments then in camp, with several pieces of artillery, in battery on either flank. General Coote rode up and addressed the disaffected soldiers—pointed out the enormity of their crime—told them he held in his hand a list of all their names—and desired every man implicated, to advance three steps from the ranks, and ground his arms. An immediate movement took place—and almost every third or fourth man stepped forward. The regiments more or less corrupted were the Roscommon, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Meath, Westmeath, Sligo, Limerick, Derry, County Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford. Immediately the leaders were taken into custody—but the remainder were allowed to return to their regiments. A court-martial was assembled—and after sitting for a week, Gillgare, of the Roscommon, Connor and Larcey, of the Limerick, and Drumgoold, of the Westmeath, were capitally convicted and shot. When Drumgoold was placed on his knees for execution, the firing party given by his own regiment discharged their muskets over his head—but another party was immediately ordered out, and the sentence was duly executed in the presence of their guilty companions.

A number of the traitorous soldiers underwent minor punishment—some were flogged, and others drafted into the condemned regiments—the mutinous spirit was for a time extinguished—and the drum-boy, who had certainly "done the state some service," was rewarded with a commission in the excise.

This favourite object of the disaffected was fatally employed by the betrayer of the Messrs. Sheares—and as the account given by Barrington of these unfortunate gentlemen has a peculiar degree of interest attached to it from the part he himself enacted in the last scene of this melancholy transaction, we extract it from his "Personal Sketches."

When the apprehension of the other leaders drew him into the vortex of revolution, and he became a member of the new directory, in the month of March, the affairs of the United Irishmen were in a desperate state; and it seemed all but madness, after Lord Edward Fitzgerald's arrest, to proceed further in their plans. When they lost him, the "prestige" of their cause was gone. Nevertheless, those of their leaders who were at large were still sanguine of success, and they prevailed on John Sheares to become the chief member of the directory. It was at this period that the free-quarters system was in full force—that the nation was declared out of the king's peace, and the whole military force of the country was let loose upon the people. During the short time the affairs of the union were committed to the chief guidance of John Sheares, his exertions were incessant.

"The removal of the troops into the camps of Laughlinston gave rise to one of the most melancholy episodes of this history. At Laughlinston (seven miles from Dublin), some thousand men, mostly Irish militia, were encamped by Lord Carhampton. The United Irishmen sent emissaries to the camp, and disaffection was rapidly proceeding amongst the troops. It was disclosed to government by a

Captain Armstrong, of the King's County Militia, who also did what his feelings should have imperatively prohibited. He was prevailed on at the castle to ingratiate himself as a brother conspirator amongst the higher classes of the conspirators; and to gain proofs of their guilt through their confidence in his fidelity.* He was induced to become evidence, even to death, against those whose culpability he had encouraged, and attend to execution the very gentlemen whom he made victims to their confidence in his integrity.

"Of Mr. Reynolds, and his brother conspirator, Armstrong, the former had been disaffected, and might have informed—at least, under the semblance of compunction. He was in humble life; the United Irishmen had first seduced him into their society, and he became terrified at its consequences. Captain Armstrong wormed himself into the confidence of the rebels, with the design of betraying them: his treachery was pre-organized, and he proved himself as competent a conspirator as those whom he had made his victims. He had the honour of an officer, and the integrity of a gentleman to sustain; yet he deliberately sacrificed both, and saw two gentlemen executed by his treachery.

"Mr. John Sheares, upon the arrest of the other dictators, became one of the executive directory of the United Irishmen, and, as a necessary consequence, Henry was a participator in the treason, and aided in procuring emissaries to seduce the troops at Laughlinston. There Captain Armstrong became acquainted with the two brothers—pledged to them his friendship—persuaded them he would seduce his regiment—gained their implicit confidence—faithfully fulfilled the counterplot—devised several secret meetings—and worked up sufficient guilt to sacrifice the lives of both. They were arrested—tried—on his evidence convicted—and were hanged and beheaded in the front of Newgate. They came hand-in-hand to the scaffold: Henry died without firmness—the brother met his death with sufficient fortitude.

* "Captain Armstrong led his credulous victims to believe that the soldiery at Laughlinston camp were ripe for revolt, and ready to join the insurgents. In return, the fullest disclosures were made to him by the Sheares, and these were directly communicated by their false ally to the authorities at the Castle. The younger (John) apprized Armstrong, on the part of the rebel executive, that 'they had resolved to appoint him to the command of the King's County regiment.' He further informed him, that 'on the night of the rising in Dublin, the Lord Lieutenant was to be seized, and all the privy council, separately in their own houses. That, when the privy council were seized, there would be no place to issue orders from, so as to counteract the rising; and in case of a failure of the attack on the camp, on the march of the soldiery into town, through Bagot-street, they had a sufficient number of houses there in their interest to shoot them from, so as to render them useless.' All this part of the conversation was represented to have taken place while Henry had been present. Captain Armstrong did not think it necessary to state, that, at his Sunday's interview, he shared the hospitality of his victims; that he dined with them, sat in the company of their aged mother and affectionate sister, enjoyed the society of the accomplished wife of one of them, caressed his infant children; and on another occasion was entertained with music—the wife of the unfortunate man whose children he was to leave in a few days fatherless, playing on the harp for his entertainment! These things are almost too horrible to reflect on."—*Lives of the United Irishmen.*

This was one of the most interesting trials in Ireland. Henry might have been pardoned, but it was impossible to mitigate the fate of the brother.

"It is only justice to Lord Clare, to record an incident which proves that he was susceptible of humane feelings, and which often led me to believe that his nature might have been noble, had not every compunctious visiting been absorbed by that ambition, the final disappointment of which at last caused his death.

"By some unfortunate delay, a letter of Henry Sheares was not delivered to me till eleven o'clock on the morning after the trial. I immediately waited on Lord Clare; he read it with great attention; I saw he was moved—his heart yielded. I improved on the impression: he only said, 'What a coward he is! but what can we do?' He paused—'John Sheares cannot be spared. Do you think Henry can say any thing, or make any species of discovery which can authorize the lord-lieutenant in making a distinction between them?—if so, Henry may be reprieved.' He read the letter again, and was obviously affected. I had never seen him amiable before. 'Go,' said he, 'to the prison, see Henry Sheares, ask him this question, and return to me at Cooke's office.' I lost no time; but I found on my arrival, that orders had been given that nobody should be admitted without a written permission. I returned to the castle; they were all at council. Cooke was not at his office; I was delayed. At length the secretary returned, gave me the order; I hastened to Newgate, and arrived at the very moment the executioner was holding up the head of my friend, and saying, 'Here is the head of a traitor!'"

At the place of execution, though John maintained his firmness, Henry betrayed the natural imbecility of his character, and evinced a terror at his approaching death which almost unseated reason. The bitter agony of soul produced by his conviction will be best understood by perusing the abject letter he addressed to Sir Jonah Barrington, when he implored him to intercede with the Lord Chancellor in his behalf. As a man, we despise his cowardice—but as a father, we feel the sincerest pity. Who could read that harrowing epistle without emotion? Alas! before the prayer of the application could be acted on, the sentence had been carried into effect.

After urging Barrington to mediate with Lord Clare, Henry Sheares thus continues: "Tell him" (Lord Clare) "that I will pray for him for ever, and that the government shall ever find me what they wish. Oh! my family, my wife, my children, my mother; go to them, let them throw themselves at the Chancellor's and Lord Shannon's feet. Those papers which were found in my office have ruined me; you know, my dear friend, I had nothing to do with them; you know I never was an advocate for violence or blood. I have been duped, misled, deceived, but with all the wishes and intentions to do good. My principles were never for violence, my nature is soft to a fault, my whole happiness is centred in my beloved, my adored family; with them I will go to America, if the government will allow me, or I will stay here and be the most zealous friend they have. Tell the Lord

Chancellor I depend upon the goodness of his nature; that I will atone for what is past, by a life regular, temperate, and domestic. Oh! speak to him of my poor wretched family, my distracted wife, and my helpless children; snatch them from the dreadful horrors which await them, and save the life of your truest friend. I will lie under any conditions the government may choose to impose on me, if they will but restore me to my family. Desire my mother to go to Lord Shannon immediately, and my wife to the Lord Chancellor. We are to receive sentence at three o'clock. Fly, I beseech you, and save a man, who will never cease to pray for you, to serve you.

"Let me hear from you, my dear fellow, as quick as possible.

"God bless you. Newgate, eight o'clock."

The execution took place in front of Newgate—and accident enhanced the horror of the distressing scene. "*While the executioner was fitting the rope, he, by some awkwardness, pressed the neck of Henry Sheares*, who, with a degree of asperity and violence ill-suited to his situation, cried out, 'D—n you, you scoundrel, do you mean to strangle me before my time?' They requested that they might not continue long exposed to the gaze of the multitude; and having each a halter fixed round his neck and a cap drawn over his face, holding by each other's hand, they tottered out upon the platform in front of the prison. *In making the rope fast within, John Sheares was hauled up to the block of the tackle*, and continued nearly a minute suspended alone before the platform fell. It did fall, and instantly both were suspended. After hanging about twenty minutes, they were, at a quarter after three o'clock, let down into the street, when the hangman separated their heads from their bodies, and taking the heads severally up, proclaimed, 'Behold the head of a traitor!' In the evening, the trunks and heads were taken away in two shells, provided by a respectable gentleman, unhappily connected with one of the brothers."

Day after day trials and executions proceeded—and justice seemed insatiate in demanding new victims. M'Cann was tried, and executed on the 19th. William Michael Byrne was tried on the 20th of July, and executed on the 28th. Oliver Bond was arraigned on the 23rd of July, capitally convicted, and respited on the 26th.

As the Sheares were consigned to the scaffold by the agency of Captain Armstrong, so Bond had been convicted chiefly on the evidence of Reynolds. If the turpitude of a man's character may be estimated by his own revelations, that of this infamous personage may be fairly tested by his own admissions. "On Bond's trial, Mr. Reynolds gave a detailed account of the several oaths he had taken. He had sworn to secrecy, on being made a member of the United Irishmen Society. He had taken an oath of fidelity to his captains on being appointed colonel. He had taken another, before a county meeting, that he had not betrayed his associates at Bond's.* He had likewise taken the

* Lives of the United Irishmen.

oath of allegiance twice, and an oath before the privy council once, and thrice in the courts of justice—namely, on the trials of Bond, Byrne, and McCann. Without disparaging the services of Mr. Reynolds, it is impossible to look upon him, except as 'a kind of man to whom the law resorts with abhorrence and from necessity, in order to set the criminal against the crime; and who is made use of by the law for the same reasons that the most noxious poisons are resorted to in desperate disorders.'"

The numerous executions in both the metropolis and the country, deadened as public feeling was, could not but force conviction on the most zealous partisans, that vengeance had been gorged even to repletion. Many circumstances led to a belief, that in the case of William Michael Byrne the extreme penalty of the law would not be exacted, and the circumstances immediately attendant on his death are exceedingly affecting:

"The 28th of July was the day appointed for his execution; and the negotiations between the state prisoners and the government having been then entered into, there was very little doubt entertained by himself or his fellow-prisoners but that his life would be spared. On the morning of the 28th, he was sitting at breakfast in Bond and Neilson's cell (the wives of the latter being then present), when the jailer appeared, and beckoned to Byrne to come to the door and speak with him. Byrne arose—a few words were whispered into his ear—he returned to the cell, and apologized to the ladies for being obliged to leave them. Bond asked him if he would not return; and his reply was, 'we will meet again.' He went forth without the slightest sign of perturbation or concern, and was led back for a few minutes to his cell, and then conducted to the scaffold. On passing the cell of Bond and Neilson, which he had just left, he stooped, that he might not be observed through the grated aperture in the upper part of the door, in order that Mrs. Neilson and Mrs. Bond might be spared the shock of seeing him led to execution."*

Byrne died with decency and firmness—and as the intended compact with government appeared to be at an end, Bond prepared for the trial which he believed awaited him. Neilson, who although a man of intemperate habits, and so very indiscreet in conduct, as to have led many to suppose that he, either through intention or imprudence, had betrayed Lord Edward Fitzgerald on the evening when that unhappy nobleman was arrested in Murphy's house, appears to have been, notwithstanding, a person capable of ardent friendship. When Byrne and Bond were condemned, in the hope of saving them, he opened a negotiation with the government—and when the sentence upon the former was carried, contrary to expectation, into effect, and Bond's preservation was despaired of, the painful position in which he was placed is thus described by his biographer:†—

"After Byrne's execution, when no hope was entertained of Bond's being respited, the most attached friend he had on earth had the pain

* Lives of the United Irishmen. † Doctor Madden.

of seeing him, not casually or for a few moments at a parting interview, but constantly and without intermission. This was a situation, the overpowering painfulness of which was enough to drive a man mad. The coffin of his friend was in his sight when he left his cell. Nay, he even saw the preparations making for his execution the night before the appointed day. Early the following morning, a request was made by Bond to Neilson; the compliance with which it is possible to conceive, but not to express the feelings it must have occasioned.

"Neilson was requested by Bond to proceed to the press-room, and to ascertain, by his own examination, the strength of the rope which was prepared for carrying his sentence into effect. This extraordinary commission was occasioned by some misapprehension of Bond's, that, being a man of large and robust frame, the breaking of the rope might be the occasion of protracted suffering. When he returned to the cell, Bond asked him if every thing was right, and Neilson could only answer, 'Yes, Bond.'

"It was only at three o'clock in the afternoon that a shout, raised by the people in front of the jail, who had assembled to witness the execution, prepared the prisoners for the announcement, on the part of the sheriffs, that Mr. Bond was respited during pleasure."

The unaccountable success with which Reynolds, after the betrayal of his confederates, still managed to elude the suspicion of those whom he had so treacherously denounced, must ever be a matter of surprise —and when the discovery was made, that deep feelings of vengeance and indignation should be excited in the bosoms of his victims, may be readily imagined. The wonder is, that in the fierce spirit of the times, and in a country, too, where the informer is generally considered as a criminal without the pale of mercy—that the life of this degraded man did not pay the penalty of his treachery. It is said that his assassination was contemplated,* and that plans were proposed to take

* "It is a very strange circumstance, that, notwithstanding Reynolds, long previously to the arrests, had been shunned by several of the more discreet and wary of the United Irishmen, who had some knowledge of his private character and conduct in pecuniary affairs, he was still trusted by the most influential of their leaders; nay, even after the arrests at Bond's, when they were warned against him, he continued to be received by them as a person still faithful to their cause.

"Some days subsequently to the arrests at Bond's, there had been a meeting of the provincial committee at the Brazen Head hotel, in a lane off Bridge-street. This meeting was attended, amongst others, by a gentleman then residing in New Row, in the entire confidence of the directory, and from my own knowledge of his character, I should say there was no man more entitled to it, on whose authority the facts are stated which will be found in the following account:—

"One Michael Reynolds, of Naas, who was said to be a distant relative to Mr. T. Reynolds, and who had been particularly active in the society, and useful to it, attended this meeting. This young man addressed the meeting at some length; he said that circumstances had lately transpired in the country, and steps, with regard to individuals, had been taken by government, which made it evident that a traitor was in their camp, who must belong to one of the country committees, and one who held a high rank in their society; that traitor, he said, was Thomas Rey-

him off. But he escaped the impending danger—held an official situation for many years under the British government—lived in luxury and ease on the wages of his infamy—and, while some of his victims were in the grave, and others in penury and exile, he died in the bosom of his family, leaving wealth and a blasted reputation as their inheritance. "Considering that the time was come when he should retire from the turmoil of public life, he fixed his abode in Paris, and died in that city, the 18th of August, 1836. His remains were brought to England and were buried in one of the vaults of the village church of Wilton, in Yorkshire."

It was not fated that Bond should quit with life his prison, and his sudden death in Newgate, on the night of the 6th of September, was attributed by the surgeon-general, after a *post mortem* examination, to the true cause, while the most absurd rumours were circulated by the disaffected—some affirming that he had been strangled in his cell, others declaring that he had been murdered in a dark passage, by a blow given him from behind, by one of the under-keepers of the prison. For what cause he should be assassinated was never attempted to be explained, for he had already a free pardon signed and sealed in the office at the castle. That violent exercise, a heavy supper, and afterwards a deep carouse, should, to a plethoric and overgrown personage like Bond, prove fatal, is easily conceivable. Apoplexy, and not violence, was the immediate cause of his death,* and by the visitation of God and not of man, Bond was removed from existence.

nolds, of Kilkea Castle, and if he were allowed to proceed in his career, they and their friends would soon be the victims of his treachery. In a tone and manner which left an indelible impression on the minds of his hearers, and which the person I allude to was wont to speak of as having produced an extraordinary effect, he asked if the society were to be permitted to be destroyed, or if Reynolds were to be allowed to live; in short, he demanded of the meeting their sanction for his removal, and undertook that it should be promptly effected.

"The proposal was unanimously and very properly rejected by the meeting. Michael Reynolds was a young man of great muscular strength and activity, of a short stature and dark complexion, and somewhat celebrated in the country for his horsemanship."—*Lives of the United Irishmen.*

* "On the 6th of September, Bond had been playing a good deal at ball. That evening, Gregg, the jailer, by the desire of Bond and Neilson, brought in some supper and a jug of punch. Samuel Neilson went to bed, leaving Bond and Gregg together. They were not then quarrelling: there was no one present but themselves. The following morning, at break of day, Neilson heard some cries of the female prisoners in the opposite ward; he ran out, and found Bond's body lying in the doorway, half his body in, half out, dressed as he had been when he last saw him."

It was the custom when a prisoner died in jail, to insinuate that he had been secretly made away with. Lord Edward Fitzgerald's wound was said to have been intentionally turned into gangrene, and Oliver Bond assassinated by a blow from a brass skillet! If an intimate friend (Russell) of the unhappy nobleman may be credited, Lord Edward died of natural disease;† and Sweetman, in his diary, observes, "September 5th.—Oliver Bond died; said to be at four in the morning.

† "It may, perhaps, be interesting to state, that the death of Lord Edward did not seem to proceed from his wounds, but from an inflammation and water on his *lungs.*"—*Russell's Letter.*

"In a New York paper, called the 'Irish Citizen,' of the 25th of January, 1843, published by B. P. Binns, the brother of the prisoner who was tried at Maidstone with Arthur O'Connor, an article, professing to be written by one who had a good deal of knowledge of the events occurring at that period, states that Bond 'was killed by a blow of *a copper kettle* (a singular implement for an assassin to select!) on the back of the head inflicted by one of the turnkeys, in a dark passage leading to his cell.' Nothing certain, however, is known of this mysterious business."

Inquest sat at three, p.m.; verdict, 'Nothing on the body seemed to indicate that he died of other than a natural death, probably of apoplexy.'"

That the cause of Bond's death could admit of any mystification is a marvel—and that a heavy and plethoric man, under the excitement attendant upon a long uncertainty regarding life and death, ball-playing in sultry weather, and supping and carousing "pottle-deep" afterwards—that he should be found dead in the morning, I fancy will not now-a-days be considered a medical wonder. The facts are, Lord Edward died of fever, arising from wounds and mental irritation—Bond of apoplexy, produced by anxiety and intemperance.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SEVERITIES OF THE EXECUTIVE—THE WEXFORD LEADERS—ANECDOTE—HARVEY AND GROGAN—EXECUTIONERS—EXCESSES IN THE NORTH.

DURING the short time that the insurrection was raging in the south, terrible examples of hurried justice were daily witnessed in the metropolis and elsewhere. In the capital, the lamp irons or the scaffolding on the bridges, were turned into a temporary gallows—and corporal punishment resorted to, and even torturous measures used, sometimes from vague suspicion, at others from private enmity alone. That infernal invention, the pitched-cap,* was employed in common with the triangles; and it has been asserted, without contradiction, that many wretched sufferers were, from the cruelties they endured, deprived of reason, and, in some cases, driven to end their agonies by self-destruction. These instances were not a few.

"In the centre of the capital, the heart-rending exhibition was presented of a human being, rushing from the infernal depôt of torture and death, his person besmeared with a burning preparation of turpentine and pitch, plunging, in his distraction, into the Liffey, and terminating at once his sufferings and his life.

"A melancholy transaction occurred in the town of Drogheda. The unhappy victim was a young man of delicate frame; he had been sentenced to five hundred lashes, and received a portion with firmness, but dreading lest bodily suffering might subdue the fortitude of his mind, he requested that the remainder should be suspended, and his information taken. Being liberated from the triangles, he directed his executioners to a certain garden, where he informed them arms were concealed. In their absence he deliberately cut his throat. They were not discovered, for no arms were there.

"About the same period, and in the same populous town, the unfortunate Bergan was tortured to death. He was an honest, upright citizen, and a man of unimpeachable moral character. He was seized on by those vampires, and in the most public street stripped of his clothes, placed in a horizontal position on a cart, and torn with the cat-o'-nine-

* "It is said that the North Cork regiment were the inventors—but they certainly were the introducers of pitch-cap torture into the county of Wexford. Any person having his hair cut short, and therefore called 'a Croppy' (by which the soldiery designated a United Irishman), on being pointed out by some loyal neighbour, was immediately seized and brought into a guard-house, where caps, either of coarse linen or strong brown paper, besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of a proper degree of coolness, so that it *could not be easily* pulled off, the sufferer was turned out, amidst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers."—*Lives of the United Irishmen.*

tails, long after the vital spark was extinct. The alleged pretence for the perpetration of this horrid outrage was, that a small gold ring had been discovered on his finger bearing a national device—the shamrock of his unfortunate country."*

The indiscriminating punishment, accompanied with all the obsolete barbarism attendant upon treason, inflicted on the Wexford leaders without exception, has been heavily condemned—and it has been contended, that to several individuals mercy should have been extended. It is a difficult question to decide. Much in favour of the sufferers might be adduced—while the circumstances of the times, the rank of the criminals, and the character of their offendings, were such as to close the door of mercy, and exact a rigid retribution. I question whether any of the influential gentlemen found unhappily among the Wexford leaders, had joined the standard of rebellion advisedly—and there is no doubt that the cruelties they witnessed, and found themselves unequal to restrain, dispelled the idle delusion which had tempted them to take arms against the government.

That Harvey, Keough, Colclough, and Grogan, were radically infected with republican principles cannot be questioned; but like hundreds of theoric politicians of that day, it is more than probable that their treasonable intents would have been confined to the dinner-table, and not displayed upon the field. In Ireland in those days, and indeed, even in the present, the withdrawal of the ladies was the signal for political discussions to commence—and with every cooper of wine, according to the party colour of the company, kingdoms were revolutionized, or rebellions were suppressed.

A symposium of this description, which was held in the spring of '98 at Bargay Castle, gives a sketchy picture of the tone and temper of the times.† Men jested at the table, unconscious that the sword

* Lives of the United Irishmen.

† "In those times, all the business of the country societies was conducted in public-houses, and men entered into solemn engagements, involving consequences of awful moment to their country and to themselves, in the midst of scenes ill calculated for cool deliberation. This, it may be said, was only amongst the lower orders of the United Irishmen, like those belonging to the 'Muddlers' Club,' of Belfast. But the upper orders, though they might not congregate in 'Shebeen' houses, and way-side inns, also had their houses of entertainment in the metropolis, their taverns on a larger scale—their 'Eagle,' in Exchequer-street, their 'Struggler's Tavern,' in Cook-street; and their business was done 'after the cloth was removed,' and the port wine was laid on the table. It was at such times and at such convivial meetings the introduction of candidates for admission was discussed, their qualifications were talked over, and the test eventually administered and taken in a room adjoining that in which the revels of a convivial party and the machinations of conspirators went on simultaneously.

"The candidate for admission into the society, after it became a secret one in 1794, was sworn either by individuals, or in the presence of several members, in a separate room from that in which the meeting was held. A paper, consisting of eight pages of printed matter, called the Constitution, was placed in his right hand, and the nature of it was explained to him: that part of it called the 'Test' was read to him, and repeated by him. The oath was administered either on the Scriptures or a prayer-book; and while it was administering to him, he held the *constitution, together with* the book, on his right breast. The constitution contained

was suspended over them by a hair, and never dreaming that within a few brief months, a boon companion then sitting at the board, might, like the prince of Denmark, apostrophize the only remnant of their mortality that was left:—"That skull had a tongue in it, and could sing once. How the knave jowls it to the ground, as if it were Cain's jaw-bone, that did the first murder!"

The narrator of this painful reminiscence of '98, is the late Sir Jonah Barrington:—

"Bagenal Harvey, who had been my schoolfellow and constant circuit-companion for many years, laughed, at Lady Colclough's, at my political prudery; assured me I was totally wrong in suspecting him, and insisted on my going to Bargay Castle, his residence, to meet some old Temple friends of ours, on the ensuing Monday. My relative, Captain Keogh, was to be of the party.

"I accordingly went there to dinner; but that evening proved to me of great uneasiness, and made a very disagreeable impression, both on my mind and spirits. The company I met included Captain Keogh, the two unfortunate Counsellors Sheares, who were both hung shortly afterwards; Mr. Colclough, who was hung on the bridge; Mr. Hay, who was also executed; Mr. William Hatton, one of the rebel directory of Wexford, who unaccountably escaped; and a gentleman of the bar, whose name I shall not mention, as he still lives.

"The entertainment was good, and the party cheerful. Temple freaks were talked over—the bottle circulated; but at length Irish politics became the topic, and proceeded to an extent of disclosure which utterly surprised me. With the Messrs. Sheares (particularly Henry) I had always been on terms of the greatest intimacy. I had extricated both of them, not long before, from considerable difficulty,

the declaration, resolutions, rules, test, regulations for the various committees, and form of certificate of admission into the society.

"The mode of recognition was the following: a member desiring to ascertain if a person was initiated, or to make himself known to another party, on meeting with a person not previously known as a United Irishman, repeated the first letter of the word 'United' in this manner,—'I know *U*.' The person accosted, if initiated, answered, 'I know *N*,'—and so on, each alternately repeating the remaining letters of the word. Where further proofs of initiation were required, there was a form of examination in a series of questions, to which the following answers were required, in common use among the lower orders:—

"*Quest.*—Are you straight?
"*Ans.*—I am.
"*Quest.*—How straight?
"*Ans.*—As straight as a rush.
"*Quest.*—Go on then?
"*Ans.*—In truth, in trust, in unity, and liberty.
"*Quest.*—What have you got in your hand?
"*Ans.*—A green bough.
"*Quest.*—Where did it first grow?
"*Ans.*—In America.
"*Quest.*—Where did it bud?
"*Ans.*—In France.
"*Quest.*—Where are you going to plant it?
"*Ans.*—In the crown of Great Britain." Lives of the United Irishmen.

through the kindness of Lord Kilwarden; and I had no idea that matters wherein they were concerned had proceeded to the lengths developed on that night. The probability of a speedy revolt was freely discussed, though in the most artful manner, not a word of any of the party committing themselves; but they talked it over, as a result which might be expected from the complexion of the times, and the irritation excited in consequence of the severities exercised by the government. The chances of success, in the event of a rising, were openly debated, as were, also, the circumstances likely to spring from that success and the examples which the insurgents would, in that case, probably make. All this was at the same time talked over, without one word being uttered in favour of rebellion—a system of caution which, I afterwards learned, was much practised, for the purpose of gradually making proselytes without alarming them. I saw through it clearly, and here my presentiments came strong upon me. I found myself in the midst of absolute, though unavowed, conspirators. I perceived that the explosion was much nearer than the government expected; and I was startled at the decided manner in which my host and his friend spoke.

"Under these circumstances, my alternative was, evidently, to quit the house, or give a turn to the conversation. I therefore began to laugh at the subject, and ridicule it as quite visionary, observing jestingly, to Keogh: 'Now, my dear Keogh, it is quite clear that you and I, in this famous rebellion, shall be on different sides of the question, and, of course, one or the other of us must necessarily be hanged, at or before its termination—I upon a lamp-iron in Dublin, or you on the bridge of Wexford. Now, we'll make a bargain! if we beat you, upon my honour I'll do all I can to save your neck; and if your folks beat us, you'll save me from the honour of the lamp-iron!'

"We shook hands on the bargain, which created much merriment, and gave the whole after-talk a cheerful character, and I returned to Wexford, at twelve o'clock at night, with a most decided impression of the danger of the country, and a complete presentiment that either myself or Captain Keogh would never see the conclusion of that summer. * * * * I immediately wrote to Mr. Secretary Cooke, without mentioning names, place, or any particular source of knowledge, but simply to assure him that there was not a doubt that an insurrection would break out, at a much earlier period than the government expected. I desired him to ask me no questions, but said, that he might depend upon the fact; adding, that a commanding force ought instantly to be sent down, to garrison the town of Wexford. 'If the government,' said I, in conclusion, 'does not attend to my warning, it must take the consequences.' My warning was not attended to, but his Majesty's government soon found I was right. They lost Wexford, and might have lost Ireland, by that culpable inattention.

"The result need scarcely be mentioned. Every member of that jovial dinner-party (with the exception of myself, the barrister before alluded to, and Mr. Hatton) was executed within three months! and

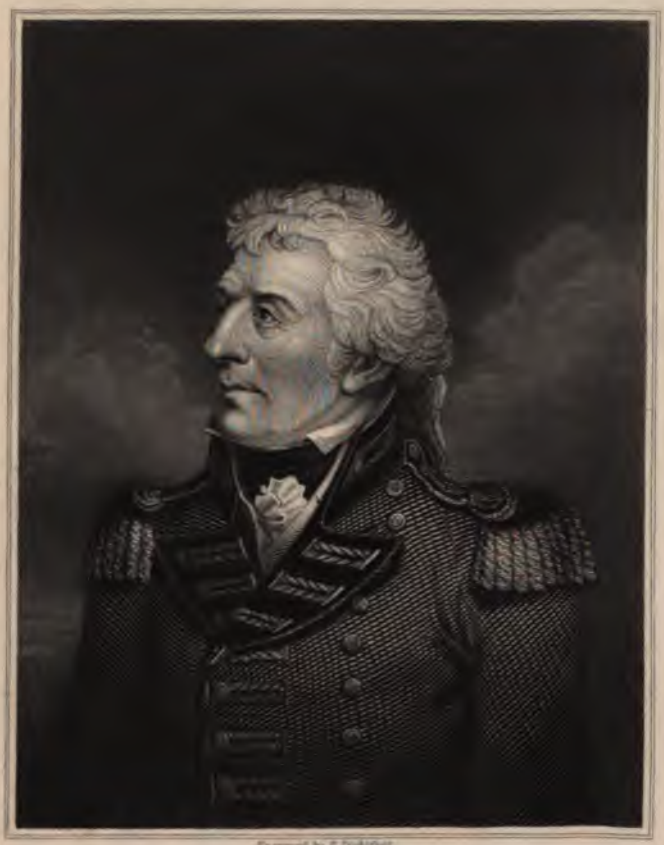
on my next visit to Wexford, I saw the heads of Captain Keogh, Mr Harvey, and Mr. Colclough, on spikes, over the court-house door.

"Previously to the final catastrophe, however, when the insurgents had been beaten, Wexford retaken by our troops, and Keogh made prisoner, I did not forget my promise to him at Bargay Castle. Many certificates had reached Dublin of his humanity to the royalists, whilst the town of Wexford was under his government; and of attempts made upon his life by Dixon, a chief of his own party, for his endeavouring to resist the rebel butcheries. I had intended to go with these directly to Lord Camden, the lord-lieutenant; but I first saw Mr. Secretary Cooke, to whom I related the entire story, and shewed him several favourable documents. He told me, I might save myself the trouble of going to Lord Camden; and at the same time handed me a despatch, received that morning from General Lake, who stated, that he thought it necessary, on recapturing Wexford, to lose no time in 'making example' of the rebel chiefs; and that accordingly Mr. Grogan, of Johnstown, Mr. Bagenal Harvey, of Bargay Castle, Captain Keogh, Mr. Colclough, and some other gentlemen, had been hanged on the bridge, and beheaded, the previous morning.

"An unaccountable circumstance was witnessed by me on that tour. Immediately after the retaking of Wexford, General Lake, as I have before mentioned, had ordered the heads of Mr. Grogan, Captain Keogh, Mr. Bagenal Harvey, and Mr. Colclough, to be placed on very low spikes, over the court-house door of Wexford. A faithful servant of Mr. Grogan had taken away his head, but the other three remained there when I visited the town. The mutilated countenances of friends and relatives in such a situation, would, it may be imagined, give any man most horrifying sensations! The heads of Colclough and Harvey appeared black lumps, the features being utterly undistinguishable; that of Keogh was uppermost, but the air had made no impression on it whatever! his comely and respect-inspiring face (except the pale hue, scarcely to be called livid) was the same as in life; his eyes were not closed, his hair not much ruffled; in fact, it appeared to me rather as a head of chiselled marble, with glass eyes, than as the lifeless remains of a human creature. This circumstance I never could get any medical man to give me the least explanation of. I prevailed on General Hunter, who then commanded in Wexford, to suffer the three heads to be taken down and buried."

If an elevation to command was ever, during its brief duration, overcharged with anxiety, disappointment, and unavailing regret, for yielding to a maddening impulse in accepting of it, poor Harvey's was that short and humiliating career. He must have felt conscious that to his own incompetency to direct enormous masses, which, under proper handling, must have overwhelmed the little garrison, the bloody repulse inflicted on the insurgents at Ross, was entirely to be attributed;*

* "In his martial office, his head became totally bewildered. The sphere of *action was too* great—the object struggled for too comprehensive. Nor did even his *personal courage follow* him to the field—his bravery, as against a single man, was



Engraved by F. Englefield.

Lord Lake



and the scenes reserved for him to witness the next day, must have agonized the soul of one, who felt assured that the disgrace of deposition from the chief command would only be the forerunner of a more ignominious exit on the scaffold.

Taylor, after recording the dreadful massacre of Scollabogue, thus describes the retreat of the rebels from New Ross, and pictures Harvey's feelings when he viewed the scene of the fearful tragedy enacted at the fatal barn:*—

"After ending this horrid massacre, the rebels marched (exulting in their diabolical achievements) towards New Ross; but the destroying angel had gone before them, and miserably defeated that huge army in which they trusted. As they proceeded to reinforce their brother rebels, they met multitudes of the wounded returning, some crawling along as well as they could, others on horses and on cars; some were shot through different parts of the body, while others had broken arms, legs, and thighs. Going on further, they met the remnant of the main body retreating in the greatest confusion, hurry, and noise, bringing with them cars full of the dead and wounded. They took their station on Carricburn that night, several stole home and never joined them more, particularly those of Barony-Forth, who, though a race of cowards, were cruel in the extreme. The wounded were taken to Fookes's-mill, where they had several doctors taking care of them; but notwithstanding all their attention, numbers died. They had thirteen milch cows grazing on Long Greague, the demesne of Mr. Sutton, for their use; and they converted six houses into hospitals.

"The next morning Bagenal Harvey was in the greatest anguish of mind when he beheld Scollabogue-house and the barn, where the murdered Protestants were to be seen in every attitude. They lay so close, that several were standing up against the walls, and many lying in heaps in each other's arms among the ashes of the timber of the house, while their bodies looked frightful, being burned to a cinder. He turned from the scene with horror, wrung his hands, and told those around him, that 'as innocent people were burned there as ever were born, and that their conquests for liberty were at an end.' He then said privately to a friend, 'I see now my folly in embarking in any cause with these people. If they succeed, I shall be murdered by them—if they are defeated, I shall be hanged.' Now convinced of the sanguinary feelings of his followers, he was determined to put a stop to it, as far as in his power lay, and that day he issued a proclamation, had it printed, sent many copies to Vinegar-hill, Wexford, and Gorey, and distributed them through the country."†

neutralized in a tumult; and a mind, naturally intrepid, became bewildered, puzzled, and impotent. Amidst the roar of cannon, and the hurly-burly of the tumultuous and sanguinary battle of Ross, his presence of mind wholly forsook him, and he lost the day by want of tact and absence of spirit."—*Barrington's Personal Sketches.*

* "On Saturday, the 9th of June, one hundred and eighty-four skeletons were cleared out of the barn, thrown into a ditch near the place, and slightly covered with clay."—*Taylor's History.*

† Taylor's History.

There can be no apology for Harvey's treason—and every man must admit that extreme punishment was called for. We may commiserate his folly and his fate, but none can question the justice of his sentence. But another and a cruel offering was made to the bloody Moloch of the day, and "the legal murder" of Mr. Grogan, of Johnstown, was a pendent to that of the ill-fated Sir Edward Crosbie.

When the insurrection broke out, the proprietor of Johnstown Castle was upwards of seventy years old, crippled with gout, hobbling upon crutches, and his hands swathed in flannel. He was seized by a band of rebels, and carried into Wexford on horseback, with a ruffian at his side called Savage, armed with a blunderbuss, and ordered to shoot the feeble old man, if he dared to resist the rebel orders, or endeavour to escape. They nominated him a commissary-general—depending on local influence with his own and the neighbouring tenantry to obtain supplies; and the crime for which he suffered was proven by the evidence of a lady named Seagrave, who deposed that she had applied to Mr. Grogan for an order to obtain bread, for the relief of her starving family—that the request was humanely complied with—and that Grogan's order was respected by the rebels, and the food consequently procured! "Mr. Grogan, on the lady's evidence, was sentenced to die as a felon—and he was actually hanged, when already almost lifeless from pain, imprisonment, age, and brutal treatment." He was tried by court-martial, and the witness coming into Wexford to give testimony in his favour, was shot by a yeoman on the road.

The savage disrespect to the commonest feelings of humanity which attended the carrying of the extreme penalties of law against treason into revolting effect, was not confined to that brutal functionary, the common hangman. A man, actually bearing the king's commission, obtained an infamous notoriety, with the *sobriquet* of "the walking gallows;" but a subordinate in military rank disputed the palm with the too celebrated Lieutenant Hepenstal.

To the sobordinate *artiste* we shall give precedency—and between the merits of "the twain," the reader may find some difficulty to determine to which an infamous superiority should be assigned:—

"The executioner of the unfortunate gentlemen (Harvey, Grogan, &c. &c.) was a serjeant of the King's County militia, of the name of Dunn—a monster in human form, whose brutality and ferocious cruelty has never been exceeded in any country, not even in France, in the worst times of the Revolution. The clothes of each sufferer he was accustomed to strip off the moment the body was cut down, in the presence of the victim next in turn for execution, then tying up the effects in a handkerchief with the greatest composure, he proceeded with another victim, and with a similar disposition of his perquisites. As the generality of those executed on the bridge of Wexford were persons of some respectability in life, watches and other valuable effects were not unfrequently found on their persons, and these Serjeant Dunn was in the habit of selling to the yeomanry and supplementaries, as *rebel trophies*, at the close of each day's business. The heads of the



George Cruikshanks

The Capture of Coldough and Harvey.

persons executed he used to carry to his own house after the execution, rolled up in the linen of each, and in the course of the evening he proceeded to the town-house, mounted the roof, and fixed the heads on pikes.

"For a length of time, the bridge was a fashionable lounge of the Wexfordian 'ascendancy,' and Serjeant Dunn was wont to gather his evening group around him, and regale his hearers with ludicrous anecdotes of his official labours."*

Over-coloured as Barrington's statements generally are—some too ludicrous for belief, and others wild and unauthenticated beyond the power of conception—still, a familiarity with passing events, gave the defunct knight a means of ascertaining curious facts, and making, in consequence, as curious disclosures. From Madden's "History of the United Irishmen," we have extracted the character of a professional hangman, and Sir Jonah shall give a portrait of an amateur:—

"Lieutenant H—— was about six feet two inches high, strong and broad in proportion. His strength was great, but of the dead kind, unaccompanied by activity; he could lift a ton, but could not leap a rivulet; he looked mild, and his address was civil—neither assuming nor at all ferocious. I knew him well, and from his countenance should never have suspected him of cruelty; but so cold-blooded and eccentric an executioner of the human race I believe never yet existed, save among the American Indians.

* * * * * * *

"In fact, the walking gallows was both on a new and simple plan, and after some kicking and plunging during the operation, never failed to be completely effectual. The lieutenant being, as before mentioned, of lofty stature, with broad and strong shoulders, saw no reason why they might not answer his Majesty's service upon a pinch, as well as two posts and a cross-bar (the more legitimate instrument upon such occasions); and he also considered, that when a rope was not at hand, there was no good reason why his own silk cravat (being softer than an ordinary halter, and of course less calculated to hurt a man) should not be a more merciful choke-band than that employed by any jack-ketch in the three kingdoms. In pursuance of these benevolent intentions, the lieutenant, as a preliminary step, first knocked down the suspected rebel from County Kildare, which the weight of mettle in his fist rendered no difficult achievement; his garters then did duty as handcuffs, and with the aid of a brawny aide-de-camp—one such always attended him—he pinioned his victim hand and foot, and then most considerately advised him to pray for King George, observing that any prayers for his own d—d popish soul would be only time lost, as his fate in every world (should there be even a thousand) was decided to all eternity, for having imagined the death of so good a monarch. During this exhortation, the lieutenant twisted up his long cravat, so as to make a firm handsome rope, and then expertly sliding it over the rebel's neck, secured it there by a double knot, drew the

* Lives of the United Irishmen.

cravat over his own shoulders, and the aide-de-camp holding up the rebel's heels till he felt him pretty easy, the lieutenant, with a powerful chuck, drew up the poor devil's head as high as his own (cheek by jowl), and began to trot about with his burden like a jolting cart-horse, the rebel choking and gulping meanwhile, until he had no further solicitude about sublunary affairs—when the lieutenant, giving him a parting chuck, just to make sure that his neck was broken, threw down his load—the personal assets about which the aide-de-camp made a present to himself."*

When such severities were inflicted on men whose position in life, wealth, influence, and connections, might be supposed available to open to them the gates of mercy, it is needless to say that the blood of humbler individuals† flowed unsparingly and unnoticed—and that both the capital and the provinces were desecrated by inhuman exhibitions. Thousands of innocent families were left to mourn over the follies of their dearest members, and the unsparing severity with which an angry executive visited the offendings of misguided and repentant men.

Nor were the excesses committed by the northern royalists less truculent than those perpetrated in the midland counties and the south. Madden, who seems to have a most intimate knowledge of past occurrences from the immediate friends and descendants of those who figured in those stormy times, gives startling revelations. In many passages false inferences are drawn—but really, as far as facts go, the truth of the doctor's statements appear indisputable.

"The atrocities that were committed in Antrim," says Doctor Madden, "after the defeat of the rebels, were of the usual character of the yeomanry outrages. The following account of the melancholy fate of Mr. Quin, of Antrim, and his daughter, was given to me by a gentleman of that town, one who had a personal knowledge of the circumstance, and in some of the matters connected with it, a closer acquaintance than was consistent with the security of life itself:—

* Personal Sketches.

† A gentleman, still living, to whom I am indebted for valuable information, alludes in part of his correspondence to the execution of an aged priest, who, according to Sir Richard Musgrave, acted as a French commissary, and recruited actively for the invaders. Between Musgrave's hearsay authority, and the direct testimony of one of the old man's judges, the reader will form his own opinion touching the guilt or innocence of the condemned priest:—

"I was despatched with two hundred men and two field-pieces to occupy the celebrated pass of Barnageeragh, an extremely strong defile, where a few men, well posted, ought to check the advance of a large force. Having rode a few miles to reconnoitre in front of the pass, I reached the house of a priest who had been charged with acting as commissary to the French. The old man came out and surrendered himself, requesting to be conveyed to Castlebar, and protesting his perfect innocence, with a strong assurance that he had acted under terror, and with the sole intention of saving life. I subsequently sat on the court-martial which tried that poor man, and strenuously voted against the sentence which condemned him—but he was subsequently executed. Having at the time taken considerable pains to ascertain the facts, I declare it to be my sincere conviction, that the man acted altogether *under fear*, and against his own inclination—and I say this the rather that Sir Richard *Musgrave has* given a very different colour to the case."

"Mr. Quin lived in Antrim, near the head of the street that leads to Belfast (the Scotch quarter, as it is called). After the people had fled, some cannon were placed by the military to play upon the houses. A shot struck the house next to Quin's, when he and his daughter, a lovely girl of sixteen, fled through the garden towards Belmount, but a short distance, when they were shot down by the yeomen or militia, who had orders to shoot every person in coloured clothes. They were buried where they fell—and it was said that the beautiful long hair of the girl was partly above the ground, and waving in the wind for many days. This was the fact, and I recollect it excited more sympathy among the poor people than many horrid barbarities of the time, for she was a sweet lively girl, much beloved. Her brother, now residing in Belfast, then lived in a distant town—and as soon as he dared venture to the spot, he had his father and sister decently interred in the neighbouring burying-ground. There were many such murders as this during the twenty-four or forty-eight hours after the action of Ballanahinch, the particulars of which would only be distressing either to relate or to read.

"One of the most cruel and unprovoked was that of James M'Adam and the two Mr. Johnsons. These men had been appointed by the authorities in Ballymena, to convey and see deposited at the military camp beside Shanes Castle, several cart-loads of arms which the people had delivered up after the skirmish in that town. They deposited the arms, and passed through Antrim on their way to relatives who resided a mile or two from that town. On passing the avenue of Muckamore Abbey, the residence of Mr. Allison, which was then in the act of being burned and destroyed by a party of the 22nd light dragoons from Antrim, our unfortunate friends, in riding past, happened to attract the notice of the soldiery, when they were shot down, and their bodies thrown into the ditch. Their horses were afterwards sold by auction in Antrim by the military. Some humane persons had the bodies buried the next day in the grave-yard hard by.

"Dickey, an attorney of Randalstown, a man of stern resolution, who was not present at the battle, but came in when it was over, was for putting to death two officers, Ellis and Jones, but he was opposed by Dr. M'Gee. The rebels then left the town, and took their prisoners with them. They posted themselves on an adjoining hill (Craigmore), and there they received a message from Colonel Clavering, with terms which were accepted by the people, and shamefully violated by this officer. Three of the unfortunate people who remained in their houses were put to death in cold blood by the yeomen; one of these was a poor boy of twelve or fourteen, the only son of a widow of the name of French; the yeomen entered the widow's house, and regaled themselves there, after slaughtering her child.

"Dickey was taken, tried by court-martial, and hanged in Belfast. Captain Thomas Jones, on being liberated, joined his corps, the Toome yeomanry, and immediately commenced searching the houses in the vicinity, for such of the rebels as he had seen in Randalstown. He entered *one house, the* widow Neil's, and her son was found working at

his loom. The young man was taken to the door, held by two yeomen, while Jones shot him dead on the spot. The mother applied to the magistrates in the vicinity, but none would listen to her—she went to Dublin, and Judge Day put her in the way of getting her information taken. Jones was committed to jail, and indicted; but the bill however, as might have been expected, was ignored at Carrickfergus, —his father being one of the grand jury.

"General Clavering was an unprincipled and a merciless man. After the battle of Antrim he went to his head-quarters at Shanes Castle, and there he issued his proclamation to the rebels at Randalstown, who were then in great force, but badly armed. He promised if their arms were given up, that he would grant protection to the people, and there should be a complete amnesty; if not, that he would 'put man, woman, and child to the sword, and burn their dwellings.'

"They complied with the terms within the prescribed time. The proclamation being issued on Friday, and the arms delivered up that night at the turnpike. On Saturday morning he marched the Monaghan militia and 64th regiment into Randalstown, and burned the town, having allowed two hours previously for plunder. He proceeded then to Ballymena. One man was ordered to die—there was no person found to act as executioner, and he levied a fine of fifty pounds on the town in consequence. The money was paid, and he then ordered another mulct of fifty pounds to be levied, if the head was not struck off and stuck on the market-house. The head was struck off, and the fine was not levied."

It is an old and a very true remark, no matter how figurative, that "misfortune introduces men to strange bed-fellows;" and civil warfare is equally accommodating, in rendering the means secondary to the end—and varnishing, under the gilding of loyalty or patriotism, the perpetration of acts so criminal as to be altogether without the pale of apology. If a dark-minded priest slaughtered in the name of God, the loyalist flogged and robbed in proof of fealty to king and constitution. From two chronicles of the times, politically opposite as the antipodes, we extract the following journals of proceedings then common-place:—

"Saturday night, May 26, at six A.M., 1798, began the republic of Ireland in Boulavogue, in the county of Wexford, barony of Gorey, and parish of Kilcormick, commanded by the Rev. Doctor Murphy, parish priest of the said parish, in the aforesaid parish, when all the Protestants of that parish were disarmed, and among the aforesaid a bigot, named Thomas Bookey, who lost his life by his rashness.

"26. From thence came to Oulart, a country village adjoining, when the republic attacked a minister's house for arms, and was denied of, laid siege immediately to it, and killed him and all his forces—the same day burned his house, and all the Orangemen's houses in that and all the adjoining parishes in that part of the country.

"The same day, a part of the army, to the amount of one hundred and four of infantry and two troops of cavalry, attacked the republic on *Oulart-hill*, when the military were repulsed with the loss of one





George Cruikshank

Attack on Captain Channey's House

hundred and twelve men, and the republic had four killed; and then went to a hill called Corrigrua, where the republic encamped that night, and from thence went to a town called Camolin, which was taken without resistance, and the same day took another town and seat of a bishop. At three in the afternoon the same day, they laid siege to Enniscorthy, when they were opposed by an army of seven hundred men; then they were forced to set both ends of the town on fire, and then took the town in the space of one hour, and then encamped on a hill near the town, called Vinegar-hill.

"BRYAN BULGER,
"DARBY MURPHY, his hand and pen."

"Dated this 26th."*

The first despatch is authenticated—the second rests on the credibility of Doctor Madden and the signature of Colonel Atherton. We believe it—and why? In military *parlance*, "it was the order of the day."

The following communication, dated "Newtownards, 20th June, 1798, half-past eleven," was addressed by a British officer holding a commission of the peace, and commanding a large district in the north, to General Nugent. The letter fell into the hands of a magistrate of the County Down, and was communicated by him to the late John Lawless:—

"Dear Sir,

"I have had tolerable success to-day in apprehending the persons mentioned in the memorandum. The list is as follows.—[*Here follows a list, containing twenty-seven names.*]

"We have burned Johnston's house at Crawford's-burn. At Bangor, destroyed the furniture of Patrick Agnew; James Francis, and Gibson, and Campbell's not finished yet. At Ballyholme burned the house of Johnston; at the Demesnes, near Bangor, the houses of James Richardson and John Scott; at Ballymaconnell-mills, burned the house of M'Connell, miller, and James Martin, a captain and a friend of M'Cullock's, hanged at Ballynahinch.

"Groomsport, reserved; Cotton, the same.

"We have also the following prisoners on the information of different people.—[*Here follows a list, containing five names.*]

"We hope you will think we have done tolerably well. To-morrow we go to Portaferry, or rather to its neighbourhood. Ought we not to punish the gentlemen of the country, who have never assisted the well-disposed people, yeomanry, &c.? For my own part, a gentleman of any kind, but more particularly a magistrate, who deserts his post at such a period, ought to be——I will not say what.

"Mr. Ecclin, of Ecclinville.

"Rev. Hutcheson, Donaghadee.

* Father John Murphy's Journal, found on the field of battle at Arklow, by Lieutenant-colonel Bainbridge, of the Durham fencible infantry, and sent by him to General Needham.

"Mr. Arbuckle, collector of Donaghadee, an official man, Mr. Ker, Portavo, Mr. Ward, of Bangor, now, and *only now*, to be found.

"List of inactive magistrates, or rather friends of the United Irishmen:—

"Sir John Blackwood, John Crawford, of Crawford's-burn, John Kennedy, Cultra, &c.

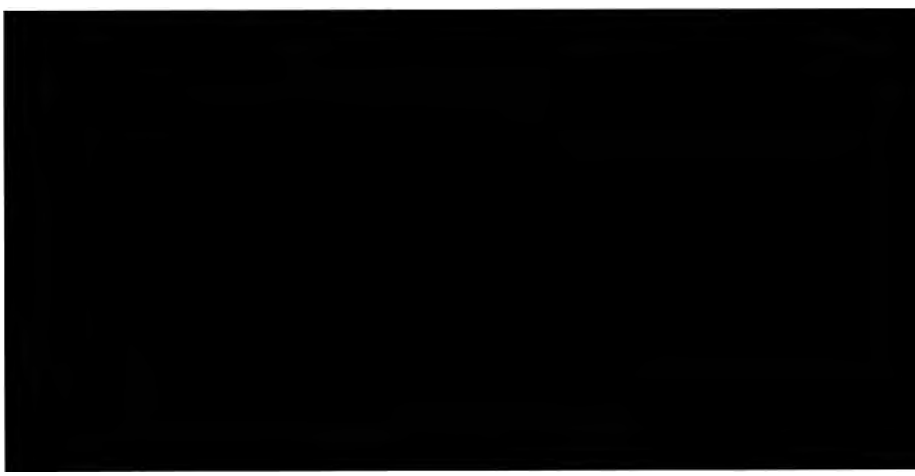
"But among others, Rev. Hugh Montgomery, of Rose-mount, who is no friend to government or to its measures, and whom I strongly suspect. I have got his bailiff. Believe me, dear Sir,

"With the greatest respect and esteem,

"Your most faithful servant,

"Q. ATHERTON.

"I am apt to suspect you are misinformed about Smith, the inn keeper, of Donaghadee. The newspaper account is entirely false. The fellow's fled. I will endeavour to know more about him. I wish for no lawyers here, except as my clerks."







The R.H. John Fane, Earl of Westmorland,
Lord Lieut.t of Ireland 1790

UNIV. OF CH.

CHAPTER XXIX.

COMPACT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND PRISONERS OF STATE.

A NEGOTIATION with the Irish government to effect a compromise between it and the state prisoners we have already stated had been commenced*—and the capital convictions of Byrne and Bond induced the leaders, then in custody, to bring the agreement to a close, in the hope of saving from the extreme penalty of the law two persons held in high consideration by the disaffected. Many versions of this political arrangement have been given to the world—and the account of its rise, progress, and completion, as detailed by Neilson afterwards, gives a plain and succinct account of what occurred. He states, "that the first proposal to enter into terms with government, was made to him by his attorney, Crawford, 'the middle of July.' That the proposal was taken into consideration, and on the 22nd of July, Mr. Dobbs, a member of the Irish parliament, took on himself the office of mediator between the government and the prisoners, and entered into a negotiation with Neilson on their part. On the following day, the 23rd of July, Mr. Dobbs communicated with Lord Castlereagh, and his lordship said, before any thing was determined on, 'the result of Bond's trial must be first known.'

"On the 27th of July, a government official, Mr. Alexander, communicated with Bond, and undertook, at his desire, to ascertain at the castle how the proposal would be received; and at his suggestion, Neilson drew up a paper stipulating that the lives of Byrne and Bond should be saved—and on that day, Mr. Dobbs and the sheriffs went round the prisons and got the names of several of the prisoners to it. The day following Byrne was executed, pending the negotiation. The reason given for Byrne's execution was, that *all the prisoners had not signed the agreement.* Arthur O'Connor states, that he was applied to on the 24th, by Mr. Dobbs and one of the sheriffs, who brought the agreement to him signed by seventy of the state prisoners. A second time, however, the agreement was taken round the prisons, and it then received the signatures of all the state prisoners, with the exception of Dowdall and Roger O'Connor.

In endeavouring to accommodate matters with the government, we have already stated that Neilson was actuated by feelings of ardent friendship. His apology for originating this compromise is a curious

* This account of the compact of the state prisoners with the Irish government is taken from the original draft of that document in the handwriting of Emmet, Sweetman, and M'Nevin, drawn up by them in France, on their liberation from For' George.

exposé of the character of the man, and the singular position in which he stood himself, when overtures were made to the executive.

"It is necessary to state how he himself (Neilson) stood at the commencement of the negotiations. He had been served with a copy of the indictment; he had been brought up from his cell in irons, to have counsel assigned; he refused to name any, lest he might, in any degree, give his concurrence to the transactions of a court, which, he said, 'he looked upon as a sanguinary tribunal for conviction and death, and not for trial:' stating further, 'that to him it appeared that justice had slid off her base, which had been taken possession of by brutal force.' He was afterwards brought up and arraigned; next day his cell was searched, and the outline of the defence he intended to make was found concealed under a flag, and carried off in triumph to the castle. It went on the ground of justification, expressed in the strongest manner he could find language for, and proposed to plead guilty to every count in the indictment, provided they would expunge the obnoxious appellations. His trial was immediately put off, *sine die*, and a few days after he was again brought up, when, at the pressing request of his friends, particularly of Mr. Curran, he acquiesced in the nomination of counsel and agent, who had immediate access to him in consequence; and one and all assured him, that, so far as they could learn, there was not evidence to be adduced against him that could in any way affect his life. This he states, in order to satisfy every person, that his own case had no concern whatever in the transaction.

"Those who know him best will readily give him credit, when he says, that the failure of the insurrection, and the daily execution of his virtuous friends in town and country, martyrs to the same cause, had, so far from creating a terror of death, actually made life a burthen to him. He further declares, that so far as he knows, there was not a prisoner who took part in this measure, but was actuated chiefly, if not solely, by considerations of a nature far from selfish or personal; by far the greater part of them were, and had long been, imprisoned merely on suspicion; nor was there any idea whatever of bringing them to trial at that or at any other time."

It is only necessary to connect the portions of Neilson's account, suppressing extraneous details. The agent of communication first selected was Lord Charlemont; but with every wish to interfere, and terminate by judicious concessions on one side, and submissions on the other, the feverish excitement which left the kingdom unsettled and insecure, bad health rendered that nobleman unequal to the task, and he devolved it upon the nominee of his borough—the benevolent and eccentric Mr. Dobbs. Neilson's narrative thus continues:—

"Mr. Dobbs did not see Lord Castlereagh until next morning, the 23rd, at half-past ten o'clock. At this time, Bond's trial had commenced, and he (Mr. Dobbs) was told that the result of the trial must be known in the first instance. Bond was condemned on the following *morning*—a necessary consequence of accusation before a tribunal *when the law* of treason was so extended as to embrace the population

of the land, and whose juries were sanguinary Orangemen. He was conducted to Newgate, the same prison in which I was. I testified to the turnkey an anxious wish to see my old and intimate friend previous to his death.

"This wish found its way to Sheriff Pasley, who, actuated by motives of humanity, ventured to take me to the place where Byrne and Bond were confined. I then met the other sheriff and Mr. Alexander, from the castle, who, being a relation of Bond's, and probably having known of the communication through Mr. Dobbs, had called to see him. I asked Bond if he had heard any thing upon the subject, but neither he nor Byrne knew any thing of it. I stated the plan and its object in a few words; every person present approved of it. Bond and Byrne gave it their approbation, as tending to stop the general effusion of blood, but insisted that their own particular cases should not be considered as of any importance in the general question."

Some state difficulties occurred—a few of the prisoners had declined to sign the agreement—and the government, acting with a sternness of purpose, scarcely excusable under the circumstances, sent Byrne to the scaffold. But the arrangement was finally completed—and a short document annexed was signed by the leaders of the United Irishmen:—

"That the undersigned state prisoners in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen; and that each of them shall give detailed information of every thing that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever, and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed upon between them and government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not to pass into any enemy's country: if, on so doing, they are to be freed from prosecution, and also Mr. Bond be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope that it may be extended to such persons in custody, or not in custody, as may choose to benefit by it.

"Dublin, 29th July, 1798."

A treaty, on more than one occasion, embarrassed with difficulties which rendered its completion an uncertainty, at last was fortunately concluded. Delegates were required from the prisons of the metropolis, and four were nominated by the *détenu* to represent them, and Messrs. Emmet, M'Nevin, and O'Connor had a final and satisfactory interview with Lords Clare, Castlereagh, and Mr. Cooke.*

* "28th.—Mr. Dobbs received a letter from Mr. Cooke, stating that, in consequence of his interview with the prisoners, he was persuaded it was not their intention to give the full and candid information as required by the paper; and that Mr. Bond's execution could not be postponed, unless the gentlemen would give government unequivocal proof of the sincerity of their intentions. Whereupon it was agreed that three persons should wait on Lord Castlereagh to remove the difficulties and explain, when Thomas A. Emmet and W. J. M'Nevin were despatched from Kilmainham and O'Connor from Bridewell.

An examination before the secret committee of the House of Lords resulted—and some interesting disclosures were made. One extract, taken from Ridgeway's Reports, when Thomas Addis Emmet was under examination, is highly characteristic of the motives of at least a section of the conspirators:—

"*Lord Dillon.*—Mr. Emmet, you have stated the views of the executive to be very liberal and very enlightened, and I believe yours were so; but let me ask you, whether it was not intended to cut off, in the beginning of the contest, the leaders of the opposition party by a summary mode, such as assassination? My reason for asking you is, John Sheares's proclamation, the most terrible paper that ever appeared in any country: it says, that 'many of your tyrants have bled, and others must bleed,' &c.

"*Emmet.*—My lords, as to Mr. Sheares's proclamation, he was not of the executive when I was.

"*Lord Chancellor.*—He was of the new executive.

"*Emmet.*—I do not know he was of any executive, except from what your lordship says; but I believe he was joined with some others in framing a particular plan of insurrection for Dublin and its neighbourhood; neither do I know what value he annexed to those words in his proclamation: but I can answer, that while I was of the executive, there was no such design, but the contrary, for we conceived when you lost your lives we lost a hostage. Our intention was to seize you all, and keep you as hostages for the conduct of England; and after the revolution was over, if you could not live under the new government, to send you out of the country. I will add one thing more, which, though it is not an answer to your question, you may have a curiosity to hear. In such a struggle, it was natural to expect confiscations; our intention was, *that every wife who had not instigated her husband to resistance, should be provided for out of the property, notwithstanding confiscations; and every child who was too young to be his own master, or form his own opinion, was to have a child's portion.* Your lordships will now judge how far we intended to be cruel.

"*Lord Chancellor.*—Pray, Mr. Emmet, what caused the late insurrection?

"*Emmet.*—The free quarters, the house burnings, the tortures, and the military executions, in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow.

"*Lord Chancellor.*—Don't you think the arrests of the 12th of March caused it?

"*Emmet.*—No, but I believe if it had not been for these arrests it would not have taken place; for the people, irritated by what they suffered, had been long pressing the executive to consent to an insur-

"29th.—The above-named had an interview at the castle with Lord Castlereagh, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Cooke, which was satisfactory. They brought home an order for the admission of our friends.

"*30th.*—Admitted to the jail at large, our solitary confinement having lasted *twenty weeks.*"—*Sweetman's Diary.*

rection—but they had resisted or eluded it, and even determined to persevere in the same line. After these arrests, however, other persons came forward, who were irritated, and thought differently, who consented to let that partial insurrection take place."

There cannot be a doubt, that the faith ensured by the terms of their agreement with the government, was rigidly regarded by the leaders of the union towards their confederates in all their subsequent communications with the authorities. Still suspicion was attached to the negotiation—whispers went abroad that raised considerable alarm—the newspapers, on both sides, through ignorance or design, misled public opinion—and a public disclaimer appeared in the daily press.

"Having read in the different newspaper publications, pretending to be abstracts of the report of the secret committee of the House of Commons, and of our depositions before the committees of Lords and Commons, we feel ourselves called upon to assure the public that they are gross, and, to us, astonishing misrepresentations, not only unsupported by, but in many instances directly contradictory to, the facts we really stated on these occasions. We further assure our friends, that in no instance did the name of any individual escape from us; on the contrary, we always refused answering such questions as might tend to implicate any person whatever, conformably to the agreement entered into by the state prisoners with government.

(Signed) "ARTHUR O'CONNOR.
"THOS. ADDIS EMMET.
"WM. JAS. M'NEVIN."

The impression, however, had taken hold of the public mind—and after their removal to Fort George, Neilson, Emmet, M'Nevin, and O'Connor issued to the world statements respectively, explanatory of the causes and objects that induced a compromise with the Irish government to be entered into.

The subsequent history of this compact between the government and state prisoners is not without interest. In Neilson's detail, some unimportant occurrences being omitted, he states what must appear to be one of the practical advantages of the agreement.

"Nearly two weeks had elapsed after the agreement was concluded, during which we in Newgate read accounts daily of murders and other cruelties committed in Wicklow, where a body under Holt still held out, and elsewhere, chiefly by the yeomen: we also understood that some courts-martial were still proceeding on the trials of those concerned, or suspected of being concerned, in the late insurrection. In short, while our friends were suffering on the one hand, government on the other had not availed itself of the measure to pacify the country. Bond and I complained of this to Mr. Alexander, who occasionally called to see him, and he, after stating at the castle what we said, desired us to commit our thoughts to paper, and they would be taken into consideration. We immediately forwarded the following suggestion to Mr. Cooke:—

"'*It is to be premised* that all communications on the present state

of the country are to be confidential, explicit, and calculated to restore harmony by concessions on the part of government, and obedience on the part of the people.

"'First, then, we are of opinion that, in order to tranquillize the public mind, there should be an immediate and universal amnesty, together with general liberation of the prisoners in the different jails and tenders, who are charged with treason or treasonable practices, government pointing out such excepted persons as they wish to leave the country, and who may prefer emigration to imprisonment or trial.

"'We think this step will so prepossess the people in favour of Lord Cornwallis's government, that they will cheerfully listen to any proposals which may be made for the restoration and continuance not only of tranquillity, but mutual confidence.

"'With respect to the persons who may be chiefly instrumental in the different counties, to effectuate this desirable object, we think an immediate correspondence should be opened with them by such prisoners as approve of this measure and will voluntarily assist in it. We, on our part, are willing to do every thing in our power to carry it into effect.

(Signed) "'Oliver Bond.
"'Samuel Neilson.

"'New Prison, 8th August, 1798.'

"Two or three days after this had been sent to the castle, Mr. Dobbs called upon us, and shewed upon this, as indeed upon every other occasion, his ardent desire to co-operate in every plan that could be suggested to put a stop to bloodshed and cruelty. He had been conversing with some confidential person at the castle upon the subject, and proposed our sending down some persons to Wicklow, whose character would gain them credit with the insurgents who still held out.

"We acceded to the proposal, and promised to look out for two gentlemen of the description he mentioned, but stated, that in the first place we must have for them the most explicit and absolute protections; and, in the next place, unconditional pardons for such insurgents as they would bring in. To this Mr. Dobbs not only acceded, but philanthropically proposed that he himself would set off with them the moment he got the necessary papers and letters from government to General Moore, who commanded in the disturbed district.

"This mission had the desired effect; vast numbers came in, and the Orange persecution was completely put a stop to for that time and in that county."

Although differently expressed by each of the prisoners, the grounds for completing the arrangement are essentially the same—and as Sweetman's Summary embodies them, we select it in preference to the other statements, which enter into fuller reasoning and detail:—

"First, because we had seen, with great affliction, that in the course of the appeal to arms, while four or five counties out of the thirty-two *were making* head against the whole of the king's forces, no effectual *disposition was* manifested to assist them, owing, as we believe, to the

extreme difficulty of assembling, and the want of authentic information as to the real state of affairs. Secondly, because the concurring or quiescent spirit of the English people enabled their government to send not only a considerable additional regular force, but also many regiments of English militia into Ireland. Thirdly, because it was evident that in many instances the want of military knowledge in the leaders had rendered the signal valour of the people fruitless. Fourthly, because, notwithstanding it was well known in France that the revolution had commenced in Ireland, an event that they were previously taught to expect, no attempt whatever was made by them to land any force during the two months which the contest had lasted, nor was any account received that it was their intention even shortly to do so. Fifthly, because that by the arrest of many of the deputies and chief agents of the union, and by the absence of others, the funds necessary for the undertaking were obstructed or uncollected, and hence arose insurmountable difficulties. Sixthly, because from the several defeats at New Ross and Wexford, no doubt remained on our minds that farther resistance, for the present, was not only vain, but nearly abandoned. Seventhly, because we were well assured that the proclamation of amnesty issued on the 29th of June had caused great numbers to surrender their arms, and take the oath of allegiance. Eighthly, because juries were so packed, justice so perverted, and the testimony of the basest informers so respected, that trial was but a mockery, and arraignment but the tocsin for execution. Ninthly, because we were convinced by the official servants of the crown, and by the evidence given on the trials, that government was already in possession of our external and internal transactions; the former they obtained, as we believe, through the perfidity of some agents of the French government at Hamburgh; the latter through informers, who had been less or more confidential in all our affairs. Tenthly, and finally, every day accounts of the murders of our most virtuous and energetic countrymen assailed our ears; many were perishing on the scaffold, under pretext of martial or other law, but many more the victims of individual Orange hatred and revenge. To stop this torrent of calamity, and to preserve to Ireland her best blood, we determined to make a sacrifice of no trivial value—we agreed to abandon our country, our families, and our friends."

As we have mentioned the name of Thomas Addis Emmet, as a prominent personage in effecting terms with the government, an episode connected with his long confinement may not be deemed irrelevant. At the commencement of his imprisonment, the crowded state of the jail, the coarseness of manner used to the unfortunates by the insolent subordinates of these mansions of the wretched—the total absence of discipline or order in these abodes of guilt and misery, where the midnight orgies were continued until the chapel bell tolled the signal for a morning execution—all were sufficient to shake the stubborn nerve of man, but not subdue the endearing attachment of lovely woman.

"The *wife of Emmet* at that period had an opportunity afforded of

displaying that heroic devotion to her husband which she was destined to be called on to exhibit for upwards of four years in the several prisons he was immured in. Soon after his confinement she obtained permission to visit him. The cell in which he was confined was about twelve feet square. She managed to secrete herself in this wretched abode for some days, one of the turnkeys who had charge of Emmet's cell being privy to her concealment. Her husband shared his scanty allowance with her; and there a lady, bred in the lap of luxury, accustomed to all the accommodations that are possessed by one in her sphere in life, used to all the comforts of a happy home, familiarized to the affectionate care and kind attentions of an amiable family, daily blessed with the smiling faces of her dear children—'one who had slept with full content about her bed, and never waked but to a joyful morning,' shared the dungeon of her husband; its gloom, its dreary walls, its narrow limits, its dismal aspect—things and subjects for contemplation which her imagination a few weeks before would have sickened at the thought of—were now endured as if they affected her not; her husband was there, and every thing else in this world, except her fears for his safety and for separation from him, were forgotten; her acts said to him,

'Thou to me,
Art all things under heaven, all places thou.'

"The jailer at length discovered that Mrs. Emmet was an inmate of her husband's cell. She was immediately ordered to quit the place; but to the astonishment of the officers of the prison, who were not accustomed to have their orders disobeyed, she told them '*her mind was made up* to remain with her husband, and she would not leave the prison.' The jailer, whom Emmet speaks of as 'a man of unfeeling and ruffianly deportment,' stood *awe-stricken* before a feeble, helpless creature, whom he had only to order one of his myrmidons to tear from the arms of her husband, and his bidding would have been obeyed. The power of a brave-spirited woman seldom is put forth that it does not triumph; and when she exerts it on occasions of mighty moment to those who are dearer to her than life, it is difficult to understand how the display alone of the nobility of her nature seems to overcome the insolent security of brute force, the sense of superior strength, or the command of that of others.

"The jailer retired; and Emmet was given to understand that orders had been given to the man by his superiors not to employ force, but the first time that Mrs. Emmet left the prison she was not to be permitted to return. No such opportunity for her exclusion was afforded by that lady. She continued to share her husband's captivity for upwards of twelve months. But once in that time she left the prison, and then only to visit her sick child, when she appealed to the wife of the jailer, 'as the mother of a family,' to take pity on her wretchedness, struggling, as she was, between her duty to her husband, and the yearnings of nature towards her sick child.

"*It* cheers one to find that even such an appeal as this was not

made in vain. At midnight this woman conducted Mrs. Emmet through the apartments of the jailer to the street. The following night, after remaining with her child at the house of Dr. Emmet during the day, she returned to the jail, gained admittance by the same means, and was on the point of entering her husband's cell when one of the keepers discovered her, but too late to exclude her from the prison. From that time she availed herself no more of the same facility for leaving or entering the prison. During her absence the room had been visited by one of the keepers, not an unfrequent occurrence; the curtains had been drawn round the bed, some bundles of clothing placed under the coverlid, and the keeper was requested to tread lightly, as Mrs. Emmet was suffering from headache. Shortly after this occurrence Emmet and M'Nevin were removed to Kilmainham jail, and Mrs. Emmet was allowed to accompany her husband."*

* Lives of the United Irishmen.

CHAPTER XXX.

SECOND ATTEMPT TO LAND TROOPS FROM FRANCE IN KILLALLA BAY—GENERAL HUMBERT—FALSE ACCOUNT GIVEN OF HIS EXPEDITION—BOMPARD'S DEFEAT OFF LOUGH SWILLY—CAPTURE, TRIAL, AND DEATH OF TONE.

On the 27th of October, and for the last time, an invading force of French republicans appeared on the western shores of Ireland—and the same frigates from which Humbert and his gallant followers had debarked on the evening of the 22nd of August, once more entered Killalla Bay, with, as it was reported, two thousand men on board. When they sailed, the intelligence of Humbert's surrender had not been received by the Directory—and they had been intended to reinforce that officer, and make a strong diversion in favour of the Brest armament destined to operate on the north-east coast of Ireland. But their anchors had scarcely reached the bottom, when the unwelcome appearance of several hostile vessels obliged them to stand out to sea without holding any communication with the shore. Chased incessantly by British cruisers, they managed to escape by superior sailing—and after that failure. the French executive seemed to consider any future attempts on Ireland as hopeless.

Had this descent been made, it is probable that the suppression of the rebellion a month before, and the severe examples already made on all concerned, would have caused an apathy on the part of the peasantry, which would have rendered this landing only an idle experiment to resuscitate a flame, quenched beyond the power of being rekindled. In the central counties the popular spirit was feverish still, and partial insurrections might have resulted.* But many of the insurgents were heartily disgusted with those fearful scenes in which they had so recently been actors, and had no desire or intention to try conclusions in the field again. In one littoral district of the county of Wexford, which stretches from its capital towards Gorey, called by the inhabitants "the Muckamores," the peasantry, who had been two months before in arms, tendered not only their allegiance but their services to the government—and there is no doubt, that had the latter been accepted, they would have proved both brave and faithful allies in the field. A curious document, addressed to the commander of the garrison of Wexford, proves that, provided he is allowed to fight, the Irish peasant is easily satisfied as to the cause.†

* "The landing of the French was known by the rebels in the county of Kildare, the Queen's county, and part of the county of Tipperary; and the mass of the people in them shewed suddenly a strong sensation and a spirit of combination, even before the loyal subjects were acquainted with that event."—*Musgrave.*

† "To Breggadeer Magar Figgerald, in Waxford.

'Plaise your honor, as you war good enof to get the general to give us pardon, and as you tould us that if there was an occasion youd expect that weed fite for our

Before we close our notices of the last attempts made by the Directory at invasion, it may be gratifying to observe, that the admirable conduct displayed by the commander of the Rochelle expedition, during his operations in the west, was not overlooked when fortune declared against him, and Humbert was obliged to surrender. On the warm representations of the Bishop of Killalla, the Irish administration was pleased to forward the French officers immediately "to London, giving them what money they wanted for their draft on the commissary of prisoners, Niou. From London the bishop had a letter from the committee for taking care of French prisoners, desiring to be informed in what manner he and his family had been treated by the French officers; and on the bishop's report, an order was obtained that citizens Charost, Boudet, and Ponson, should be set at liberty, and sent home without exchange. Niou, the French commissary, refused, on the part of his government, to accept of this mark of respect from our ministry, saying, that the Directory could not avail themselves of so polite an offer, because their officers at Killalla had only

king and country, and as ever willin to be up to our word we send this paper about the bisness, and if your honor ill give us leave to fite, weel do every thing your honor bids us, and we minded nothing else to morrow but to fite for the king's officers against the French, and hopes your honor will excuse this haste as we wish to lose no time, and excuse our not nowing how to write to such generals, but if your honor will get a memoral drawn rite, your honor may depend on us, and put our name to it for us as in the inclosed.

"O'BRIEN,
"WALSH, and
"SULLIVAN."

"To the General Hunter, or Governor of Waxford, belonging to King George the Third.

"We, the Macamore boys, was in the turn out against the Orrange-men, and to who your noble honour gave your most grasous pardon, for we never desarved any other if we war let alone, and being tould that the French was cumeing to take this cunttry from his Royal Highness the king, who we swore to fite for, and in regard to our oath and to your lordships goodness in keeping the Orrange-men from killing us all, weel fite till we die if your honour will give us leave, and weel go in the front of the battle, and we never ax to go in the back of the army your honour will send wid us, and if we dont beat them, weel never ax a bit to ete, and as you gave us pardon and spoke to the king about us, as the breggaddeer magar tould us, and as we tould him weed never deceive your honour, tho the black mob says weel turn out a bit again, but weel shew them and the world if your honour will bid us, that weel fite and wont run away from the best of them, and if your honour will send down the magar that was wid us from your lordship afore, or the honourable magar Curry, or the Lord Sir James Fowler, general of the middle lothin sogers in Waxford, and let them lave word at Peppers castle, and weel march into Waxford, go where your honour bids us, do any thing atal to fite for your honour, and weel expect to hear from your honour what weel do, or if your honour will order a signal to be made with a red flag, weel draw up and march as good as any sogers, and as far as one or two thoughsand good stout boys goes, weel fite for your honour to the last man, and weer sure all the Barneys ill do the same if you will give them lave.

"Signed by the desire of all the parishes in the Muckamores.

"O'BRIEN,
"WALSH, and
"SULLIVAN."

"August 27th, 1798."

done their duty, and no more than what any Frenchman would have done in a similar situation."

That this just and generous intervention was duly estimated by Humbert and his companions, the following letter, truly honourable to the good feelings of the French commander, will sufficiently establish:—

"Dover, October 26, 1798.

"My Lord,

"Being on the point of returning to France, I think it my duty to testify to you the extraordinary esteem with which your conduct has always inspired me. Since I have had the good fortune of being acquainted with you, I have always regretted that the chance of war, and my duty as a military officer, have obliged me, in carrying the scourge of war into your neighbourhood, to disturb the domestic happiness which you enjoyed, and of which you are in every respect worthy. Too happy if in returning into my country I can flatter myself that I have acquired any claim to your esteem. Independently of other reasons which I have for loving and esteeming you, the representation which citizen Charost gives me of all your good offices to him and his officers, as well before as after the reduction of Killalla, will demand for ever my esteem and gratitude.

"I entreat you, my lord, to accept my declaration of it, and to impart it to your worthy family.

"I am, with the highest esteem,

"My Lord, you most humble servant,

"HUMBERT."

In the teeth of this letter from the general to the bishop, it will be scarcely credited that it has been stated by writers, who profess to give a faithful record of the transactions of these times, that the failure of Humbert's expedition was altogether attributable to the blandishments of Dr. Stock, aided and assisted by his cook—and, that apprized of this clerical delinquency, one of the chief objects of the Directory in making a second attempt at landing in Killalla, was to seize the devoted bishop, and carry him away to France.* In his notice of Humbert's expedition, the younger Tone gives the following veracious reasons for its final failure:—

"Strange and desperate as was this enterprise, had it been prosecuted with the same spirit and vivacity with which it was begun, it

* "These forces had orders to send the Bishop of Killalla and his family prisoners to France, and, if they should meet with opposition in landing, to lay the town in ashes. The cause of this unmerited severity was an unfounded opinion entertained by the French administrators, that the bishop had betrayed the town to the king's troops, together with a deposit of 280 barrels of gunpowder, partly buried under a hotbed in his garden, partly in a vault in the haggard under a corn-stand. The powder could not be concealed from the king's officers, even if the bishop had thought it his duty to attempt it; but its removal was anxiously wished, since the town with all its contents had three times been in danger of annihilation by the approach of fire to this terrible mass, the shock of whose explosion must have had the most ruinous effect."—*Gordon's History.*

might have succeeded, and Humbert, an obscure and uneducated soldier, have effected a revolution, and crowned his name with glory. The insurrection was scarcely appeased, and its embers might soon have been blown into a flame; but landing in a distant, wild, and isolated corner of the island, instead of pressing rapidly at once, as he was strongly advised, to the mountains of Ulster (the centre of the United Irish organization), and calling the people to arms, he amused himself, during a fortnight, in drilling the peasantry of the neighbourhood, who flocked to his standard, and enjoying the hospitality of the Bishop of Killalla. That prelate rendered a most signal service to the Irish government by thus detaining the French general."

Such is Tone's account—in statement, devoid of truth, in purpose, equally mean and malignant. What are the facts? Let us see in what way Humbert *amused himself during a fortnight.* He landed late on the evening of the 22nd, drove the feeble garrison into the castle, and took possession of the town. On the 23rd he made a *reconnaissance* on Ballina, and employed himself actively in mounting his cavalry, horsing his guns, and obtaining means of transport for his stores and ammunition. On the 24th, not contented with obtaining all the horses in the town, he actually sent off the bishop prisoner, with a threat of deportation, because the doctor could not work miracles and obtain the means of transport he demanded. This proceeding on the part of the French general would indicate that he did not take things so very quietly as Mr. Tone insinuates, and that the hospitality of the bishop had not sufficient fascination to induce the rough republican to overlook the due attention to his orders. On Sunday morning, Humbert took possession of Ballina—and recommencing his movements at daylight, by a forced march he crossed twenty English miles of bog and mountain, by a road hitherto considered impracticable—reached the royalist position—and at noon on Monday had completely routed a well-appointed army, and seized the town of Castlebar. All these affairs being transacted in the short space occurring between Wednesday evening, when he landed, and Monday, at mid-day, when he took possession of the capital of the county. Of his future operations the reader is already apprized. The same spirit, the same celerity, and the same boldness, distinguishing the close of a career, which throughout had been marked with a daring and success, that elicited the unqualified admiration even of his enemies.

We have often had cause to think that no men might complain with greater justice, generally, against their biographers, than the leaders of the Irish Union. A partisan is ever a dangerous person to chronicle a life, and the ignorance of false praise is always damnatory to the memory of him on whom the ill-judged incense has been lavished. The folly of Irish writers lay chiefly in predicating the possession of military talent to persons who, from the nature of their avocations, could never have gained the slightest insight into the art of war—and with all the action, and about as much of the reality of pantomime, transmuting preachers into adjutant-generals, and trader

into commanders-in-chief. That Dickson, Munro, or McCracken, by no possibilty could have acquired any military experience, may be inferred from the peaceful professions they had followed. Tandy proved himself a mere poltron—and in the memorials left behind him by poor Tone, and most unwisely given to the world, the weak frivolity apparent in every revelation stamps him a wild and dreamy enthusiast, wrapt in idle speculations of Utopian government—a restless demagogue—a man whose mercurial disposition might have been successful on the stage, but utterly unsuited for the field.

The fate of the greater expedition, which the frigates visiting Killalla on the 27th of October were intended to assist, had been unfortunately decided before these vessels made the land. On the 16th of September, a squadron* under the command of Commodore Bompart, with three thousand troops on board, quitted Brest harbour, and on the morning of the 17th was fallen in with by the British 38-gun frigates Boadicea and Ethalion, with the 18-gun brig Sylph, when about five leagues to the westward of the Bec du Raz. Captain Keats immediately made sail in search of Lord Bridport, leaving the Ethalion to watch the movements of the French squadron, which on the 18th bore away south-west. The Ethalion was joined soon afterwards by the 38-gun frigate Amelia, Captain Herbert, and on the 19th by the 44-gun frigate Anson, Captain Durham; and these ships continued watching the movements of the enemy until the 1st of October, when blowing and thick weather separated the British ships; but on the 11th, the Ethalion and Anson, which had for a time lost sight of the enemy, were joined by Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren. The British squadron then consisted of—

Gun Ship.		
74	Canada	Commodore Sir J. B. Warren, Bart.
	Robust	Captain Edward Thornborough,
80	Foudroyant ...	„ Sir Thomas Byard,
44	Magnanime ...	„ Hon. Michael de Courcy,
38	Ethalion	„ George Countess,
44	Anson	„ Philip Charles H. Durham,
36	Melampus ...	„ Graham Moore,
38	Amelia	„ Hon. Charles Herbert.

Commodore Bompart, who, on losing sight of the British frigates, had steered for Lough Swilly, in fulfilment of his orders, was discovered by the British squadron on the same day off Tory island. During the night the Anson, in a heavy squall, carried away her mizen-mast, main, and main-topsail-yards; and in the same squall the Hoche lost her main-topmast and fore and mizen top-gallant-masts.

At 5h. 30m. A.M. on the 12th, Commodore Bompart and the ships of his squadron found themselves at no great distance from the British ships. The French at this time were formed in two ill-constructed

* Hoche, 74; Immortalité, 46; Romaine, 46; Loire, 46; Bellone, 36; Coquille, 36; Embuscade, 36; Résolue, 36; Sémillante, 36; Biche, schooner.

lines, with the disabled Hoche in the centre of the second. The Robust and Magnanime were about four miles astern, the Amelia on the lee quarter, and the Melampus, Foudroyant, and Canada also to leeward, and the latter distant eight miles: the Anson had parted company in the night.

At 7h. A.M. the British endeavoured to form a line astern of the Robust; and the French squadron, being hemmed in with the land about Donegal Bay, and having no other course to pursue, steered south-west, with the wind on the starboard beam, formed in line ahead thus: Sémillante, Romaine, Bellone, Immortalité, Loire, Hoche, Résolue, Coquille, and Embuscade. At 7h. 45m. A.M., the Robust having obtained, by means of keeping her wind, a position on the enemy's weather quarter, edged away for the Embuscade and Coquille, and having passed under the stern of the former, ranged up to leeward, and opened fire upon the Hoche: these ships were soon in close action. The Magnanime quickly followed, and, passing the Robust to leeward, was soon in action with the Loire, Immortalité, and Bellone, which ships bore up to rake her; but after receiving a few broadsides from the British forty-four, made sail to leeward. The Magnanime then placed herself across the bows of the Hoche; and at 10h. 50m., the latter being entirely disabled, having twenty-five guns dismounted and a great part of her crew killed and wounded, hauled down her colours. The Embuscade also surrendered at 11h. 30m.; but the Coquille made sail after the Loire and Immortalité. No time was lost in pursuing the four French frigates, the object of which appeared to be to cross the bows of the Foudroyant, which ship was still on the starboard tack. In this the Loire and Immortalité succeeded; but the Bellone sailing indifferently, was unable to effect it, and was therefore obliged to keep her luff. After engaging the Melampus, whose masts she disabled, and keeping up a running fight of one hour and fifty minutes with the Ethalion, the French frigate, having had twenty killed and forty-five wounded, struck her colours. The Coquille was engaged by the Melampus, and was also obliged to strike, and was taken possession of by a boat from the Magnanime. The Anson had rejoined, but was so far to leeward as to be incapable of taking part in the attack; she, however, was successively engaged by the Loire and her three consorts as they made off to leeward; from which cause the Anson had two men killed and thirteen wounded, with masts and yards much crippled.

On the 14th of October, the Immortalité and Résolue were chased, and the latter was overtaken by the Melampus, Captain Graham Moore, and after a feeble resistance the French ship surrendered. The Immortalité made no effort to succour her consort, or to bring the Melampus to action.

It will be tedious to follow in detail the history of this unfortunate expedition. The Loire,* a very powerful ship, after a severe action

* "On the 16th, the Mermaid and Kangaroo regained sight of the ship they were pursuing, and at 3h. P.M., the brig being far advanced in the chase, succeeded

with the Mermaid and Kangaroo, on the 17th, fell in next day with the Anson (forty-four) in company with the brig, and was again brought to action, and captured—and on the 20th, her consort, the Immortalité, shared a similar fate—being taken by the Fisgard.

At 11h. 30m. A.M. the Fisgard commenced firing her bow guns, and at half an hour past noon succeeded in getting alongside, when a well-contested action took place, which was maintained with equal spirit on both sides. At a little before 1h. P.M. the Fisgard's sails and rigging had received so much damage from the shot of the Immortalité, that she dropped astern, and the French frigate immediately took advantage of this, and endeavoured to escape; but at 1h. 30m. the Fisgard, having repaired her damages, again got up with her antagonist, and the firing recommenced on both sides.

The action continued unabated until 3h. P.M., by which time the Immortalité having her mizen-mast shot away—her other masts badly wounded—very leaky from shot holes—and her captain and first lieutenant, two military officers, and fifty-four men being killed, and sixty-one wounded, hauled down her colours. The Fisgard, when the action terminated, had five feet water in her hold, her masts and rigging much injured, and she had sustained a loss of ten seamen killed, and Lieutenant Mark Anthony Gerard (marines), twenty-three seamen and two marines wounded. The prize carried twenty-four long 24-pounders on her main-deck, and fourteen long 8-pounders and four brass 36-pounder carronades on her quarter-deck and forecastle, making a total of forty-two guns. The Fisgard was an 18-pounder frigate,

in bringing the enemy, which was the 40-gun frigate Loire, to action in the most gallant manner, and continued to engage until, her fore-topmast being shot away, she dropped astern.

"At daybreak on the 17th, the Mermaid having continued the pursuit, and in consequence outsailed the brig, the Loire shortened sail, and at 6h. 45m. A.M., both ships going nearly before the wind, steering north-east, the action commenced, and was kept up with great spirit on both sides. The Loire made an attempt to board, which was, however, frustrated by the able management of the Mermaid's first lieutenant, Michael Halliday; and shortly afterwards the Mermaid gaining a position on the larboard bow of her opponent, was enabled to ply her starboard guns with considerable effect, and closing within pistol-shot, brought down the Loire's fore-topmast and cross-jack-yard. At 9h. 15m. the Loire lost her main-topsail-yard, which was followed by the fall of the Mermaid's; and just as Captain Newman was on the point of reaping the reward of his bravery, and had directed the Mermaid to be luffed across the hawse of the Loire, the mizen-mast of the British frigate was shot away, and her main-topmast also fell. Thus crippled, and having all her sails riddled, and her remaining masts badly wounded, the Mermaid ceased firing, of which the Loire taking advantage, put before the wind, and was soon out of sight. The Mermaid, although so much damaged aloft, had only three men killed and thirteen wounded.

"The force of the two ships will scarcely bear comparison. The British frigate was of the small 12-pounder class, of 693 tons only, and 200 men; while the Loire was a first-class 18-pounder frigate, of 1,100 tons, and including soldiers, had on board 624 men, of which her loss is not stated. The action, therefore, is one of the many gallant and meritorious events which grace the British annals. A heavy gale came on shortly after the action had ceased, and the Mermaid's foremast, in consequence of its severe wounds, fell. After a dangerous run the Mermaid reached Lough Swilly on the 19th."—*Allen's Naval Battles.*

and in all mounted forty-six guns; so that the odds in favour of the enemy was just as it could be wished. Lieutenant Surman Carden, first of the Fisgard, was made a commander.

As this was the last ship of the squadron under Commodore Bompart which was captured, it may be desirable to recapitulate the fate of her consorts.

Gun	*Ship.*	
74	Hoche	Captured by Sir John Borlase Warren's squadron, on the 12th of October.
36	Coquille	
	Embuscade ...	
	Bellone	
	Résolue	Struck to the Melampus on the 14th.
40	Loire	After a very gallant action with the Kangaroo and Mermaid on the 16th, was captured by the Anson and Kangaroo on the 18th of October.
	Immortalité ...	Captured by the Fisgard on the 20th of October.
40	Romaine... ...	Got safe into Brest and L'Orient.
36	Sémillante ...	
Schooner	Biche	

The Hoche was a beautiful ship of 1,900 tons, and is to this day an ornament to the British navy, in which she is named the Donegal. The Coquille and Embuscade were fine 900 ton frigates, of the 12-pounder class, and the latter, under the name Ambuscade, performed good service; but the former took fire and blew up in Hamoaze, shortly after being surveyed preparatory to her purchase. The Bellone and Résolue were ships of 880 tons, but although purchased into the navy, were never actively employed. The Loire and Immortalité, under the same names, had a long run, and were often honourably mentioned afterwards for daring deeds. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to Commodore Warren, and the captains, &c., under his orders.*

As the signal failure of this, the final attempt of the Directory to throw an invading force upon the Irish shores, may be considered the concluding occurrence of any importance connected with the insurrection of '98, so also, the death of the last of the unfortunate leaders of the United Irishmen who provoked and called down the vengeance of the government, followed fast upon Bompart's defeat. Of three rebel agents on board the Hoche, when captured by Sir John Warren, two—Tone and Teeling—were immediately recognized, while the third (Sullivan), among the crowd of prisoners, eluded observation and escaped. The two former were forwarded to the capital—tried by a military court-martial—capitally convicted, and sentenced to undergo the extreme penalty the British laws attach to treason.

In a legal point of view, the defence employed was an aggravation

* Allen's Naval Battles

of the offence. In a lengthened address, in which much irrelevant matter was introduced, and occasionally obliged the court to interrupt the prisoner—resting his defence upon the untenable grounds that he was no longer a subject of Britain, from holding a commission in the service of the French republic, Tone, after an interruption from the president of the court-martial, thus continued:—

"I shall, then, confine myself to some points relative to my connection with the French army. Attached to no party in the French republic, without interest, without money, without intrigue, the openness and integrity of my views raised me to a high and confidential rank in its armies. I obtained the confidence of the Executive Directory, the approbation of my generals, and, I venture to add, the esteem and affection of my brave comrades. When I review these circumstances, I feel a secret and internal consolation, which no reverse of fortune, no sentence in the power of this court to inflict, can ever deprive me of, or weaken in any degree. Under the flag of the French republic I originally engaged, with a view to save and liberate my own country. For that purpose, I have encountered the chances of war amongst strangers; for that purpose, I have repeatedly braved the terrors of the ocean, covered, as I know it to be, with the triumphant fleets of that power which it was my glory and my duty to oppose. I have sacrificed all my views in life; I have courted poverty; I have left a beloved wife unprotected, and children whom I adored, fatherless. After such sacrifices in a cause which I have always conscientiously considered as the cause of justice and freedom—it is no great effort, at this day, to add 'the sacrifice of my life.'

"But I hear it said, that this unfortunate country has been a prey to all sorts of horrors. I sincerely lament it. I beg, however, it may be remembered, that I have been absent four years from Ireland. To me these sufferings can never be attributed. I designed, by fair and open war, to procure the separation of the two countries. For open war I was prepared; but if, instead of that, a system of private assassination has taken place, I repeat, whilst I deplore it, that it is not chargeable on me. Atrocities, it seems, have been committed on both sides. I do not less deplore them; I detest them from my heart—and to those who know my character and sentiments, I may safely appeal for the truth of this assertion. With them I need no justification.

"In a cause like this, success is every thing. Success, in the eyes of the vulgar, fixes its merits. Washington succeeded, and Kosciusko failed.

"After a combat nobly sustained, a combat which would have excited the respect and sympathy of a generous enemy, my fate was to become a prisoner. To the eternal disgrace of those who gave the order, I was brought hither in irons, like a felon. I mention this for the sake of others—for me, I am indifferent to it, I am aware of the fate which awaits me, and scorn equally the tone of complaint and that of supplication.

"As to the connection between this country and Great Britain, I *repeat it, all* that has been imputed to me, words, writings, and actions, I

here deliberately avow. I have spoken and acted with reflection and on principle, and am ready to meet the consequences. Whatever be the sentence of this court, I am prepared for it. Its members will surely discharge their duty—I shall take care not to be wanting to mine."

As might be expected from the character of the defence, the court-martial found him guilty. He was ordered for execution the following day, and the sentence was confirmed by the lord-lieutenant. The condemned man was reconducted to the prison of the provost—and one of the most singular occurrences of the times followed. We extract the account from the memoir given to the public by his son:—

"The sentence of my father was evidently illegal. Curran knew, however, very well that, by bringing the case before the proper tribunal, the result would ultimately be the same—that he could not be acquitted. But then, the delays of the law might be brought in play, and the all-important point of gaining time would be obtained. The French government could not, in honour, but interfere, and the case, from a mere legal, would become a political one. * * * Determined to form a bar for his defence, and bring the case before the Court of King's Bench, then sitting, and presided by Lord Kilwarden, a man of the purest and most benevolent virtue, and who always tempered justice with mercy, Curran endeavoured, the whole day of the 11th, to raise a subscription for this purpose. But terror had closed every door; and I have it from his own lips, that even among the Catholic leaders, many of them wealthy, no one dared to subscribe. Curran then determined to proceed alone. On this circumstance no comment can be expected from the son of Theobald Wolfe Tone. Those men had behaved nobly towards him in former times, almost as perilous. The universal dread must be their excuse.

"On the next day, 12th November (the day fixed for his execution), the scene in the Court of King's Bench was awful and impressive to the highest degree. As soon as it opened, Curran advanced, leading the aged father of Tone, who produced his affidavit that his son had been brought before a bench of officers, calling itself a court-martial, and sentenced to death. 'I do not pretend,' said Curran, 'that Mr. Tone is not guilty of the charges of which he is accused. I presume the officers were honourable men. But it is stated in this affidavit, as a solemn fact, that Mr. Tone had no commission under his Majesty; and, therefore, no court-martial could have cognizance of any crime imputed to him, whilst the Court of King's Bench sate in the capacity of the great criminal court of the land. In times when war was raging, when man was opposed to man in the field, courts-martial might be endured; but every law authority is with me, whilst I stand upon this sacred and immutable principle of the constitution, that martial law and civil law are incompatible, and that the former must cease with the existence of the latter. This is not, however, the time for arguing this momentous question. My client must appear in this court. He is cast for death this very day; he may be ordered for execution whilst I address you. I call on the court to support the law, and move *for a habeas corpus*, to be directed to the provost-

marshal of the barracks of Dublin, and Major Sandys, to bring up the body of Tone."

Chief Justice.—"Have a writ instantly prepared."

Curran.—"My client may die whilst the writ is preparing."

Chief Justice.—"Mr. Sheriff, proceed to the barracks, and acquaint the provost-marshal that a writ is preparing to suspend Mr. Tone's execution, and see that he be not executed."

"The court awaited, in a state of the utmost agitation and suspense, the return of the sheriff. He speedily appeared, and said, 'My lord, I have been to the barracks, in pursuance of your order. The provost-marshal says he must obey Major Sandys—Major Sandys says he must obey Lord Cornwallis.' Mr. Curran announced, at the same time, that Mr. Tone, the father, was just returned, after serving the *habeas corpus*, and that General Craig would not obey it. The chief justice exclaimed, 'Mr. Sheriff, take the body of Tone into custody—take the provost-marshal and Major Sandys into custody, and shew the order of the court to General Craig.'

"The general impression was now, that the prisoner would be led out to execution, in defiance of the court. This apprehension was legible in the countenance of Lord Kilwarden, a man who, in the worst of times, preserved a religious respect for the laws, and who, besides, I may add, felt every personal feeling of pity and respect for the prisoner, whom he had formerly contributed to shield from the vengeance of government on an occasion almost as perilous. His agitation, according to the expression of an eye-witness, was magnificent."

Tone, who, according to the memoir given by his son, had long contemplated suicide in the event of a probable failure leading to an ignominious death, had consummated the act he had previously decided upon effecting. That execution would succeed conviction he was assured—and as, in those days, no delicacy was observed towards the unfortunate, circumstances occurred which probably, hurried the event he had resolved upon:—

"It is said that, on the evening of that very day, he could see and hear the soldiers erecting the gallows for him before his windows. That very night (according to the report given by his jailers), having secreted a penknife, he inflicted a deep wound across his neck. It was soon discovered by the sentry, and a surgeon called in at four o'clock in the morning, who stopped the blood and closed it. He reported that, as the prisoner had missed the carotid artery, he might yet survive, but was in the extremest danger. Tone murmured only in reply, 'I am sorry I have been so bad an anatomist.'"

Of course all legal intervention to stand between the unhappy culprit and his doom was now found unavailing:—The sheriff returned at length with the fatal news. He had been refused admittance in the barracks; but was informed that Mr. Tone, who had wounded himself dangerously the night before, was not in a condition to be removed. A French emigrant surgeon, who had closed the wound, was called in, and declared there was no saying for four days whether it was mortal. His head was to be kept in one position, and a sentinel



Engraved by [illegible]

Arthur Wolfe, Viscount Kilwarden
Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Ireland,
murdered by the Insurgents in Dublin 1803.



was set over him to prevent his speaking. Removal would kill him at once. The chief justice instantly ordered a rule for suspending the execution.

That humane act was now unnecessary, for death was about to release the prisoner:—"On the morning of the 19th of November, he was seized with the spasms of approaching death. It is said that the surgeon who attended whispered that, if he attempted to move or speak, he must expire instantly; that he overheard him, and, making a slight movement, replied, 'I can yet find words to thank you, Sir; it is the most welcome news you could give me. What should I wish to live for?' Falling back with these expressions on his lips, he expired without farther effort."

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE INSURGENTS OF '98—CAUSES OF THEIR FAILURE—THEIR LEADERS—THE CATHOLIC CLERGY—ESPIONAGE INFORMERS—M'SKIMMIN'S NARRATIVE—MAJOR SIRR.

In looking back to the historic transactions of the years which closed the past century and ushered in the present, although the political consequences which resulted from the Irish insurrection will strike the observer as truly remarkable—in a military view, the insurgent outbreak of '98 was confined to desultory warfare, of short duration, and marked only by the common-place occurrences attendant on civil contests, and the efforts of the many against the few, when mere physical force arrays itself against bodies disciplined in the art of war. It is anomalous but true, that with every natural quality to form the soldier, the Irish peasantry are, as a mob, probably, the least formidable in Europe. Hence, with enormous numerical superiority, the insurgent masses made but a sorry figure, when arrayed against their enemies—their efforts, without combination or direction, as a consequence producing the ruinous defeats, which discipline and unity in action will ever inflict upon disorderly crowds who attempt to try conclusions in the field—and, with but rare exceptions, the conflicts between the royalists and rebels assumed rather the character of a slaughter than a fight.

The man who will be guided in opinion by the records of these troublous times, will repudiate the favourite doctrine of the demagogue, who babbles about "physical force," and the power of "the people"—a false term used commonly to designate "the mob." In the construction of the Irish, the military *matériel* is predominant. Brave, active, mercurial—impassive to weather—endurant of fatigue—indifferent to thirst and hunger—sufficiently excitable to attempt any thing—and yet plastic in the hands of their instructors, and passing with cheerfulness through the ordeal required to form the soldier—with all these, comprehending every military qualification, as a sectional portion of a mob, the Irishman is contemptible. To mould the soldier you must first unmake the man. Under his teacher's hand the very nature of the peasant undergoes a change—and discipline, like steel applied to flint, elicits natural energies that otherwise would have continued dormant for ever. With amazing rapidity the Irish peasant evolves from the slough of ignorance which hitherto had veiled the superior qualities that heaven had given him—and he, who but a few years before, seemed destined for the lowest purposes of humble drudgery, is seen foremost among the first in breach and battle-field, and pointing to sluggard spirits the road to victory.

That a people, whose natural construction was essentially martial

should have failed so signally when they rashly appealed to arms, is at first view hard to be accounted for. They had the excitement, in many instances, of real wrongs, and in more, fought under the impulse of religious bigotry—both powerful stimulants to action—and yet in examining their successes—few and far between—to treachery or misconduct in most instances they may be traced. The troops slaughtered at Prosperous, Oulart, and Tubberneering, were lost partly by treason, and through the total incompetency of their commanders. At Arklow and Ross, if numbers could be made available to secure victory, the rebels should have annihilated the small garrisons who so gallantly and bloodily repulsed them. But the truth is, in a crowd of unpractised combatants there is weakness and not strength. "Numerically, the rebels were sufficient, and more than sufficient, to effect all their objects; but they had no idea of discipline, and little of subordination." Their intrepidity was great, and their perseverance in the midst of fire and slaughter astonishing. Yet on every occasion it was obviously the cause, and not the leaders, that spurred them into action. In one protracted struggle, which lasted ten hours—the assault upon the town of Ross—the rebels, in the false confidence derived from physical superiority, and under the maddening influence of drunkenness and religious enthusiasm, fought with an unsurpassed ferocity. Why should not thirty thousand men, assailing an open town, and a garrison not a twentieth of their own number, bear down all opposition, and overwhelm their enemies by the mere weight of thousands? First—because in themselves they had neither a digested plan, nor unity of purpose to execute it; and second—that their chiefs were utterly incapable of turning physical force to proper advantage. Even personal example was withheld—and while in the burning streets the royalist commander rallied the unsteady, and headed the more gallant, Harvey and his aide-de-camp were listless spectators of the battle from a hill beyond the range of cannon. Deficient as the Commander-in-Chief was, the subordinate officers were equally contemptible—and an army of thirty thousand intrepid and persevering insurgents could not actually find a single leader who had sufficient tact or influence to secure for them a certain, and what should have been, an easy victory. One fact connected with the battle of New Ross is worthy of remark. The casualties bore an accurate ratio in proportion to the numbers severally engaged. The royalist had two hundred and twenty-seven returned *hors de combat*—while the rebel loss, even at the lowest estimate, ranged from fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred, while Barrington makes it five thousand.

In mentioning the rebel battles of Arklow and New Ross, we name probably, those in which their chances of victory ran closest. On Tara they were scattered like a flock of sheep—and the defence of their entrenched camp on Vinegar-hill was contemptible.

Had the insurgents possessed men of personal consideration and military experience to have directed the storm, its suppression would have been, no doubt, more delayed, and more difficult. Their leaders, lay and clerical, were equally incompetent—and, with rare excep-

tions, confined to men of dissipated habits and ruined fortunes, who, like Catiline's confederates, brought little to the cause beyond the recklessness of desperation. No matter how wild and hopeless a popular movement may appear to reflecting minds, insane enthusiasts and broken men will be found ready to embark life or property in the venture—and it is strange that in a country circumstanced as Ireland was then, many men of consideration and some talent were not extensively connected in the outbreak.

Of the few Roman Catholic clergymen who proceeded to overt acts of rebellion, there was not an individual who bore an untainted character in the list—and, on the shewing of one of their own prelates,* whose local knowledge enabled him to speak correctly to the fact, those who obtained an infamous celebrity in the field, had previously lost caste for drunkenness or immorality. I am by no means inclined to believe that the Catholic priests were at that time anxious for a revolution. The example of France was too recent and too startling to be overlooked—the altar had been overturned with the throne—and in the anarchy of a republic, would the security of the Romish church be guaranteed in one country, when in another, and under similar circumstances, it had been annihilated root and branch? Dr. Stock, in expressing his conviction that the Irish priesthood, although obliged, perhaps, to let pass without opposition, could never have originated a republican movement, argues that self-interest would prevent it.

"What powerful motives," says the bishop, "could prevail on this order of men to lend their hearts and hands to a revolution, which so manifestly threatened to overwhelm their own credit and consequence, supposing even that they were indifferent to the fate of that religion of which they professed themselves to be the consecrated ministers? I will tell the reader what I conceive to be the true key to this mystery, if I may have his pardon for the digression.

"The almost total dependence of the clergy of Ireland upon their people for the means of subsistence is the cause, according to my best judgment, why upon every popular commotion many priests of that communion have been, and until measures of better policy are adopted, always will be, found in the ranks of sedition and opposition to the established government. *The peasant will love a revolution because he feels the weight of poverty*, and has not often the sense to perceive that *a change of masters may render it heavier*. The priest must follow the impulse of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach to perish. There was a time, indeed, when superstition was of force to uphold the credit and revenues of the Church of Rome, even where convulsions shook to pieces the fabric of civil government. But the reign of superstition is either past or passing: at least if it holds the mind of the believer, it is not by many degrees so effectual as formerly to open his purse. Holy oil, and indulgences, and absolutions, have fallen much in their price; confessions are, comparatively speaking, unproductive; and even the golden mine of Purgatory seems to be

* Dr. Caulfield.

running to a thread. Voluntary contribution, the main resource of the priest, must depend on his popularity. 'Live with me, and live as I do. Oppress me not with superior learning or refinement. Take thankfully what I choose to give you, and earn it by compliance with my political creed and conduct.' Such, when justly translated, is the language of the Irish cottager to his priest. It is language which will be listened to in proportion to the exigency of the case. A sturdy moralist will do his duty in despite of penury. Admirable, and not to be looked for among the common herd of mankind, is the virtue which can withstand the menace of absolute want of bread."

To other causes, besides want of organization and deficiency in leadership, the speedy suppression of the insurrection may be referred. Never was there a state conspiracy in which so many treacherous associates were engaged, nor where the unbounded influence of gold in unloosing every tie of honour was so strikingly exemplified. It was not to the humbler instruments of rebellion that treason was confined. From such, danger could be evaded—but against the machinations of men like Reynolds and Armstrong, could there be security, when every thing united to place them beyond the range of being suspected? The circumstances attendant on the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald prove in what profound mystery the secret springs from which government obtained its information was then enshrouded. To Neilson, the betrayal of the insurgent chief was generally attributed at the time, while future revelations go to shew that he himself was betrayed by a guiltier associate—and that, unconsciously, he became the means through whom the actual traitor reached his destined victim.*

That venal wretches will be found in every community, not only open to, but actually courting corruption, has ever been a fatal truth. In those dreadful days there was no scarcity of low-born traitors, men ready to traffic in blood, and with the cold determination of practised villany, coil, serpent-like, round the victim on whom they had set their eye, and provoke disclosures to drag him to the scaffold. But moral turpitude was found in a better order—and many who would not exactly exhibit in the witness-box, nevertheless abused "the king's

* "As it is evident that Hughes was in the full confidence of Neilson the 28th of April, there is no reason to believe that he ceased to be so previously to the 19th of May; and yet, during this period and long before it, there is very little doubt that Hughes was an informer.

"Neilson's frank, open, unsuspecting nature, was well known to the agents of government, and even to Lord Castlereagh, who was personally acquainted with Neilson, and on one occasion had visited him in prison.

"Hughes, it is probable, was set upon Neilson with a view to ascertain his haunts, and to enter into communication with his friends, for the special purpose of implicating Grattan, and of discovering Lord Edward. That his perfidy never was suspected by Neilson, during their intimacy, there are many proofs; and still more, that Neilson's fidelity to the cause he had embarked in, and the friends he was associated with, was never called in question by his companions and fellow-prisoners, Emmett, M'Nevin, and O'Connor. This man (Hughes), previously to the rebellion, was in comfortable circumstances, and bore a good character, in Belfast. He kept a large bookseller and stationer's shop in that town."—*Lives of the United Irishmen.*

press damnably," and brought obloquy on those who lent heart and fortune honestly to the royalist cause.*

There is a very delicate question in political ethics to touch upon—the extent to which a government may find it premissible to venture—and, still keeping the liberty of the subject in view, employ secret *espionage*, and, by any and every means, penetrate the designs of men believed to be dangerous to the common weal. It is absurd to suppose that any executive will decline the reception of information, no matter how corrupt the channel may be from which it is obtained—and to attach blame, on general principles, to the Irish government in '98 is consequently, ridiculous. But a detective system of police is very different from a false exercise of power in securing conviction for an offence revealed. To denounce is one thing—to convict, another. To procure the secret revelations of a scoundrel may not only be excusable, but even creditable to the vigilance of a government—but his future agency in judicial investigation should, if possible, be dispensed with—and, when innocence and guilt are to be established, honester means should be employed.

The blasting spot upon the character of the Irish executive in '98 appears to be the unworthy means by which their objects were attained. An infamous bureau was established in the Castle under the immediate direction of the celebrated Major Sirr—and every individual of these blood-hounds, as described by Curran, was a man "who measured his value by the coffins of his victims—and in the field of evidence, appreciated his fame, as the Indian warrior does in fight, by the number of scalps with which he can swell his victory."

Even when the rebellion was virtually suppressed—and the better-informed of the conspirators, perceiving that the game was desperate, had thrown themselves upon the clemency of the government, still these infamous agents were employed. In speaking of negotiations between the executive and state prisoners, already given to the reader, Doctor Madden says, "During these transactions, a special commission,

* An uncle of the author held a command in the north of Ireland, and received an official order to search the house of a wealthy trader, who had been denounced as disaffected. A particular bureau was pointed out as the depository of some treasonable correspondence—and on making the domiciliary visit, the keys were demanded and obtained. Every drawer within underwent a rigid investigation, but the papers they contained were found to refer to nothing but mercantile transactions. A yeomanry officer, upon seeing a military guard before the house, had intruded himself and assisted in the examination. Drawer after drawer was searched, and nothing to criminate the suspected owner was discovered. The two lower and larger were opened last—and they were filled with gold. My uncle closed the bureau and locked it carefully.

"What the devil are you doing?" inquired his companion.

"Securing the property of a man whom I sincerely believe to be innocent."

"And will you leave the money? Why, Dutton has sworn that ——— is treasurer to a barony."

"What Dutton swears is one thing—what my duty tells me to do, another."

"I tell you that money was collected for rebellious purposes—and ——"

"If contributed by the devil, shall remain where it is for me. Captain S——, I *am a loyalist*, but not *a robber!*"

under an Act of Parliament, and passed for the occasion, was sitting in the capital, and the trials having commenced, it was declared from the bench that to be proved an United Irishman was sufficient to subject the party to the penalty of death, and that any member of a baronial or other committee was accountable for every act done by the body to which he respectively belonged in its collective capacity, whether it was done without his cognizance, in his absence, or even at the extremity of the land. As it was openly avowed that convictions would be sought for only through the medium of informers, the government used every influence to dignify the character of this wretched class of beings in the eyes of those who were selected to decide on the lives of the accused; and they so effectually succeeded as to secure implicit respect to whatever any of them chose to swear, from juries so appointed, so prepossessed. It was made a point by the first connections of government to flatter those wretches, and some peers of the realm were known to have hailed the arch apostate Reynolds with the title of 'Saviour of his country.'"*

That both parties availed themselves of every opportunity of acquiring information, is admitted—and the end was, probably, supposed a sufficient apology for the means. According to the apologist for the United Irishmen, neither party in seeking after secret information appear to have derived much advantage over the other—for when the general allowed his flank to be turned by the lady, the aide-de-camp, in his turn, neutralized the advantage.

"It was no uncommon thing, in 1796, to meet General Lake at the parties of the prime mover of the United system, Mr. William Sinclair, and at a later period, Colonel Barber and Lieutenant-General Nugent. There was a policy, it is said, in maintaining this kind of intercourse, as not a single movement of the troops, or an iota of information, that was communicated by government to General Lake, but a sister of the Sinclairs, a young woman of considerable personal attractions and intelligence, was not able to obtain from the general, an officer more remarkable for his vanity and incapacity, than for any qualities or acquirements of another kind.

"But while the weakness of this vain man was occasionally turned to the account of the United Irishmen, perhaps a similar advantage was taken of the imprudence of other members of the family of his host by some officer of the staff of General Lake, and thus, so far from any advantage being gained from this kind of intercourse, it is not improbable that the other party were injured by it.

"The same kind of intercourse was kept up between several other leading mercantile members of the United Irish Society and the officers and functionaries already referred to. At one of these parties a Miss S—— called a gentleman aside in the ball-room, and told him to notice the general and his staff wearing their swords, and the reason of their so doing she informed him had been just communicated to her —namely, that the general had received orders to act on the govern-

* Madden.

ment instructions to disarm the people of Ulster, and they were proceeding that night to make the first general search for arms in the houses of the suspected people of a neighbouring district in the county of Down."

That the rigid principles of British law were grossly departed from, cannot be disputed—and that during that fearful period, means and measures, infamous alike, were resorted to, must be admitted. No matter how villanous the character of the wretch, his testimony during these unhappy times was received in courts of justice. The general agent of condemnation was the informer—and of that class so universally employed, in the year preceding the explosion of the rebellion, Curran* gives the following revolting picture.

* "Mr. Curran with vulgar habits, and contemptible exterior, rose at once to give new lustre and spirit to an already highly-enlightened and spirited profession. He had passed through the University of Dublin unsignalized by any very peculiar honours; and was admitted to the Irish Bar, scarcely known, and totally unpatronised. With the higher orders he had no intercourse, and had contracted manners, and adopted a kind of society, tending rather to disqualify him for advancement. But whatever disadvantages he suffered from humble birth, were soon lost sight of amidst the brilliancy of his talent; and a comparison of what he had been, with what he rose to, rendered the attainments of his genius the more justly celebrated. Never did eloquence appear in so many luminous forms, or so many affecting modulations, as in that gifted personage. Every quality which could form a popular orator was combined in him; and it seemed as if nature had stolen some splendid attribute from all former declaimers to deck out and embellish her adopted favourite. On ordinary occasions his language was copious, frequently eloquent, yet generally unequal; but on great ones, the variety of his elocution, its luxuriance, its effect, were quite unrivalled; solemn, ludicrous, dramatic, argumentative, humorous, sublime; in irony, invincible—in pathos, overwhelming; in the alternations of bitter invective and of splendid eulogy, totally unparalleled: wit relieved the monotony of narrative, and classic imagery elevated the rank of forensic declamation. The wise, the weak, the vulgar, the elevated, the ignorant, the learned, heard and were affected: for he had language for them all. He commanded, alternately, the tear or the laugh; and at all times acquired a despotic ascendancy over the most varied auditory.

"These were the endowments of the early Curran; and these were the qualities which, united to an extraordinary professional versatility, enabled him to shoot like a meteor beyond the sphere of all his contemporaries.

"In private and convivial society, many of his public qualities accompanied him in their fullest vigour. His wit was infinite and indefatigable. A dramatic eye anticipated the flights of an unbounded fancy; but the flashes of his wit never wounded the feelings of his society, except, perhaps, those minds of contracted jealousy, which shrink up from the reluctant consciousness of inferiority. He was, however, at times, very unequal. As in a great metropolis (to use one of his own illustrations), 'the palace and the hovel—splendour and squalidness—magnificence and misery, are seen grouped and contrasting within the same precincts,'—there were occasions when his wit sunk into ribaldry, his sublimity degenerated to grossness, and his eloquence to vulgarity; yet his strength was evident even in his weakness. Hercules, spinning as a concubine, still was Hercules; and, probably, had Curran been devoid of these singular contrarieties, he might have glided into a brilliant tameness; and, like his great contemporary, Burgh, though a more admired man, he would probably have been a less celebrated personage.

"The innumerable difficulties he had to encounter in early life were not easy to conquer; but once conquered, they added an impetus to his progress. His ordinary, mean, and trifling person; his culpable negligence of dress, and all those disadvantageous attributes of early indigence, were imperceptible or forgotten amidst his talents, which seldom failed to gain a decided victory over the prejudices even of those who were predetermined to condemn him.

"His political life was unvaried—from the moment he became a member of the

"I speak not now of the public proclamations for informers, with a promise of secrecy and extravagant reward! I speak not of those unfortunate wretches, who have been so often transferred from the table to the dock, and from the dock to the pillory!—I speak of what your own eyes have seen day after day during the course of this commission, while you attended this court:—the number of horrid miscreants, who acknowledged upon their oaths that they had come from the seat of government—from the very chambers of the castle, where they had been worked upon by the fear of death, and the hopes of compensation, to give evidence against their fellows. That the mild, the wholesome and merciful councils of this government, are holden over those catacombs of living death, where the wretch that is buried a man, lies till his heart has time to fester and dissolve, and then is dug up an informer.

"Is this a picture created by a hag-ridden fancy, or is it a fact? Have you not seen him, after his resurrection from that tomb, make his appearance upon your table, the living image of life and death, and the supreme arbiter of both?—Have you not marked, when he entered, how the stormy wave of the multitude retired at his approach?—Have you not seen how the human heart bowed to the awful supremacy of his power, in the undissembled homage of deferential horror?—How his glance, like the lightning of heaven, seemed to rive the body of the accused, and mark it for the grave, while his voice warned the devoted wretch of woe and death;—a death which no innocence can escape, no art elude, no force resist, no antidote prevent. There was an antidote,—a juror's oath! But even that adamantine chain, which bound the integrity of man to the throne of Eternal Justice, is solved and molten by the breath which issues from the mouth of the informer; conscience swings from her moorings—the appalled and affrighted juror speaks what his soul abhors, and consults his own safety in the surrender of the victim:

"——Et quæ sibi quisque timebat,
Unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.

Informers are worshipped in the temple of Justice, even as the devil has been worshipped by Pagans and savages; even so, in this wicked country, is the informer an object of judicial idolatry; even so is he soothed by the music of human groans—even so is he placated and incensed by the fumes and by the blood of human sacrifices." *

Irish Parliament his temperature never changed. He pursued the same course, founded on the same principles. He had closely connected himself in party and in friendship with Mr. George Ponsonby; but he more than equalled that gentleman in the sincerity of his politics. From the commencement to the conclusion of his public life, he was the invariable advocate of the Irish people, and he never for a moment deserted their interest, or abandoned their defence. He started from obscurity with the love of Ireland in his heart; and while that heart beat, it was his ruling passion

"As a mere lawyer, he was in no estimation; but, as an able advocate he had no rival; and, in his skill and powers of interrogation, he vastly excelled all his rivals. He never failed to uphold the rights and independence of the Irish Bar, on every occasion where its privileges were trenched upon; and the bench trembled before him when it merited his animadversions."—*Personal Sketch of Curran.*

* Ridgway's Report.

Although fostered and protected by the government, with the exception of Reynolds and a few of minor note,* none of these degraded men enjoyed the reward of their villany. Numbers were secretly removed for years preceding the insurrection. In the south of Ireland, even a slight suspicion consigned the informer to assassination—and in the north, where, by comparison, murder was unfrequent, if M'Skimmin may be credited, in a very limited district the sacrifice of these bad men was extensive. These murders,† we need scarcely observe, were anterior to the rebellion—and thus M'Skimmin states them:—

"1796. January 5th.—The body of a stranger, said to have been an informer, of the surname of Phillips, was found in a dam near the paper-mills, Belfast.

"August 3rd.—Same year, a soldier in the Limerick militia, then quartered in Belfast, was found drowned at the Strand mills near that town; he was reported to have been an informer; and it was said he had been cast into the river by his comrades on the previous night. About the same time the body of a soldier, believed to have been murdered, was cast on shore near Holywood.

"19th of August, a man named John Lee was fired at, and severely wounded in the shoulder at Drumbridge; for which act some persons were sworn against by Lee, but were acquitted.

"On the night of the 8th of October, the Rev. Philip Johnston, a magistrate, was fired at and severely wounded while mounting his horse between two dragoons in Castle-street, Lisburne. About seven o'clock of the evening of the 19th of same month, a man named William M'Bride, who had lately arrived from Glasgow, was shot dead near the head of North-street, Belfast; he was also reported to have been an informer, though it is certain he was not a United Irishman. A few evenings after, his murderer also shot a man near the county of Down end of the Long-bridge, who was immediately tossed into the river.

"October 29th.—The Rev. John Cleland was fired at while passing along the streets of Newtownards; and on the 31st of the same month, a man named Stephenson, servant to a Mr. Gurdy, near New-

* "In the ordinary system of espionage, which formed a leading feature in the administration of the day, no means were too vile—no intrigues too low—no treachery or deception too base for some of the highest official characters to stoop to. Nor was it considered, at that period, incompatible with the public duties of those officers of state to intrigue with the lowest and most abandoned of society; and by the allurement of reward, or the threat of punishment, win to political perdition the unfortunate wretch who wanted the courage or the honesty to resist."—*Gordon's History.*

† "Though the pistol or dagger was the common mode of disposing of those charged with being informers, others were also resorted to. We have heard of one who was thrown into a burning lime-kiln; and near Belfast a house is pointed out where the victims were decoyed into to be murdered. On entering its hall a trap-door opened, and the victim fell into a cellar, where he was despatched by a man who stood ready with a hatchet to receive him. About twenty-five years ago, in making a ditch near this house, a human skeleton was found, that had evidently been interred in the common clothes, some portion of them lying with the bones."—*Madden.*

townards, was murdered at his master's door: before he died he deposed that one John Lavery, of Derryanghy, was one of his murderers. About the same time a butcher, named John Kingsbury, Belfast, was murdered near the Drumbridge: he was a professed Orangeman: some words uttered by him against United Irishmen are said to have led to his murder.

"1797. Mr. Cumming, one of the Newtownards cavalry, was murdered in his own house, and his arms carried off. In April, an informer named M'Clure was killed, near Ballynare; and May 6th, a man was shot, charged with being an informer, near Dunnedery; he was not an informer. A man named M'Dowell, near Dromore, was shot at his own house, charged with a like offence; and an informer named Morgan was shot in the vicinity of Downpatrick, by persons who came on horseback from Ballynahinch. About December, Neil M'Kimmon, a private in the Argyle fencibles, was murdered between Lisburne and Blaris camp.

"The house of one M'Clusky, county of Derry, was burnt and himself murdered, and in December, a man was murdered near Magilligan, because he had said he had seen men exercising at night; and about the same time they destroyed the property, and cut the ears off one Lenagan, in the same county. Richard Harper, an informer belonging to Saintfield, was killed on his way to Belfast. The place where he was murdered is since called Harper's-bridge."

A personage whose name is intimately associated with the passing events of this exciting era in Irish history has been frequently mentioned—and a brief notice may here be necessary. We allude to Major Sirr. At the period of the insurrection he held a dangerous pre-eminence—and in after-life, any thing but a creditable notoriety. He had been (I believe) a wine-merchant, and afterwards was appointed to the corporate situation of town-major, from which he obtained his *sobriquet*. The times and the executive required unscrupulous agents—and Sirr was happily selected. Although in latter days a saint, "the major," in his earlier, had rather an expansive conscience. Over "the battalion of testimony," as a horrible collection of ruffians who "murdered with the book" were termed, Sirr exercised a despotic command. Blood-money was as much the order of that day as in the time of Jonathan Wild—and few as the revelations were, enough has since transpired to prove that then human flesh was marketable.*

The marvel is that Sirr escaped assassination, while numbers of his wretched emissaries were secretly removed. That his life was seriously

* In alluding to Russell's arrest, Madden places it among the major's chief exploits, and observes, that "he derived his information of Russell's place of concealment from an attorney, Mr. John Swift Emerson, who accompanied him to the house where Russell was then in concealment. This worthy pair subsequently quarrelled about the money offered for Russell's apprehension, each claimed the reward—the sum of £1,500, one portion of which had been offered by government, the rest by the town of Belfast. The blood-money eventually was divided between them, the larger part of it having been allotted to Major Sirr."

endangered at times, must follow of necessity, from his employment—but the major, tempering valour with discretion, always pushed others forward, and continued to escape unscathed himself. Thus Swan and Ryan rendered the capture of Lord Edward Fitzgerald an easy task—all three being wounded and exhausted before Sirr entered the apartment—and, in a subsequent affair, the major, in the arrest of a desperado, allowed a satellite to take the post of honour, and the unfortunate scoundrel was shot dead.*

Times changed—the reign of terror ended—the informer establishment at the castle was broken up—some were assassinated, others transported—and a chief functionary, who had hanged many by his agency, was executed himself, for murder†—and, "Othello's occupation gone," the major sank into the humble sphere of a police magistrate.

The last portion of the major's history is as remarkable as the former. The power of the ascendancy party ended—emancipation passed—and Major Sirr became a patron of the fine arts, and a radical reformer. When the removal of the Catholic disabilities rendered Mr. O'Connell admissible to a seat in Parliament, he was supported in his election by the gallant major—and when he (the major) died, one of the most extraordinary collections of articles of *virtu* was submitted to the public that ever fell beneath the hammer of an auctioneer.

One posthumous reminiscence of the major is remarkable :—

"In the same place of interment, in one of the vaults of Werburgh's church, the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald are deposited, immediately under the chancel. There are two leaden coffins here, laid side by side ; the shorter of the two is that which contains the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The upper part of the leaden coffin, in many places, has become decayed, and encrusted with a white powder—and, in such places, the woollen cloth that lines the inner part of the coffin is visible, and still remains in a perfect state.

"The entrance to the vault where the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald are interred, is within a few paces of the grave of Charles Edward Sirr, by whose hand the former perished. The desperate struggle which took place between them, the one survived fifteen days, the other forty-three years. Few who visit the place where they are interred will recall the history of both, without lamenting the errors which proved fatal to the life of Fitzgerald, and deploring the evils of

* "John Hanlon, in 1796, swore against three men at Athy assizes, who were condemned on his evidence on a charge of defenderism. Immediately after the trial Hanlon lodged sworn informations against twelve men (including John Ratigan), with conspiring to murder him. In the indictment he is described as a soldier of artillery. Hanlon held a subordinate office in the Tower ; he was one of the persons on the Major's permanent list. In 1803 he accompanied the Major to a house in the Liberty, where information had been received of one of Robert Emmet's principal accomplices, Henry Howley, being concealed. The Major, with his ordinary prudence, put Hanlon forward to arrest a man known to be of a most determined character, and the result of his discretion was, that Hanlon was shot by Howley."

† The celebrated Jemmy O'Brien.

the calamitous times which called the services of such a man as Sirr into action."*

In civil war, when the dominant party assumes and maintains itself by an extended power, which in happier times dare not be resorted to, the tyranny of the *employé* is invariably more intolerable than that of the employer. This insolence of office was often painfully felt in the conduct of Sirr and his myrmidons, who were, without exception, ruffians of the worst description. On the slightest suspicion, and often through a wanton display of arbitrary power, domiciliary visits were inflicted upon families not in the remotest degree implicated in the conspiracy, and sometimes under circumstances which rendered the intrusion painfully distressing.

A gentleman, some years deceased, who had been an active leader of the disaffected, and consequently obliged to expatriate himself for several years, was, for a long time after his return to Ireland, on very intimate terms with the author, and in convivial hours disclosed many curious particulars connected with these troubled times, in most of which himself had been personally concerned, or the actors had been intimately known to him. In speaking of the outrageous insolence of the detective police then employed by the executive, he related the following anecdote :—

Among his most intimate acquaintances was an extensive merchant, who lived on one of the quays, and who, from sedulous attention to business, had acquired a handsome independence. No man was less fitted for a conspirator; his whole thoughts were engrossed in trade, and his heart centred in a young and beautiful wife, to whom he had been united the preceding year. Although frequently urged to become a member of the Union, he had always steadily declined it; and when the rebellion broke out, so anxious was he to avoid being even a looker-on at the struggle which was about to take place, that he determined to repair to England until social order should be re-established. One circumstance alone prevented him from carrying his determination into effect. His lady expected daily to become a mother, and he was obliged to postpone the voyage until her *accouchement* had taken place.

It was the evening of the same day on which Lord Edward Fitzgerald expired in Newgate, that, after a painful trial, his lady died in giving birth to a still-born child. To describe the phrenzied agony of the unhappy husband would be impossible; in despair, he rushed into the chamber of death, threw himself beside the corpse, and refused consolation. Midnight came—a loud knocking at the door alarmed the mourners, and a peremptory order was heard demanding instant admission. It was obeyed—and Major Sandys, one of Sirr's confederates, entered with a dozen followers. He rudely demanded why the household were not a-bed, and although informed of the calamity which had occurred, he swore that he would search the premises. The keys of the warehouses were given to him, and as nothing was concealed, of course the search was fruitless. The major next proceeded to examine

* Lives of the United Irishmen.

the dwelling-house, and when the sister of the deceased lady implored him to respect the chamber where the corpse lay, Sandys swore that that room should be searched particularly. While his cash-box and ware-rooms were at the mercy of these marauders, the poor husband betrayed not the slightest emotion; but when he overheard that the room which held the breathless remains of her he had idolized, was to be desecrated by the intrusion of the ruffian band, he sprang from the bed, rushed into an adjacent sitting-room, armed himself with a carving-knife, and returned to the chamber of the dead, determined to sacrifice the first man who should pollute the threshold with his foot. Up came Sandys and his followers—the door of the guarded chamber was rudely opened—but the boldest ruffian of the gang held back. There, before the bed wherein the cold corpse of his lady lay—there stood the bereaved husband—the knife glittering in his hand, while the desperate expression of his flashing eyes and convulsed features announced, in terrible silence, that it was death to enter. Not a word was spoken. Sandys desired his followers to withdraw, retired himself, and the house of mourning was freed from the loathsome presence of human bloodhounds.

What was the result? Two nights after the corpse had been interred, the narrator, who was on hiding in an obscure alley, was informed that Mr. ——— was below, and anxious to speak with him. An order was given to shew him up, and his afflicted friend, habited in deep mourning, presented himself. Without waiting to be addressed, he thus proceeded:—

"You have often pressed me to join the Union, R———, and I determinately refused. I come now to offer myself a devoted revolutionist. On the night that my beloved one died, my house was entered by an authorized banditti, and the agony of soul a savage would respect, was disregarded by the myrmidons of government. With my wife's cold hand clasped in mine, I swore eternal enmity to an executive whose agents had violated the sacred sorrows of a broken heart,—and I am here to follow where you will, and receive the obligations of a United Irishman."

He did so, and from that hour the government had not a deadlier enemy, nor the Union a more active agent.

There is no doubt that for one of the disaffected reclaimed by a sense of fear induced by indiscriminating severity, one hundred became malcontent first, and rebels afterwards. Wakefield, generally a sound reasoner although a decided partisan, thus expresses his opinions on the subject:—

"Man, when 'armed with a little brief authority,' if the mind be not properly prepared for the trust, becomes a new being, and is seldom improved in his nature by the change. In the intoxication of vanity, he mistakes the dictates of passion for the suggestions of duty; and considers power unemployed as useless. Such seems to have been the case with too many of these defenders of the Protestant faith; supposing persecution to be a support to the law, and oppression a just criterion of loyalty, they exercised a culpable and unremitting severity



against the unfortunate victims who fell in their way. Exultation over a fallen enemy leads to insult and dastardly aggression. Numerous were the unjustifiable acts committed by these men, on persons not members of their society; but every instance of this kind, instead of proving a benefit to their cause, added new strength to their opponents. If they reduced a cabin to ashes, they might drive from their sight the miserable inhabitants, but they increased in a tenfold degree the enemies of that government which they pretended to defend. They exasperated those who had determined to remain neuter, and provoked many to take up arms who would otherwise never have quitted their houses."

CHAPTER XXXII.

PROSCRIPTIONS LISTS—MILITARY AND REBEL STATISTICS—INTRODUCTION OF THE LEGISLATIVE UNION—THE TEMPER OF THE TIMES FAVOURABLE FOR THE ATTEMPT—FIRST PARLIAMENTARY DIVISION—CHARACTERS OF THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS—THE EARL OF CLARE—AND LORD CASTLEREAGH.

THE rebellion was virtually at an end, and, save deserters and desperados, excluded from the amnesty proclaimed by Lord Cornwallis, every individual of any note, connected with the revolutionary movements that preceded, and the overt acts which followed the outbreak of the 23rd of May, had either been pardoned or expatriated. Of the more timid, numbers, before the explosion took place, evaded the vengeance of the government by voluntary exile—and of the more prominent leaders, the following brief abstract, with the names included in the Fugitive and Banishment Acts,* will generally tell the fate of those not

* Under the Fugitive Act were included—

Adair, Henry	Duckett, John	Lawless, William	O'Finn, Edward
Bashford, Thomas Gunning	Duignan, Miles	Lowry, Alexander	Orr, Joseph
Burke, William	Egan, Cornelius	M'Can, Anthony	Orr, Robert
Burke, James	Fitzpatrick, Mich.	M'Cormick, Rich.	Plunkett, James
Bryson, Andrew	Holt, Joseph	M'Guire, John	Reynolds, Michael
Campbell, William	Houston, Thomas	M'Mahon, Arthur	Swift, Deane
Cooke, Patrick	Hull, James	Miles, Matthew	Scully, John
Cormick, John	Jackson, John	Morris, Harvey	Short, Miles
Cullen, William	Jackson, James	Mouritz, Joseph, or Joshua	Short, Owen
Delany, Michael	Kelly, James	Neale, James	Teeling, Bart.
Derry, Valentine	Kenna, Matthew	Nervin, John	Townsend, James
Dixon, Thomas	Keogh, Bryan	O'Brien, John	Turner, Samuel*
	Lewins, Edw. John		

The Banishment Act contained the names of

Andoe, Thomas	Cormick, Joseph	Fitzgerald, Edward	Kelly, Lawrence
Astley, Alexander	Corcoran, Peter	Flood, Michael	Kennedy, John
Aylmer, William	Cuff, Farrell	Geraghty, James	Kennedy, Jn. Gorman
Banks, Henry	Cumming, George	Goodman, Robert	Kinkead, John
Bannen, Peter	Cuthbert, Joseph	Goodman, Rowland	Kinselagh, John
Barrett, John	Daly, Richard	Greene, John	Lacy, John
Boyle, Edward	Davis, Joseph	Griffin, Lawrence	Lube, George
Brady, Thomas	Dillon, Richard	Haffey, James	Lynch, John
Bushe, James M.	Devine, Patrick	Hanlon, Patrick	Lynch, Patrick
Byrne, Richard	Dorney, John	Harrison, John	M'Cabe, Wm. Putnam
Byrne, Patrick	Dowling, Matthew	Houston, William	M'Dermott, Bryan
Byrne, Patrick	Doyle, Michael	Ivers, Peter	Macneven, William James
Byrne, Garret	Dry, Thomas	Jackson, Henry	Macan, Patrick
Carthy, Dennis	Emmet, Ths. Addis	Kavanagh, Morgan	Martin, Christ.
Castles, John	Evans, Hamden	Keane, Ed. Crookshank	
Chambers, John	Farrell, Andrew	Keenan, John	
Comyn, John	Farrell, Denis		

* Shot afterwards in a duel, in the Isle of Man.

more particularly noticed elsewhere.—The Hon. Simon Butler died in Wales, his last hours embittered by poverty and family neglect—A. H. Rowan, after his escape from Newgate, lived for many years abroad, but ultimately received a free pardon, returned, and, by a long and useful life, proved the danger that the best heart and the soundest judgment undergoes by indulging in speculative politics. Webb, Jackson (Henry) Wilson, and Simms, became exiles for a time—many emigrated to America—some entered the service of the French republic—and, with a very few exceptions, all sank into comparative insignificance, proving that never had a great popular movement more truly contemptible spirits to direct it, than that of the eventful one of '98.

In the north, the superior intelligence of the population detected the religious character of the war, and at once deserted their southern allies, to whom, had a united effort succeeded, they felt that they must, of necessity, have been subsequently opposed. The wealthier willingly abandoned a cause in which the theoretic folly of false principle had been practically denuded—that Papal and Presbyterian principles could amalgamate, was found to be a political impossibility—and the outbreak of '98 finally resulted in binding the northern republicans in after-life more firmly to an English connection.*

Madden, Patrick	Neilson, Robert	Reynolds, Thomas	Speers, Henry
Meagher, Francis	O'Connor, Arthur	Rose, James	Swing, John
Milliken, Israel	O'Reilly, Richard	Russell, Thomas	Tierman, James
Mowney, Patrick	Quigley, Michael	Sweetman, John	Toland, Daniel
Mulhall, Michael	Redfern, Robert	Smyth, James	Ware, Hugh
Neilson, Samuel	Reily, John	Sampson, William	Young, John

* "Having traced out the leading events of this unfortunate business, it is necessary to call the attention of the reader to the Presbyterians of the north, who may be considered as the chief instigators to rebellion. The Roman Catholics, so far from being the original movers of insurrection, were mere instruments in the hands of these people, who intended to employ them in effecting a complete revolution. The accomplishment of this scheme was, however, attended with difficulty. How was the business to be managed? How were they to be gained over? and when gained, how brought into action? Was it by holding out the hopes of nominal emancipation from the restraining acts which still hung over them? Such an offer, I am convinced, would not have produced the least effect. No sooner, however, had a third, although apparently small party, appeared, than they manifested a disposition favourable to the views of those who were desirous to employ them as instruments for the execution of their nefarious designs. It was the imprudent conduct of the Orangemen, their excesses, and bacchanalian exultation in the exercise of power, that enabled the republicans to rouse the feelings of the Roman Catholics, and excite them to rebellion. The Catholics, therefore, raised an immense army, which wanted nothing to render it formidable but officers and ammunition. The leaders of these people were the bigoted, discontented priests, whose object was power, not freedom; not a desire to improve the condition of their flocks, but the hope of hierarchal dominion. Under such leaders, who can be surprised that the war carried on by the Wexford mob exhibited every mark of the rancorous spirit with which they had been inspired? The views of the Presbyterians were quite different The scenes which took place soon convinced them that a government, established on the principles avowed by the Catholic leaders, would be more tyrannical and insufferable than that against which they had conceived so implacable a hatred: those, therefore, who had laid the train for the intended explosion, began, in their turn, to be alarmed; and, instead of assisting in the struggle which they had provoked, shrunk back from the contest, and became the secret supporters of government. By this desertion of the

While the mountain districts of Wicklow remained unsettled, the northern counties returned to their allegiance, and the spirit of disaffection became utterly extinct. The greater criminals were either residents beyond the seas, or at large by the sufferance of the executive—while, with a few exceptions, humbler offenders were allowed to return to their families and homes,* resume their former avocations, renounce republican principles, and, from conviction, become the firm adherents of a government which they had been so anxious to overthrow. The temporary interruption to returning tranquillity occasioned by Humbert's western campaign was speedily removed. The brigandage in the Dublin mountains lost all political character, and dwindled into felonious enterprise against private property. The outlawed community quarrelled, separated, and perished by the halter and the sword—Hacket, the second in celebrity of the ruffian chiefs, perishing in a night attack on the dwelling of a private gentleman.†

Presbyterians the constitution was saved, and the misled Catholics left to maintain the conflict, or retreat in the best manner they could. The southern Catholics, therefore, had to encounter, not only the army, but the whole population of Ulster. Such was the state of things towards the end of the rebellion. The consequence was, that an enmity arose between these sects, which still remains unabated."—*Wakefield's Account of Ireland.*

* "The spirit of patriotism and the hope of success was not, I believe, so soon extinguished in the country as in the large towns. In the former it was perhaps partly kept alive by the wanderers whose lives were in jeopardy, and the necessary care and attention of others in their preservation, which was carried to a degree of generous confidence almost incredible, and in some cases exceeding the bounds of propriety. For instance, Biddy Magee, a modest and amiable young woman, who made such efforts in saving her brother's life in 1803, told me that in 1798 (she was then about twelve or fourteen years of age) a young man in the neighbourhood where she lived, and who seldom ventured to sleep two nights successively in the same house, was frequently allowed to sleep in the bed with her and an older sister, in the room with her father and mother: he had fair hair and a fair complexion, like her family. In the event of any alarm, with the disguise of a woman's cap, he was to have been passed off for one of her sisters. Such acts of generous kindness, I believe, were never abused. She also told me that one night she heard the horse patrol pass their door, on the road leading to a house where she knew that some of the wanderers were concealed, about a quarter of a mile off by the fields, but considerably further by the road; that she started out of bed immediately, threw some of her clothes on, darted across the fields, and was just in time to warn the men to make their escape, and returned home in safety. The act was considered as heroic, for the girl was so timid that she dared not venture to the well for water in the dusk of evening."—*Lives of the United Irishmen.*

† "Capt. Atkins, of Emma-vale, near Arklow, who, at no small trouble and expense, had embodied and disciplined a troop of yeoman cavalry, and had exerted himself greatly in support of government, was, without any known cause, most disgracefully deprived of his command by a general officer, and dismissed from the service of his king and country! This gentleman strained every nerve to procure a court-martial; and, after a length of time, succeeded, by the powerful interest of a nobleman, in spite of the most artful evasions. On his trial, Capt. Atkins (to whom, for the killing the ravager Hacket, the public was more indebted than to some general officers) was most honourably acquitted, as no charge could be produced against him.

"Such usage might seem calculated to convert Irish loyalists into rebels; but not even the extremity of maltreatment could produce this effect on Protestants, who were convinced that their existence must terminate with that of the government, and who might rather choose, if dire necessity should so require, to die by the hands of

We have more than once observed, that to the incapacity of direction the failure of the insurgent efforts might be traced. The prodigious extent of the conspiracy, and the discordant elements of its composition, requiring master-spirits to give effective action to a power more than adequate to achieve the end designed, were wasted in tumultuary risings,—and nearly 300,000 armed and united men never, beyond a few accidental successes, made any serious stand against some 40,000 regulars and militia, with the yeomanry and loyalists of the kingdom.

By a document delivered to Reynolds by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and by him placed subsequently in the hands of Mr. Cooke, on the 26th of February, 1798, partial returns of men, considered armed and effective, amounted, within 20,000, to the number we have stated as the strength of the disaffected at the outbreak :—

	Men.	Finances.
Ulster	110,990	£436 2 4
Munster . . .	100,634	147 17 2
Kildare . . .	10,863	110 17 7
Wicklow . . .	12,895	93 6 4
Dublin . . .	3,010	37 2 6
Dublin City . .	2,177	321 17 11
Queen's County .	11,689	91 2 1
King's County .	3,600	21 11 3
Carlow	9,414	49 2 10
Kilkenny . . .	624	10 2 3
Meath	1,400	171 2 1
Total . .	279,896	£1,485 4 9

According to the report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons in the autumn of 1798, 90,500 men were under arms to suppress the insurrection*—of this force, a tenth only were regular regiments—a half, Irish yeomanry and royalists—the latter, supernumeraries, fighting in plain clothes, and, in many cases, providing their own arms and ammunition—and the remainder, fencibles and militia. Consequently, of the force which suppressed the insurrection, two-thirds (militia and yeomanry) were supplied from the very country that was in arms; and had the conflict assumed a doubtful character,

the royal soldiery, which was the case with too many, than by those of their unfortunately bigoted countrymen."—*Gordon's History.*

* According to Newenham, "the complete suppression of this short rebellion appears to have ultimately induced the necessity of employing more than 190,000 soldiers of different descriptions, including upwards of 16,621, belonging to the domestic disposable force of England. The expenses of the military establishment, which, though no more than £1,891,967 in the year ending in 1797, after four years of war, were raised by it to £4,965,122, in the year ending 25th March, 1800. The nett funded debt of Ireland, which in the former year amounted only to £6,025,426, was augmented to £25,662,640. The destruction of private property which accompanied it was very considerable; the claims of the suffering loyalists having amounted to £823,517. It checked the growth of manufactures in Ireland, prudent or timid men being discouraged from engaging in those pursuits, which required the employment of considerable capital."—*View of Ireland.*

the northern Presbyterians would have armed, not in favour of the government, but in opposition to their Papal confederates in the south, and have carried on a more truculent warfare with their quondam allies* even than the Orangemen, whose religious rancour had hitherto been held immitigable against every professor of Catholicity.

In detailing the movements of the Viceroy when he left the metropolis to suppress the western insurrection, we viewed the operations of Lord Cornwallis only with a military eye, and certainly found it impossible to reconcile his Fabian system with a serious exigency which required the promptest measures. With the powerful means he possessed, the slow marches and cautious movements of the royalist commander are incomprehensible. Nor is the policy of an armistice, proclaimed after Humbert's surrender and the dispersion of the insurgents, more apparent, when it is considered that for the month allowed to the disaffected to return to their homes and their allegiance, the country remained unsettled, and public confidence unrestored. To other causes than an excess of military prudence the Viceroy's conduct has been attributed. A mighty *coup d'état* designed by the English minister was about to be attempted. To keep up a feverish excitement in the public mind was supposed indispensable to ensure success—and in the danger of the times, it was expected that all slighter considerations would be forgotten, and that for national security, Ireland, from her internal distraction, would court a more intimate connection with a country to which she was naturally allied, and by a sacrifice of empty pride, consent to reap the more solid advantages of a union with Great Britain, and become an integral portion of a mighty empire.

Undoubtedly, no time could be more favourable for the attempt, than the one selected by the English minister, and Ireland was now in a state fitted to receive propositions for a union. "The loyalists were still struggling through the embers of a rebellion, scarcely extinguished by the torrents of blood which had been poured upon them; the insurgents were artfully distracted between the hopes of mercy and the fear of punishment; the Viceroy had seduced the Catholics by delusive hopes of emancipation, whilst the Protestants were equally assured of their ascendancy, and every encouragement was held out to the sectarians. Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh seemed to have been created for such a crisis and for each other: an unremitting perseverance, an absence of all political compunctions, an unqualified contempt of public opinion, and a disregard of every constitutional princi-

* "Intestine contests are at all times marked by a malignity unknown to the warfare of nation against nation, however they may differ in their manners, their habits, or their religion; but if religious differences incite the quarrel, a civil war assumes a more ferocious complexion, and can only be equalled by the savage contests of barbarian hordes. The unfortunate event to which I allude, and which may be called a Protestant war, exhibited too much of this kind of brutality; each party seemed anxious to retaliate, and to surpass each other in deeds of horror; but thanks to the military of England, the destructive elements were restrained in consequence of their exertions, in which the severity of justice was tempered by humanity, comparative tranquillity was restored, and the dreadful attempt to exterminate the Catholics prevented."—*Wakefield's Account of* Ireland.

ple, were common to both. They held that 'the object justifies the means;' and, unfortunately, their private characters were calculated to screen their public conduct from popular suspicion."*

It is a matter of historic notoriety, that the Irish legislature, collectively, were the most venal and corrupt body to whom the fortunes of a kingdom were at any time intrusted. Barrington, an unscrupulous partisan, and a man who deals with the characters of those politically opposed to him with a coarseness only equalled by the latitude of his statements, thus bears testimony to the *morale* of a body, whose extinction he afterwards so bitterly laments.

"Mr. Pitt now conceived that the moment had arrived to try the effect of his previous measures to promote a legislative union, and annihilate the Irish legislature. He conceived that he had already prepared inducements to suit every temper amongst the Irish Commons: in that he was partially mistaken. He believed that he had prepared the Irish Peers to accede to all his projects: in that he was successful.

"The able, arrogant, ruthless bearing of Lord Clare upon the woolsack had rendered him almost despotic in that imbecile assembly; forgetting their high rank, their country, and themselves, they yielded unresisting to the spell of his dictation, and, as the fascinated bird, only watched his eye and dropt one by one into the power of the serpent.

"The lure of translation neutralized the scruples of the Episcopacy. The bishops yielded up their conscience to their interests, and but two of the spiritual peers could be found to uphold the independence of their country, which had been so nobly attained, and so corruptly extinguished. Marly, bishop of Waterford, and Dixon, bishop of Down, immortalized their name and their characters—they dared to oppose the dictator, and supported the rights of Ireland till she ceased to breathe longer under the title of a nation.

"This measure, of more vital importance than any that has ever yet been enacted by the British legislature, was first proposed indirectly by a speech from the throne, on the 22nd of January, 1799."

Such is the picture given by the author of the "Secret Memoirs of the Union" of the higher estate of the Irish Legislature—and we shall presently see how little claim the lower house had over that of Peers, on score of purity.†

The speech from the throne at once disclosed the intended movements of the English minister and the Irish executive; and it appeared to be the signal for the most virulent and doubtful struggle on Parliamentary record. Pamphlets teemed daily from the adherents of the ministry, and the opponents of the union; and the press supported or denounced the purposed measure in language more remarkable for strength than solid argument.

In the political convulsions of these times, the Irish Bar generally produced, as it has done in later days, the most violent and the ablest partisans; but never did forensic feeling run so high as when the Act of Union was proposed. No body were more inflexible in opposition or

* Secret History of the Union. † Ibid.

support—and it was said that Lord Clare dreaded the incorruptibility of the Bar far more than he feared aught from the integrity of the Commons—and yet there never was a Chancellor better qualified, by temper and talent, to render that body over whom he presided subservient to his wishes. In the House of Peers he was overbearing—in the courts despotic—and with a determination to achieve an object, he possessed unprecedented powers.

"He commenced his office with a splendour far exceeding all precedent. He expended four thousand guineas for a state carriage; his establishment was splendid, and his entertainments magnificent. His family connections absorbed the patronage of the State, and he became the most absolute subject that modern times has seen in the British Islands. His only check was the Bar, which he resolved to corrupt. He doubled the number of the bankrupt commissioners; he revived some offices—created others—and, under pretence of furnishing each county with a local judge, in two months he established thirty-two new offices, of about six or seven hundred pounds per annum each. His arrogance in court intimidated many whom his patronage could not corrupt; and he had no doubt of overpowering the whole profession. And yet with power to corrupt, and a determination to achieve his object—never probably surpassed in any individual—the Irish Bar foiled every effort of Lord Clare; and while the Peers and Commons proved themselves malleable metal, the Law Courts offered the most determined opposition to their chief."

Of the tone and temper of the Irish Bar at that period, one short and pungent speech, delivered at a meeting held on the 9th of December, 1799, to take the question of the proposed union into consideration, will be tolerably explanatory. Mr. Saurin opened the debate, denouncing the intended union, and was followed by Mr. Spencer.—Messrs. Daly, Grady, and Beresford advocated the purposed measure, and to these Mr. Goold replied. "There are," he said, "forty thousand British troops in Ireland; and with forty thousand bayonets at my breast, the minister shall not plant another Sicily in the bosom of the Atlantic. I want not the assistance of divine inspiration to foretel, for I am enabled by the visible and unerring demonstrations of nature to assert, that Ireland was destined to be a free and independent nation. Our patent to be a state, not a shire, comes direct from heaven. The Almighty has, in majestic characters, signed the great charter of our independence. The great Creator of the world has given our beloved country the gigantic outlines of a kingdom. The God of nature never intended that Ireland should be a province—*and by G— she never shall.*"

The assembly burst into a tumult of applause; a repetition of the words came from many mouths, and many an able lawyer swore hard upon the subject; and the division was determinately hostile to the intended measure, being—

Against the union	166
In favour of it	32

The unbounded patronage placed at the disposal of Lord Clare, may

be estimated by the places bestowed upon the members of the Bar, who adherred to him on this memorable occasion:

		Per Annum.
1.	Mr. Charles Osborn, a judge of the King's Bench	£3,300
2	Mr. Saint John Daly, a judge of the King's Bench	3,300
3.	Mr. William Smith, Baron of the Exchequer	3,300
4.	Mr. M'Cleland, Baron of the Exchequer	3,300
5.	Mr. Robert Johnson, Judge of the Common Pleas	3,300
6.	Mr. William Johnson, Judge of the Common Pleas	3,300
7.	Mr. Torrens, Judge of the Common Pleas	3,300
8.	Mr. Vandeleur, Judge of the King's Bench	3,300
9.	Mr. Thomas Maunsel, a county judge	600
10.	Mr. William Turner, a county judge	600
11.	Mr. John Scholes, a county judge	600
12.	Mr. Thomas Vickers, a county judge	600
13.	Mr. J. Homan, a county judge	600
14.	Mr. Thomas Grady, a county judge	600
15.	Mr. John Dwyer, a county judge	600
16.	Mr. George Leslie, a county judge	600
17.	Mr. Thomas Scott, a county judge	600
18.	Mr. Henry Brook, a county judge	600
19.	Mr. James Geraghty, a county judge	600
20.	Mr. Richard Sharkey, a county judge	600
21.	Mr. William Stokes, a county judge	600
22.	Mr. William Roper, a county judge	600
23.	Mr. C. Garnet, a county judge	600
24.	Mr. Jemison, a commissioner for the distribution of union compensation	1,200
25.	Mr. Fitzgibbon Henchy, commissioner of bankrupts	400
26.	Mr. J. Keller, office in the Court of Chancery	500
27.	Mr. P. W. Fortescue, M.P. *secret* pension	400
28.	Mr. W. Longfield, office in the Custom House	500
29.	Mr. Arthur Brown, commission of inspector	800
30.	Mr. Edmund Stanley, commission of inspector	800
31.	Mr. Charles Ormsby, counsel to commissioners	5,000
32.	Mr. William Knott, M.P. commission of appeals	800
33.	Mr. Henry Deane Grady, counsel to commissioners	5,000
34.	Mr. John Beresford, a title to his father	

Of the numerous debates which took place in the Irish Commons while the union of the countries occupied the attention of the House, three occurred in January, '99. The first, which commenced at one o'clock on the 22nd, terminated at eleven the next day, and occupied twenty-two hours: on a division Government were in a majority of *one*.

The speech from the Viceroy, delivered on the opening of the session, which gave rise to the debate of 22nd January, recommended—"the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed

design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention, and his Majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the Parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection essential to their common security, and of consolidating as far as possible into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire." The address to that speech—almost an echo—was moved by Lord Tyrone, the eldest son of the Marquis of Waterford.

His lordship was not a man of talent, and his speech was but in substance the lord-lieutenant's. It was said that it had been written by an eminent lawyer, and that his lordship had concealed it in the crown of his hat, and when he required to refresh his memory, that he occasionally was observed making a sly reference to the document. The seconder was Mr. Robert Fitzgerald, a southern gentleman, who, the enemies to a union asserted, had on this occasion been influenced to support a measure he secretly disliked, by a promise from the Chancellor, that when the kingdom was united, a royal dockyard should be built upon his estate, and by that means the value of his property should be doubled.

However the tranquillity of the public mind may be unsettled by the contests of rival statesmen for ascendancy, and to whatever latitude the acrimony of party feelings may arrive, the political distraction of a country, no matter how injurious besides, is favourable to the exhibition of men's abilities. Great and gifted characters suddenly spring up from among the people—animated by new subjects, their various talents and principles become developed—they interweave themselves with the events of their country, become inseparable from its misfortunes, or identified with its prosperity.*

At this momentous crisis, the destinies of Ireland were placed in the hands of three individuals. It is true that many inferior actors figured on the stage, subordinate to the leaders of the existing administration, or furiously opposed alike to men and measures. These, as opportunity elicited occasional displays, obtained gratitude from the administration for support, or the clamorous approbation of popular applause. But to three persons the nation chiefly looked—and never were statesmen more devotedly supported, or more bitterly assailed.

The first in place, but actually, the last in power, was the viceroy. Lord Cornwallis had succeeded Lord Camden, and was justly considered by the English cabinet a man of firmer nerve, and adequate resolution to carry out the great measure of a union of the kingdoms. Some men owe much to fortune, but the Irish viceroy was not indebted

* "During twenty momentous and eventful years, the life of Lord Clare is in fact the history of Ireland—as in romance some puissant and doughty chieftain appears prominent in every feat of chivalry—the champion in every strife—the hero of every encounter—and, after a life of toil and of battle, falls, surrounded by a host of foes, a victim to his own ambition and temerity."—*Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation.*

to his star; he had rarely succeeded in any of his public measures. "His failure in America had deprived England of her colonies and her army of its reputation; his catastrophe at York-Town gave a shock to the King's mind, from which it is supposed he never entirely recovered. In India he defeated Tippoo Saib, but concluded a peace which only increased the necessity of future wars. Weary of the sword, he was sent as a diplomatist to conclude the peace of Amiens; but, out-manœuvred by Lucien Bonaparte, his lordship's treaty involved all Europe in a war against England. He had thought to conciliate Lucien by complimenting the first consul, and sacrificed his sovereign's honorary title as King of France, which had been borne since the conquests of the Edwards and the Henrys, while he retained the title of Defender of the Faith, corruptly bestowed by a pope on a tyrant."

Such is the sketch given by a political enemy, in which the failures of the soldier and the statesman are prominently set forward; but justice to the memory of Lord Cornwallis demands a notice of more extended compass, than one which tells only when a distinguished man has been politically unsuccessful. In both diplomacy and war the viceroy's talents, if not brilliant, were respectable—his character was firm and upright—and he assumed the Irish government, no doubt, to effect a union of the kingdoms, and restore tranquillity to the country. In the ulterior advantages which should result from this important measure, Lord Cornwallis was a sincere believer, and therefore, in carrying out the great object of that ministry which had sent him to Ireland, he felt assured that he was consulting the best interests of the country intrusted to his government.* In his acts, consequently, he was honest. The bent of his disposition was merciful, and many instances of his humanity might be enumerated; while others, less conciliatory, and consequently every thing but popular, emanated from

* "Such was the state of misery the country was reduced to when the Marquis Cornwallis arrived. He saw the danger, and lost no time in pursuing the only means which could avert it. Conceiving that this important end might be better accomplished by a mild system of conciliation than by severity, he employed the former, not only as being more advantageous to the country, but because it was in unison with his own feelings. He ordered the prisons to be thrown open, and liberated those who had long been the tenants of their noisome and gloomy dungeons. The naked sufferer was no longer tortured, nor was the eye shocked with reiterated executions, which had become so frequent that they had lost all their horror. Spies and informers, like birds of prey, ceased to haunt the castle—the messengers of peace had taken their places. Confidence was substituted for suspicion; the grateful feelings of those, who, although guilty, experienced a lenity which they did not expect, spread its beneficial influence throughout the deluded and fermented multitude; hope was revived, and the public agitation gradually subsided. The altar of mercy, which had been so wantonly overturned, was again erected. Instead of exercising the rigour of the law, and consigning the rebel chiefs to an ignominious death, a punishment the worse effects of which would have extended to their innocent relations, the marquis consented that they should be permitted to leave the country. The reign of terror was at an end, because the Government recovered its respectability, and acted as arbiter of the dispute." — *Wakefield.*

and manly, yet discovered nothing which could deceive the physiognomist into an opinion of his magnanimity, or call forth an eulogium on his virtues.

Of Lord Castlereagh it will only be necessary to remark, that the bold and statesman-like career which opened with the Irish Union was more amply developed in the progress of his after-life. His public character has long been before the world, and undergone praise and censure, according to the party feelings of those who were its examiners. In private life, Lord Londonderry was admired and beloved; and even from political opponents his brilliant talents and personal intrepidity commanded an unqualified respect.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

VENALITY OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT—CORRUPTION OF ITS MEMBERS—PROGRESS OF THE DEBATE—IMPORTANT DIVISION—ANECDOTES.

We mentioned in the preceding chapter the general result of the opening debate upon the Union, and alluded to the closeness of the division. Were it necessary to establish the disgusting venality of the Irish representatives, two disgraceful episodes attendant on that memorable debate, will prove how utterly useless to the country was the home representation from which she was about to be delivered. The secession of Mr. Trench, and the indecisive position in which Mr. Fox found himself, led to two of the most extraordinary scenes of parliamentary corruption which have ever been witnessed or recorded.

Premising, that after a violent debate of twenty hours, it seemed probable that government might be left in a minority, the following singular occurrences took place, damnatory of the most corrupt body which ever had existence. The anecdotes are narrated by one of the most ardent admirers of native administration—and we will give them in the words of a personal witness—a member of the house at the time.*

"It was suspected that Mr. Trench had been long in negotiation with Lord Castlereagh, but it did not in the early part of that night appear to have been brought to any conclusion—his conditions were *supposed* to be too extravagant. Mr. Trench, after some preliminary observations, declared, in a speech, that he would vote against the minister, and support Mr. Ponsonby's amendment. This appeared a stunning blow to Mr. Cooke, who had been previously in conversation with Mr. Trench. He was immediately observed sideling from his seat, nearer to Lord Castlereagh. They whispered earnestly, and, as if restless and undecided, both looked wistfully towards Mr. Trench.—At length the matter seemed to be determined on. Mr. Cooke retired to a back seat, and was obviously endeavouring to count the house—probably to guess if they could that night dispense with Mr. Trench's services. He returned to Lord Castlereagh—they whispered—again looked most affectionately at Mr. Trench, who seemed unconscious that he was the subject of their consideration. But there was no time to lose—the question was approaching—all shame was banished—they decided on the terms, and a significant and certain glance, obvious to every body, convinced Mr. Trench that his conditions were agreed to. Mr. Cooke then went and sat down by his side; an earnest but very short conversation took place; a parting smile completely told the house that Mr. Trench was that moment satisfied. These surmises

* Sir Jonah Barrington.

were soon verified. Mr. Cooke went back to Lord Castlereagh,—a congratulatory nod announced his satisfaction. But could any man for one moment suppose that a member of parliament, and a man of very large fortune, of respectable family and good character, could be publicly, and without shame or compunction, actually seduced by Lord Castlereagh, in the very body of the house, and under the eye of two hundred and twenty gentlemen? Yet this was the fact. In a few minutes Mr. Trench rose, to apologize for having indiscreetly declared he would support the amendment. He added that he had thought better of the subject since he had unguardedly expressed himself,—was convinced that he was wrong,—and would support the minister."

The second of Sir Jonah's statements is as remarkable, and more amusing; and the peculiar style of the ex-judge of the Irish admiralty court, gives it so pointedly that we will not abridge it:—

"Mr. Luke Fox, a barrister of very humble origin, of vulgar manners, and of a coarse, harsh appearance, was endued with a clear, strong, and acute mind, and was possessed of much cunning. He had acquired very considerable legal information, and was an obstinate and persevering advocate; he had been the usher of a school, and a sizer in Dublin university; but neither politics nor the belles-lettres were his pursuit. On acquiring eminence at the Bar, he married an obscure niece of the Earl of Ely's; he had originally professed what was called whiggism, merely, as people supposed, because his name was Fox. His progress was impeded by no political principles, but he kept his own secrets well, and being a man of no importance, it was perfectly indifferent to every body what side he took. Lord Ely, perceiving he was manageable, returned him to parliament as one of his automata; and Mr. Fox played his part very much to the satisfaction of his manager.

"When the Union was announced, Lord Ely had not made his terms, and remained long in abeyance; and as his lordship had not issued his orders to Mr. Fox, he was very unwilling to commit himself until he could dive deeper into probabilities; but rather believing the opposition would have the majority, he remained in the body of the house with the anti-unionists, when the division took place. The doors were scarcely locked, when he became alarmed, and slunk, unperceived, into one of the dark corridors, where he concealed himself: he was, however, discovered, and the serjeant-at-arms was ordered to bring him forth, to be counted amongst the anti-unionists—his confusion was very great, and he seemed at his wit's end; at length he declared he had taken advantage of the Place Bill, had *actually accepted the Escheatorship of Munster*,* and had thereby vacated his seat, and could not vote.

"The fact was doubted, but, after much discussion, his excuse, *upon his honour*, was admitted, and he was allowed to return into the corridor."

* The Irish Escheatorships were similar to the English Chiltern Hundreds—Crown offices in name.

The most curious wind-up to Mr. Fox's parliamentary history is, that through Lord Granard (an anti-unionist), he once more obtained a seat, *ratted* a second time, and was raised to the Irish bench for his apostasy.

By such means and such supporters the address was carried.

On the same day (22nd of February) the House of Lords assembled to receive the speech of the lord-lieutenant. There, the opposition was feeble in the extreme, and the peers, with a very few exceptions, agreed to the address. The number of the anti-union nobility was too small to allow their resistance to be effectual; the Bench of Bishops—those of Down and Limerick excepted—were staunch supporters of the Government. The debate was under the eye, and it might almost be said, the control of the master-spirit of the time, the daring and gifted Chancellor.

"The education of the Irish noblemen of that day," observes Barrington, "was little calculated for debate or parliamentary duties;* they very seldom took any active part in parliamentary discussions, and more rarely attained to that confidence in public speaking, without which no effect can be produced. They could argue, or might declaim, but were unequal to what is termed debate; and being confirmed in their torpidity by an habitual abstinence from parliamentary discussions, when the day of danger came, they were unequal to the contest."

* One personal sketch of Beauchamp Bagenal, member for Carlow, is so descriptive of an Irish legislator of that day, that we give it.

"He was one of those persons, who, born to a large inheritance, and having no profession to interrupt their propensities, generally made in those times the grand tour of Europe, as the finishing part of a gentleman's education. Mr. Bagenal followed the general course; and on that tour had made himself very conspicuous. He had visited every capital of Europe, and had exhibited the native original character of the Irish *gentleman* at every place he visited. In the splendour of his travelling establishment, he quite eclipsed the petty potentates with whom Germany was garnished. His person was fine—his manners open and generous—his spirit high—and his liberality profuse. During his tour, he had performed a variety of feats which were emblazoned in Ireland, and endeared him to his countrymen. He had fought a prince—jilted a princess—intoxicated the Doge of Venice—carried off a duchess from Madrid—scaled the walls of a convent in Italy—narrowly escaped the Inquisition at Lisbon—concluded his exploits by a duel at Paris; and returned to Ireland with a sovereign contempt for all continental men and manners, and an inveterate antipathy to all despotic kings and arbitrary governments.

"Domesticated in his own mansion at Dunleckny—surrounded by a numerous and devoted tenantry—and possessed of a great territory, Mr. Bagenal determined to spend the residue of his days on his native soil, according to the usages and customs of country gentlemen—and he was shortly afterwards returned a representative to parliament for the county of Carlow, by universal acclamation.

"Though Mr. Bagenal did not take any active part in the general business of the Irish parliament, he at least gave it a good example of public spirit and high-minded independence. His natural talents were far above mediocrity; but his singularities, in themselves extravagant, were increased by the intemperance of those times; and an excellent capacity was neutralized by inordinate dissipation. Prodigally hospitable, irregular, extravagant, uncertain, vivacious; the chase, the turf, the sod, and the bottle, divided a great portion of his intellects between them, and generally left, for the use of parliament, only so much as he could spare from his other occupations."

Lord Clare, on the contrary, from his forensic habits, his dogmatic arrogance, and unrestrained invective, had an incalculable advantage over less practised reasoners. The modest were overwhelmed by flights of astounding rhapsody—the patriotic borne down by calumny—the diffident silenced by contemptuous irony; and nearly the whole of the peerage, without being able to account for their pusillanimity, were either trampled under his feet, or were mere puppets in the grasp of this all-powerful Chancellor. Such was the state of the Irish Lords in 1799. The extent of Lord Clare's connections, and the energy of his conduct during the last insurrection, had contributed to render him nearly despotic over both the Government and the country.

A second and a severe trial was to tax the strength of the rival parties. The report upon the address was to be brought up on the 24th, and the country looked to the result with an intensity of interest, which in parliamentary annals has never been surpassed.

It was indeed, a momentous trial. "Both parties stood in a difficult and precarious predicament: the minister had not time to gain ground by the usual practices of the secretary; and the question must have been either totally relinquished or again discussed. The opposition were, as yet, uncertain how far the last debate might cause any numerical alteration in their favour; each party calculated on a small majority, and it was considered that a defeat would be equally ruinous to either.

"It was supposed that the minister would, according to all former precedent, withdraw from his situation, if left in a minority, whilst an increased majority, however small, against the anti-unionists, might give plausible grounds for future discussions."*

The excitement out of doors, as the hour for the meeting of the house drew near, was tremendous. College-green and every avenue leading to it, was choked up by dense masses of the populace, who evinced their feelings towards the members as they approached the house by vociferous cheering, or sarcastic observations, whose point and bitterness frequently excite the ridicule, rather than the anger of an Irish mob, and keeps them in good-humour. Within the house the galleries were crowded by ladies of the highest distinction, and as the fair sex had entered warmly into the spirit of the times, as in olden days, at tilts and tournaments, they cheered the champions of their respective parties during the long and arduous debate which followed, with "wreathed smiles" and waving handkerchiefs.

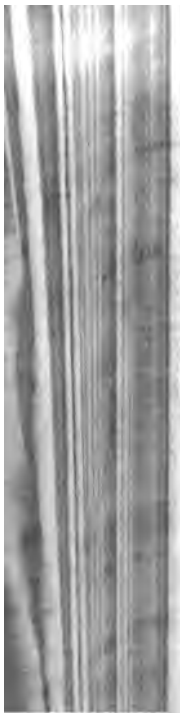
Such was the excitement in the capital; and it may be imagined that the leaders of two parties so violently opposed, and so nicely balanced, were incessant in preparations for the approaching contest. The Government had despatched messengers in every direction to whip in loitering and reluctant supporters; the anti-unionists were also busily at work to recruit their ranks by every means of influence in their power. In the lobbies, an actual canvass was openly carried on, and undecided members were almost dragged to the rival benches by

* Secret Memoirs of the Union.



John Lord Fitzgibbon

EARL OF CLARE.



the agents of both parties, who exhibited on this occasion more zeal than parliamentary dignity. The house assembled at half-past four, but the debate did not commence till seven. In this interval, the noise and confusion in the corridors heralded the coming contest, and was descriptive of the character of the debate—it was rude, sometimes boisterous, and altogether unusual.

The Speaker at length took his chair, and his cry of "Order! order!" obtained a profound silence. Dignified and peremptory, he was seldom disobeyed; and a chairman more despotic, from his wisdom and the respect and affection of the members of every side, never presided over a popular assembly.

When prayers commenced—all was in a moment gloomy and decorous, and a deep solemnity corresponded with the vital importance of the subject they were to determine.

Warm, and occasionally personal, as the former debate had been, that of the 24th was infinitely more violent. It was opened by Sir John Parnell, who had been recently removed from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. He contended that the measure proposed was virtually a revolutionary subversion of the constitution; a change that parliament had no authority to enact, nor the king a right to confirm. He was followed by Mr. Tighe, who also declaimed strongly against a union. Even in this early stage of the debate, the party virulence of the members on both sides became apparent, and every eye was turned to the treasury benches, and the attention of the house seemed fixed upon the secretary for Ireland.

Lord Castlereagh had preserved an ominous silence, and as the numbers in the house had increased since the last division, he appeared rather to scrutinize the individuals who had as yet not declared themselves than attend to the arguments of the speakers. On his own course of action, he had already decided, and resolved to infuse additional life and spirit into his followers, by taking the offensive at once. Such were the intentions of the secretary; but in this course, he was anticipated unexpectedly by Mr. George Ponsonby.

When Mr. George Ponsonby was roused, he had great debating powers; on minor subjects he was often vapid, but on this occasion he far exceeded himself in argument, elocution, and in fortitude. He was sincere—his blood warmed—he reasoned with a force, a boldness, and with an absence of all reserve, which he never before had so energetically exhibited. As a lawyer, a statesman, and a loyal Irish subject, he denied that either the Lords or the Commons, or the King of Ireland, had the power of passing or assenting to a legislative union. He avowed his opinion that the measure was revolutionary, and would run the destructive lengths of endangering the compact between the crown and the subjects, and the connection of the two nations.

In the course of his speech, he assailed Lord Castlereagh with a strength and unreserved severity which greatly exceeded the usual bounds of his philippics.

Cool and deliberate irony, ten times more piercing than the sharpest satire, flowed from his lips in a slow rolling flood of indignant denun-

ciation. His calm language never for one moment yielded to his warm impressions; and it was doubly formidable, from being restrained by prudence and dictated by conviction.

The effect of this unexpected attack upon Lord Castlereagh was remarkable. Generally cool and imperturbable, he controlled his passions at the moment, and husbanded his strength to fulminate a withering reply against the individual who provoked it. But on this occasion, Mr. Ponsonby's personalities appeared to sting the secretary to the quick, and with difficulty he preserved sufficient self-command to prevent him from rising to interrupt the speaker. His flushing face and kindling eye betrayed the poignancy of his feelings, while the bracing of his opponent exhibited the most singular contrast imaginable.

He sate directly opposite Lord Castlereagh. Not a feature moved—not a muscle was disturbed—and his small grey eyes were rivetted upon his adversary. After a tumult of applause from the anti-unionists, a dead silence reigned throughout the body of the house;—the ladies in the galleries listened in breathless attention—Lord Castlereagh rose to reply—and every hearer was prepared for the outpouring of no ordinary philippic.

For this species of conflict the youthful minister was admirably adapted. He had sufficient firmness to advance, and sufficient pertinacity to persist in any assertion. Never had he more occasion to exert all his powers, nor did he fail in his efforts. He had no qualms or compunction to arrest his progress. In his reply there was no assertion he did not risk—no circumstance he did not vouch for—no aspersion he did not cast; and he even went lengths which he afterwards repented. To the Bar, he applied the term "pettifoggers"—to the opposition, "cabal"—"combinators"—"desperate faction;" and to the nation itself, "barbarism"—"ignorance," and "insensibility to the protection and paternal regards she had *ever* experienced from the British nation." His speech was severe beyond any thing he had ever uttered within the walls of parliament, and far exceeded the powers he was supposed to possess. He raked up every act of Mr. Ponsonby's political career, and handled it with a masterly severity; but it was in the tone and in the manner of an angry gentleman. He had flown at the highest game, and his opponent (never off his guard) attended to his lordship with a contemptuous and imperturbable placidity, which frequently gave Mr. Ponsonby a great advantage over warmer debaters. On this occasion he seemed not at all to feel the language of Lord Castlereagh; he knew that he had provoked it, and he saw that he had spoken effectually by the irritation of his opponent.

Lord Castlereagh was greatly exhausted, and Mr. Ponsonby, turning round, audibly observed, with a frigid smile and an air of utter indifference, "the ravings of an irritated youth—it was very natural."*

The daring spirit and matchless severity with which the leader of the unionists castigated the man who had ventured to assail him, although it failed in securing a majority on the division, had a powerful

* Secret Memoirs of the Union.

effect in stimulating his adherents, and giving fresh vigour and confidence to the party. The power of reply was considered, even by his admirers, an effort of a higher order than they were prepared for, and in the youthful minister, those unfriendly to a union admitted they had an antagonist to contend with, equally dangerous from the undoubted possession of commanding talent united to personal intrepidity.

To describe the progress of a debate, during which all parliamentary amenities were forgotten, and the semblance of order preserved only by the absolute interference of the Speaker, would be unnecessary. Among the speeches delivered by the anti-unionists, those of Sir Lawrence Parsons, Mr. Falkiner, Mr. James Fitzgerald, the ex prime-sergeant, Colonel Maxwell, and Mr. Plunket, were probably the most effective; while the most remarkable were delivered by Mr. Egan and Colonel Moore O'Donnell. The former inveighed against the metaphorical sophistries of Mr. William Smith, as to the competence of parliament,—such reasoning he called rubbish, and such reasoners were scavengers—"like a dray-horse, he galloped over all his opponents, plunging and kicking, and overthrowing all before him. No member on that night pronounced a more sincere, clumsy, powerful oration: of matter he had abundance—of language he made no selection—and he was aptly compared to the Trojan horse, sounding as if he had armed men within him."*

The latter's was the silly ebullition of a maiden speech, which cost the orator his regiment†— James Moore O'Donnell, eldest son of Sir

* Secret Memoirs of the Union.

† Colonel O'Donnell was killed in a duel with Major Bingham, which, as it was said, he had provoked by repeated insults. On going to the ground, the colonel considering that he was unpopular with the mob, who had collected in hundreds to witness the encounter, and, confident that he would shoot his antagonist, directed his groom to have his horse in a position for mounting the moment that Major Bingham fell. The event, however, had a very different result, for Colonel O'Donnell was shot dead before he could discharge a pistol.

A strange circumstance attended this melancholy event. The fatal meeting took place in the barony of Tyrawly, some thirty miles' distance from Newport House, the residence of Sir Neil O'Donnell. The old gentleman, utterly unconscious that his son had any quarrel or affair of honour on hand, was walking backwards and forwards in front of his mansion, conversing upon indifferent subjects with the clergyman of the parish. The road from Castlebar enters the opposite side of the town, and travellers approaching a long bridge which forms the communication with Erris are distinctly visible from the place where Sir Neil was sauntering. A peasant, in the customary dress of the country—a long *cota-more*—and mounted on a common hack, was observed trotting slowly across the bridge. There was no appearance of haste—nothing whatever to distinguish him from the hundred countrymen who daily passed and repassed. The old man stopped suddenly.

"Do you see yonder man?"

"I see a fellow trotting slowly over the bridge, to Achil or Ballycry, returning probably from the market."

"*No. That man is coming to me, and he is the bearer of heavy tidings.*"

The clergyman smiled—reasoned on the absurdity of Sir Neil's apprehensions; but the agitated features of the baronet shewed that the impression was immovable. While still endeavouring to reassure the old gentleman, the countryman rode up—delivered a hurried scroll—the old man broke the seal—his favourite son was dead!

Neil O'Donnell, a man of large fortune in that county, commanded the South Mayo militia. On this night he could not contain his indignation, and by anticipation "disclaimed all future allegiance, if a union were effected: he held it as a vicious revolution, and avowed that he would take the field at the head of his regiment to oppose its execution, and would resist rebels in rich clothes as he had done the rebels in rags."

After the most stormy debate on record, both sides seemed weary of a wordy war, and the division was called for by the opposition, and assented to by the unionists. No wonder the house and the auditory were wearied out, and the subject totally exhausted—for sixty members had delivered their opinions—the majority being clearly with the opposition. When counted, the minister had one hundred and five supporters—the anti-unionists divided one hundred and eleven.

The last who recorded his vote was the chairman of the County of Dublin (Mr.—but more generally termed, Bully Egan), a man of singular manners and appearance. "When he entered the body of the house from the Court of Requests, to which the opposition members had withdrawn, his exultation was boundless—and as number one hundred and ten was announced, he stopped a moment at the bar, flourished a great stick which he had in his hand over his head, and with the voice of a Stentor cried out—"*And I'm a hundred and eleven!*" He then sat quietly down, and burst out into an immoderate and almost convulsive fit of laughter;—it was all heart. Never was there a finer picture of genuine patriotism. He was far from being rich, and had an offer to be made a Baron of the Exchequer, with £3,500 a year, if he would support the Union; but he refused it with indignation. On any other subject probably he would have supported the Government."

Of the construction of the House, Barrington gives the following analysis:—

Members holding offices during pleasure . . .	69
Members rewarded by *offices* for their votes . .	19
Member *openly* seduced in the *body of the House*	1
Commoners created peers, or their wives peeresses, for their votes	13
	102
Supposed to be uninfluenced	3
The House composed of	300
Voted that night	216
Absent members	84

Of these eighty-four absent members, twenty-four were kept away by absolute necessity, and of the residue there can be no doubt that they

were not friends to the Union, from this plain reason—the Government had the power of enforcing the attendance of all the dependent members—and, as the opposition had no power, they had none but voluntary supporters.

The most singular occurrence in parliamentary history remains to be told. When the enthusiastic triumph of the opposition was at its height—ladies cheering from the gallery, and the thousands in the streets had learned the result of the division, and thundered their acclamations in return—Mr. Ponsonby requested his party to remain, while he should propose and put on record a resolution to the following effect:—"*That this House will ever maintain the undoubted birthright of Irishmen, by preserving an independent parliament of Lords and Commons resident in this kingdom, as stated and approved by his Majesty and the British Parliament in* 1782."

The Secretary, aware that opposition would prove unavailing, contented himself by protesting against a motion he denounced as highly dangerous; and when the Speaker put the question, the negatives of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Toler (afterwards Lord Norbury) alone were heard. Mr. Ponsonby reduced his motion to writing previous to its being announced from the chair, and the delay of a few moments—trifling in ordinary events—by a singular fatality defeated the victorious party in their hour of triumph, and effectuated for their enemies the object at which they had exerted every influence and energy in vain.

"On Mr. Ponsonby's handing up his motion, he stood firm and collected, and looked around him with the honest confidence of a man who had performed his duty and saved his country—the silence of death prevailed in the galleries, and the whole assembly displayed a spectacle as solemn and important as any country or any era had ever exhibited.

The Speaker repeated the question—"the ayes" burst forth into a loud peal—the gallery was in immediate motion—all was congratulation. On the question being put the second time (as was usual), a still louder and more reiterated cry of "aye, aye," resounded from every quarter, and only the same two negatives were heard, feebly, from the ministeral side. Government, in fact, had given up the contest for the present, when Mr. William Charles Fortescue, member for Louth, requested a hearing before the final decision was announced.

He said, "that he was adverse to the measure of a legislative union, and had given his decided vote against it, but he did not wish to bind himself *for ever*. *Possible* circumstances might occur hereafter, which might render that measure expedient, and he did not approve of any determination which *for ever* closed the doors against any possibility of future discussion."

The opposition were paralyzed—the Government were roused—a single sentence plausibly conceived, and (without reflecting on its destructive consequence) moderately uttered, by a respectable man, and *an avowed anti-unionist*, eventually decided the fate of the Irish na-

tion. It offered a pretext for timidity, a precedent for caution, and a subterfuge for waving venality.*

Had Mr. Ponsonby contented himself with inflicting a severe defeat upon a minister whom he personally detested, his triumph was complete; but in the anxiety to perpetuate his victory, he blindly ventured beyond his depth, and threw his game away.† It is absurd to suppose that, under any circumstance, the favourite object of Mr. Pitt would have been abandoned; but it would have been certainly postponed, and its ulterior success might have been delayed for a year or two. If Barrington speaks truth—and no man appears to be carried away by party feelings more palpably in his statements—if *thirty* sturdy anti-unionists were in the brief term of one recess won over by the Irish Secretary, the conversion of *four* would not be a work of time; and, as a very short interval discovered, men, in and out of the house, began to investigate the bearing of the question calmly, and come to a true conclusion, that the safety and prosperity of the country depended upon its political annexation with Great Britain. That a legislative union would therefore have been carried it would be sheer folly to deny—and in the bitterness of political rancour, Mr. Ponsonby removed the only barrier to its immediate consummation.

So monstrous a proposition as Mr. Ponsonby's alarmed some of the most devoted adherents to the opposition. Lord Cole, Mr. Ffrench of Roscommon, and John Claudius Beresford, the member for Dublin city, protested against its principle, and declared their determination of exercising free agency on a question which might hereafter require further consideration. In a few minutes the iron bond of the anti-unionists was severed, and a rope of sand was substituted in its place.

Mr. Ponsonby perceived the fatal mistake he had committed, but too late to counteract the mischief. He rose and addressed the house, lamented that the smallest contrariety of opinion should have arisen amongst men, who ought to be united by the most powerful of all inducements, "the salvation of their independence." He perceived, however, a wish that he should not press the motion, founded, he supposed, on a mistaken confidence in the engagements of the Noble Lord (Lord Castlereagh), *that he would not again bring forward that ruinous measure, without the decided approbation of the people and of the parliament.* Though he must doubt the sincerity of the minister's engagements, he could not hesitate to acquiesce in the wishes of his friends, and he would therefore withdraw his motion.

The sudden transition from exultation to despondency became in-

* Secret Memoirs of the Union.

† The advantage of that majority was lost, and the possibility of exciting division amongst the anti-unionists could no longer be questioned. This consideration had an immediate and extensive effect—the timid recommenced their fears—the wavering began to think of consequences—the venal to negotiate; and the public mind, particularly amongst the Catholics, who still smarted from the scourge, became so deeply affected, and so timorously doubtful, that some of the persons, assuming to themselves the title of *Catholic Leaders*, sought an audience, in order to inquire from Marquis Cornwallis, "What would be the advantage to the Catholics, if a union should happen to be effected in Ireland?"—Secret Memoirs of the Union.

stantly apparent, by the dead silence which followed Mr. Ponsonby's declaration—the change was so rapid and so unexpected, that from the galleries, which a moment before were full of congratulation and of pleasure, not a single word was heard—crest-fallen and humbled, many instantly withdrew from the scene, and though the people without knew of nothing but their victory, the retreat was a subject of the most serious solicitude to every friend of Irish independence.

Such an advantage could not escape the anxious eye of Government; chagrin and disappointment had changed sides, and the friends of the Union, who a moment before had considered their measure as nearly extinguished, rose upon their success, retorted in their turn, and opposed its being withdrawn. It was, however, too tender a ground for either party to insist upon a division; a debate was equally to be avoided, and the motion was suffered to be withdrawn. Sir Henry Cavendish keenly and sarcastically remarked, that "it was a retreat after a victory." After a day's and a night's debate without intermission, the house adjourned at eleven o'clock the ensuing morning.*

When the members dispersed, the mob, who were in high excitement, evinced their feelings towards individuals issuing from the house as they were popular or disliked. While the Speaker's horses were taken from the carriage, and himself drawn triumphantly through the streets, the Lord Chancellor was assaulted, driven into a house in Clarendon Street, and only secured himself by intimidating his pursuers, and presenting a pistol at the leader. It was said that but for Lord Clare' determination, it was the intention of the populace to have attached his lordship to the Speaker's carriage; but his unflinching courage saved him from that humiliation. Some members escaped recognition, others saved themselves by flight, and one by his intrepidity. Mr. Richard Martin, unable to get clear, turned on his hunters, and boldly faced a mob of many thousands, with a small pocket pistol in his hand. He swore most vehemently, "*that, if they advanced six inches on him, he would immediately shoot every mother's babe of them as dead as that paving stone*," kicking one as he spoke. The united spirit and fun of his declaration, and his little pocket pistol, aimed at ten thousand men, women, and children, were so entirely to the taste of an Irish populace, that all symptoms of hostility ceased; they gave him three cheers, and he regained his home without further molestation."†

The crazy joy of the thoughtless multitude was never more unsubstantially elicited. From the hour that Mr. Ponsonby's motion was withdrawn, government gained strength; the standard of visionary honours and of corrupt emoluments was raised for recruits; a congratulatory, instead of a consolatory despatch, had been forwarded to Mr. Pitt, and another to the Duke of Portland; and it was not difficult to foresee, that the result of that night, though apparently a victory over the proposition for a union, afforded a strong point for the minister in the subsequent negotiations, by which he had determined to achieve his measure—and the arguments and divisions on succeeding

* *Secret Memoirs of the Union.* † Barrington.

debates proved, beyond the possibility of question, the overwhelming advantage which Mr. Fortescue's precedent had given to those, who were determined to dispose of their consistency under colour of their moderation.

The session closed, and the last discussion on the subject of the union, told that the triumph of its supporters was certain. Lord Castlereagh proved that he had not allowed the advantage, which Mr. Ponsonby's gross error had given him, to pass without being turned to fatal account—and when Lord Corry introduced a motion, similar in effect to that ill-judged proposition of Mr. Ponsonby, to cushion for ever any scheme for legislative union; after a long and animated debate, it was rejected by a majority of *fifty-eight!*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PROGRESS OF THE UNION THROUGH THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE recess, which followed the adjournment, was all that was wanted by the Irish government to effect the object they had aimed at. Lord Castlereagh with infinite ability pressed the advantage Mr. Ponsonby's unguarded motion had given him; and a determined minister resolved, *coute qui coute*, to carry out a favourite measure, "with the treasury in his hands, and patronage in his note-book," is seldom known to fail. In the interval, when the parties were removed from the presence of each other, the viceroy was an able assistant to the secretary. He increased his popularity by visiting the provinces—was entertained in his tour by the nobility and gentry—feasted by the corporations—the farm-house in turn with the mansion was honoured by the presence of the king's representative—and he returned to the castle with the golden opinions of many, who had hitherto regarded his government with jealousy or indifference.

The stormy debates which followed the introduction of the project of a legislative union in the Irish house, were simultaneous with a more temperate discussion of this important measure in the British Commons. The subject was brought before the English parliament under the form of a message from the king, on the 22nd of January, to the following effect:—

"His Majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry, with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament; and his Majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating this design, by disposing the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment, as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential for their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources, of the British empire."

Mr. Sheridan gave the purposed union his strongest opposition. His chief argument was national disinclination to the measure; he contended that there was not a single proof of the people of Ireland manifesting a wish to unite; on the contrary, they had unequivocally declared themselves hostile to the proposition; and if it were effected, it would be a union accomplished by surprise, fraud, corruption, and intimidation. Indeed, had it been told that the whole people of Ireland had declared that they would shake off all allegiance, and that the parliament had violated the rights of the people; that the country did

not prosper under its constitution; then, he said, there were strong reasons for agreeing to the proposition of union; but this had not been the case: the Irish Commons had been thanked for their patriotic vigilance in defeating their internal enemies. Mr. Sheridan concluded by proposing the following amendment:—

"At the same time to express the surprise and deep regret with which the house, for the first time, learned from his Majesty, that the final adjustment, which, upon his Majesty's gracious recommendation, took place between the two kingdoms in 1782, had not produced the effects expected from that solemn settlement; and, farther, humbly to express to his Majesty, that his faithful Commons had strong reasons to believe, that it was in the contemplation of his Majesty's ministers to propose a union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding that final and solemn adjustment; humbly imploring his Majesty not to listen to the counsels of those who should advise such a measure at the present crisis."

Mr. Canning replied to Mr. Sheridan, and successfully combated the arguments he had adduced. His honourable friend had contended, that this was not a proper time to discuss such a question, when Ireland was in such a convulsed state. The house could not but remember, he said, that for three years past those who were in the habit of opposing his Majesty's ministers, had repeatedly been calling for inquiries into the state of affairs of Ireland, though such inquiries were not then brought within the view of the house; but now it seemed they had no wish for any investigation, and all their curiosity had subsided. Surely his honourable friend had not inquired into the state of Ireland since late events had taken place. Was it not notorious, that the object of the traitorous machinations which had given rise to the rebellion, was not any partial change of men or measures, but a total subversion of the existing government and constitution of the country, and the complete destruction of all connection between the sister kingdom and Great Britain? After the detection of those deep and destructive plots, surely it ought to be deemed expedient to examine into, and adopt the most effectual means of counteracting, the pernicious consequences that might still flow from them.

"He next made some observations upon Dr. Duigenan's * answer to

* "This eccentric person, whose celebrity originated from his crusades for Protestant supremacy, would probably have been a conspicuous character in whatever station he might have been placed, or in whatever profession he might have adopted. Incapable of moderation upon any subject, he possessed too much vigorous and active intellect to have passed through life an unsignalized spectator; and if he had not at an early period enlisted as a champion of Luther, it is more than probable he would, with equal zeal and courage, have borne the standard for St. Peter's followers. A hot, rough, intrepid, obstinate mind, strengthened by very considerable erudition, and armed by a memory of the most extraordinary retention, contributed their attributes equally to his pen and his speeches.

"He considered invective as the first, detail as the second, and decorum as the last quality of a public orator; and he never failed to exemplify these principles.

"A partisan in his very nature, every act of his life was influenced by invincible prepossessions; a strong guard of inveterate prejudices were sure, on all subjects,

Mr. Grattan, on which he passed handsome compliments, remarking that the Doctor stated it as an unavoidable alternative, either that a plan of union must be adopted, or that some other must be devised, for the fortification of the Protestant ascendancy. The hon. gentleman had strongly insisted on the intimidation which the presence of an armed force would be likely to impress on the public mind of Ireland · it was by promoting such a union of interests and affections, as this measure would insure, that we might hope to remove the necessity of keeping a large armed force in Ireland; and removing that necessity, in fact, would remove one of the objects of his own censure and complaint. But where were the effects of that intimidation which the hon. gentlemen seemed to apprehend? It surely did not affect either the liberty of speech, or the liberty of the press; both, he remarked, had been pretty freely indulged on the present subject. He also observed, that some of the most strenuous friends of reform in

to keep moderation at a distance, and occasionally prevented even common reason from obtruding on his dogmas, or interrupting his speeches.

"A mingled strain of boisterous invective, unlimited assertion, rhapsody and reasoning, erudition and ignorance, were alike perceptible in his writings and orations; yet there were few of either, from which a dispassionate compiler might not have selected ample materials for an able production.

"He persuaded himself that he was a true fanatic; but though the world gave him full credit for his practical intolerance, there were many exceptions to the consistency of his professions, and many who doubted his theoretic sincerity. His intolerance was too outrageous to be honest, and too unreasonable to be sincere; and whenever his Protestant extravagance appeared to have even one moment of a lucid interval, it was immediately predicted that he would die a Catholic.

"His politics could not be termed either uniform or coherent. He had a latent spark of independent spirit in his composition, which the minister sometimes found it difficult to extinguish, and dangerous to explode. He had the same respect for a Protestant bishop that he would probably have had for a Catholic cardinal. Episcopacy was his standard; and when he shewed symptoms of running restive to the government, the primate of Ireland was called in to be the pacificator.

"He held a multiplicity of public offices at the same time, unconnected with government. He was Vicar General to most of the bishops; and whenever he conceived the rights of the Church were threatened, his bristles instantly arose, as it were by instinct; his tusks were bared for combat; he moved forward for battle; and would have shewn no more mercy to the government than he would have done to the patriots.

"He injured the reputation of Protestant ascendancy by his extravagant support of the most untenable of its principles. He served the Catholics by the excess of his calumnies, and aided their claims to amelioration, by personifying that virulent sectarian intolerance which was the very subject of their grievances.

"He had, however, other traits, which frequently disclosed qualities of a very superior description. His tongue and his actions were constantly at variance; he was hospitable and surly; sour and beneficent; prejudiced and liberal; friendly and inveterate. His bad qualities he exposed without reserve to the public; his good ones he husbanded for private intercourse. Many of the former were fictitious; all the latter were natural. He was an honest man, with an outrageous temper and perverted judgment; and, as if he conceived that right was wrong, he sedulously endeavoured to conceal his philanthropy under the garb of a misanthrope.

"In private society, he was often the first in conviviality; and when his memory, his classic reading, and his miscellaneous information, were turned to the purposes of humour or of anecdote, they gave a quaint, joyous, eccentric cast to his conversation, highly entertaining to strangers, and still more so to those accustomed to the *display of his versatilities.*"—*Barrington's Personal Sketches.*

Ireland had frequently said, that they wanted only to be brought nearer to the perfection of England, and desired that they might enjoy the substantial blessings of the British constitution.

Mr. Sheridan withdrew his amendment, and the original motion was carried without a division.

On the 31st January, his Majesty's message was taken into consideration, and Mr. Pitt addressed the house. The defeat of the Irish government on the 24th was known, and the Chancellor observed, that the result of a similar communication to the parliament of Ireland would have opened a more favourable prospect than at present existed of the speedy accomplishment of a measure which he then proposed: however, he said, he had been disappointed by the proceedings of the Irish House of Commons. He was convinced that the parliament of Ireland possessed the power, the entire competence, to accept or reject a proposition of this nature—a power which he by no means meant to dispute; but while he admitted the rights of the parliament of Ireland, he felt that, as a member of parliament of Great Britain, he had a right to exercise, and a duty to perform, viz. to express the general nature and outline of the plan, which, in his estimation, would tend to insure the safety and the happiness of the two kingdoms. Should parliament be of opinion that it was calculated to produce mutual advantage to the two kingdoms, he should propose it to be recorded, that the parliament of Great Britain was ready to abide by it, leaving it to the legislature of Ireland to reject or adopt it hereafter upon a full consideration of the subject. Mr. Pitt continued; but as his arguments were embodied in the resolutions he proposed, it would be useless to repeat them. These were thus worded:—

"1. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions as may be established by acts of the respective parliaments of his Majesty's said kingdoms.

"2. That it appears to this committee, that it would be fit to propose, as the first article, to serve as a basis to the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

"3. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdoms shall continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

"4. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled The Parliament of the United

Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that such a number of lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the House of Commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned, in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland previous to the said union; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the United Kingdom shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take and subscribe the same oaths, and make the same declaration, as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made, by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

"5. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

"6. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that his Majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times hereafter be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect to trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, with any foreign power, as his Majesty's subjects in Great Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased; that all articles which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts; that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid) shall be imposed as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect; and that all other matters of trade and commerce, other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

"7. That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively. That for a number of years, to be limited, the *future ordinary* expenses of the United Kingdom, in peace or war,

should be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportions shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union.

"8. That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and that all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the United Kingdom to require.

"That the foregoing resolutions be laid before his Majesty, with an humble address, assuring his Majesty that we have proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended to us in his Majesty's gracious message.

"That we entertain a firm persuasion that a *complete and entire union* between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections, by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce of the respective kingdoms, and by allaying the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of our foreign and domestic enemies, and must tend to confirm and augment the stability, power, and resources of the empire.

"Impressed with these considerations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before his Majesty such propositions as appear to us best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his Majesty's wisdom, at such time and in such manner as his Majesty, in his parental solicitude for the happiness of his people, shall judge fit, to communicate these propositions to his parliament of Ireland, with whom we shall be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as may be found most conducive to the accomplishment of this great and salutary work. And we trust that, after full and mature consideration, such a settlement may be framed and established, by the deliberative consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms, as may be conformable to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his Majesty's faithful subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inseparably in the full enjoyment of the blessings of our free and invaluable constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his Majesty's crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire."

Mr. Sheridan moved an amendment. His arguments were pointless, and in the leadership he had taken in the opposition to the union, he seems to have been any thing but brilliant. His resolutions were—

"That no measures could have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity between Great Britain and Ireland which have not for their basis the fair and free approbation of the parliaments of the two countries.

"That whoever shall endeavour to obtain such approbation, in either country, by employing the influence of government for the purposes of corruption or intimidation, was an enemy to his Majesty and the constitution."

After Lord Hawkesbury had arraigned Mr. Sheridan with inconsistency, and Dr. Lawrence had defended him, the house divided. Ayes, 140; noes, 15.

On Thursday, the 7th of February, Mr. Pitt moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee, in order to take into farther consideration his Majesty's most gracious message respecting the proposed union with Ireland.

Waiving his privilege to address the house, the Chancellor gave place to Mr. Sheridan. The gist of his speech went to prove that, with all its corruption, a native legislature was still better suited to find out and apply remedies to the numerous evils with which all admitted that Ireland was afflicted, than a British parliament. He denied the assertion, that we had no alternative but division and separation, or union. The real alternative, he said, was, that the Irish government should no longer continue to be a corrupt English job. It had been asserted that there was some innate depravity in the Irish character which rendered them unfit to have a parliament of their own. This he utterly denied, and contended that the corruption complained of was obvious: the government of Ireland had been made a job of for the advantage of the British minister. The right honourable gentleman had contended that Ireland was helpless and dependent. He had threatened the country with a measure which it detested, and which must drive the people to take every precaution against the corruption and intimidation with which he menaced them. He had said that Ireland would obtain great commercial advantages in consequence of a union, and that the situation of the Catholics and Dissenters would be improved; but he had not said why these ameliorations would not take place without a union. After some more observations of the same kind, Mr. Sheridan moved resolutions, similar to those he had proposed on the former debate.

Mr. Pitt replied, and Mr. Grey, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Sheridan followed; after which the house divided on Mr. Chancellor Pitt's motion. For the previous question, 141; against it, 25. Strangers were then excluded the gallery, and on their readmission—

The Hon. St. A. St. John was speaking against the question for the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. Grey followed, and very ably opposed the arguments used by those in favour of the proposed measure. Great evils, he admitted, existed in Ireland; but did they owe their origin to the legislature of Ireland? That Ireland had an independent legislature was true; and that with that legislature great calamities had happened in that country, was also true; but he did not think that because these two things were co-existent, that therefore the one of them must be considered as the cause and the other the effect. "Look," said Mr. Grey, "at the history of Ireland, and you will find that if it had not been for the interference of

British councils and of British intrigue, none, or but few, of the evils which were felt, would ever have taken place—evils of which government was the parent, and which were now made the reason for taking away all the semblance of liberty among the Irish people. All the feuds and religious animosities and dissensions which had distracted Ireland had been caused by government; and yet government was making use of these evils as a pretext for taking away the liberty of the people of Ireland." The next circumstance which Mr. Grey took notice of was the objection which the right honourable gentleman stated to two independent parliaments; as an argument against which he had quoted the case of the regency. But what, said he, was the case of the regency? The parliament of Ireland vested in the heir apparent the full power of a regent, without any restriction. The parliament of this country had voted the same person, but with certain limitations and restrictions; but the two countries were by no means alike. In England there was a vast deal of power and influence which attached to the sovereignty, independent of that which is properly to be called government;—in Ireland there was none. Mr. Grey concluded with some general observations upon the situation of affairs on the Continent.

The speeches of Mr. Secretary Dundas in favour of the measure now before the house, and the arguments of Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Tierney against the projected union, had nothing of reasoning novelty.

In the course of his address to the house, the latter speaker observed, that "the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas), who had drawn so many arguments from the prosperous state of Scotland, had confounded himself with his country, and had endeavoured to prove the benefits which had followed to Scotland, by a statement of the prosperity which had flowed upon himself. Indeed, the whole of his argument seemed calculated to persuade the Irish parliament to engage in the present measure, as likely to turn out a good speculation for themselves.

These remarks of Mr. Tierney had nearly led to a parliamentary *brouillerie*.

Mr. Secretary Dundas said a few words in explanation, and contended, that he did not say that the imperial parliament would be a good field of enterprise and adventure to the members of the Irish parliament. Therefore, he said, the honourable gentleman must permit him to say, it was impertinent in him to put words into his mouth he had never used.

Mr. Tierney said, "Does the right honourable gentleman mean to call my observation impertinent?"

A cry—"The question, the question!"

Mr. Tierney said, he considered such language unparliamentary.

Mr. Grey said, he believed his honourable friend had been misled by his momentary warmth, and he thought Mr. Dundas did not use the expression.

Mr. Dundas explained.

Mr. Tierney expressed himself satisfied with the explanation.

Mr. Speaker acknowledged, that the expression, as it had been used, did not appear to him to be parliamentary.

Mr. W. Grant spoke in favour of the motion.

Mr. W. Smith said a few words on the subject.

The house then divided—

For the Speaker's leaving the chair .	149
Against it	24

On Monday, February 11, Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved the order of the day for the house going into a committee for the further consideration of his Majesty's message; which being read, and the Speaker having moved that the same be taken into consideration—

Mr. Sheridan rose, and said it was not his intention at present to oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair, for the purpose of preventing the house from resuming the consideration of his Majesty's message. After delivering a long and desultory address, which certainly was not among his happiest displays, Mr. Sheridan concluded by moving—"That it be an instruction to the committee to consider how far it would be consistent with justice or policy, and conducive to the general interests, and especially to the consolidation of the strength of the British empire, were civil incapacities, on account of religious distinctions, to be done away throughout his Majesty's dominions."

Mr. Pitt said, that of all the speeches he had ever heard the honourable gentleman make in that house, that which he had just concluded was the most extraordinary; for he began it by saying, that though he rose to move an instruction to the committee, yet he did not think any was necessary, and that it was equally competent to him to propose his motion in the committee itself; and on this account he would not oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair. From this strange mode of proceeding, he said, he could hardly think that the honourable gentleman had any serious intention of persisting in his motion.

A very lengthened debate succeeded, during which many speakers addressed the house. The advantages derived by Scotland from her union with Britain had been principally dwelt upon by the minister and his supporters, while the gentlemen in opposition denied all analogy in the respective cases of the countries.

Dr. Lawrence contended, that the advantages to be derived from a union were reciprocal to England and Ireland, and that the control of England over the legislature of Ireland, by means of the royal prerogative of assent and dissent, was sufficient to prevent any ill consequences from the present form of its government. It had been urged, that the union was a measure calculated to heal the disquiets of the country, and calm the discords among the various contending sects; but why was it to be done by means of a union? There were other modes, and by the conduct pursued in Lord Fitzwilliam's short administration it plainly appeared that the people of Ireland were anxious to have the remedies proposed by that nobleman.

The Scotch Union had been urged as an argument in favour of the *present measure, but this* he would not admit as by any means analo-

gous. To prove this, he went into a very long historical detail. He concluded by wishing the house most seriously to consider the mischiefs that were likely to ensue by pursuing a line of conduct inimical to the wishes, and contradictory to the resolutions, of the Irish nation. He should, he said, object to the Speaker's leaving the chair. The house then divided—

For the Speaker's leaving the chair .	131
Against it	19
Majority	112

The house then resolved itself into a committee *pro formâ*, and, being resumed, the committee asked leave to sit again the next day.

On the 12th of February, the order of the day being read for the house to go into a committee upon his Majesty's message respecting the Union with Ireland, the resolutions formerly proposed by Mr. Pitt on the 31st of January, were brought forward *seriatim* before the committee.

The first, second, third, fourth, and fifth resolutions were then read by the chairman, and agreed to without any objection. The question being put upon the sixth resolution, which goes to grant an equality of privileges in trade and navigation, &c. to Ireland; and the seventh, as not expressing the exact taxation which should take place between the two countries as soon as the union should be effected, were debated and agreed to.

When the house was resumed, the report was ordered to be received on the Thursday following (14th February).

It would be tedious to give even a summary of a protracted debate, of which the result was that the house divided on the question for bringing up the report: for it, 120; against it, 16; majority, 104. The house then proceeded to the consideration of the report, and the first resolution was read and agreed to.

Mr. Tierney objected to the other resolutions as unnecessary, the great object of shewing to the people of Ireland the disposition of the house towards a union being attained. He particularly objected to the sixth resolution, relative to the commercial regulations, because he might be instructed by his constituents to oppose it.

The right hon. S. Douglas supported the resolution, as necessary to shew the intention of parliament.

Mr. Wilberforce Bird, right hon. D. Ryder, Mr. Tierney, Sir W. Geary, and Mr. J. H. Browne, said each of them a few words on different sides of the question.

The resolutions were then agreed to with some amendments; and

The Chancellor moved that a message be sent to the Lords, requesting a conference respecting the means of perpetuating and improving the connection between the two countries, which was ordered.

On the following Monday (22nd April), the address from the Lords on the subject of the proposed union was read in the Commons. The *debate* which followed was, with trifling exceptions, confined to similar

arguments previously urged, and to the same speakers who had delivered their opinions during the different stages when the bill was before the house. It would be irrelevant, therefore, to state aught but the result. Mr. Pitt rose and moved that a message should be sent to the Lords, informing their lordships the house had agreed to the address, and had filled up the blank with the words "and Commons."

As the question was considered with the most minute attention by the Commons, we have given precedence to their debates. In the House of Lords the subject was introduced on the same day (January 22nd), and in the same mode, viz. by a message from his Majesty.

In the upper house the question was discussed, supported, and opposed—and the address passed through the parliamentary stages, as in the lower house, with immense majorities in favour of the measure. Having reached its final stage, the question was put upon the address, and carried, *nemine dissentiente.*

Lord Grenville, Lord Auckland, the Bishop of Landaff, and Lord Minto, were then named as a committee to draw up an address conformable to the motion; and when they returned with it, it was agreed to.

Lord Grenville then moved, that a conference be desired with the Commons on the following day, at half-past four o'clock, on the subject of their conference on the 18th of March last; which being put and carried, his lordship gave notice that he should then move that the managers of the conference, on the part of their lordships, be instructed to request the Commons to agree that the address be presented to his Majesty as the joint address of both houses of parliament, which was done accordingly.

CHAPTER XXXV.

PARLIAMENTARY PROGRESS OF THE UNION THROUGH THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS—THE MEASURE CARRIED.

The false movement of Mr. Ponsonby was never recovered by the anti-unionists—and to render the struggle still more hopeless, some of the ablest members of the opposition seceded from parliament, and left the question to its fate. Mr. Grattan subsequently returned, when his services were unavailing—but Mr. Curran never resumed his seat.

The party from this period were falling to pieces every hour, and the opposition to union were, in fact, united on no one question but the one—and even in the measure of that opposition they were not agreed, much less in the mode of securing a retreat or of profiting by a victory. "But still the opposition to annexation brought them closely together—and a view of the house at this period was quite unprecedented. The friends of Catholic emancipation were seen on the same benches with those of Protestant ascendancy—the supporters of reform divided with the borough influence—a sense of common danger drew men together upon this topic who were dissimilar in sentiment, adverse in opinion, jealous in interest, and antagonists in principle. They conjointly presented a formidable front to the enemy, but possessed within themselves neither subordination nor unqualified unanimity qualities which were essentially necessary to preserve so heterogeneous a body, from the destructive weapons which were provided for their overthrow.

"There was no great leader whom they could collectively consult or obey—no systematic course determined on for their conduct—no pre-arranged plan of proceeding without-doors, or practical arrangement for internal debate; their energies were personal, their enthusiasm graduated, and their exertions not gregarious. Every man formed his own line of procedure; the battle was hand to hand, the movements desultory; whether they clashed with the general interest, or injured the general cause, was hardly contemplated, and seldom perceived until the injury had happened."*

Another powerful diversion in favour of the unionists was the adherence of the Catholic hierarchy to the government. In a full assurance that emancipation would be a consequence were the ministerial measures carried into effect, the Catholic prelates gave their assistance, and no doubt it was all-powerful. The exertions of Lord Castlereagh were indefatigable—and even when the English chancellor

* Secret Memoirs of the Union.

felt inclined to leave the question in abeyance,* the Irish secretary was resolute in forcing his favourite measure to a close. His determination and his activity kept pace—and while his opponents were frittering the unity of strength away, in quarrelling on minor questions, Lord Castlereagh's eye was never removed from the grand object of his heart for an instant. Every influence a minister could command was ably brought into action, and plans were devised which probably the boldest statesman would have scarcely dared to imagine, far less to adopt.

The Irish gentlemen of that day were remarkably pugnacious, and nearly half the members of the lower house were duellists, not only in principle but practice.† Few persons in those eventful times took an active part in politics without becoming involved in personal encounters; and even amongst the highest law officers of the crown and the judges of the land, differences of opinion were frequently referred to arbitrament in the field. During the past session, the balance of talent in the house leaned rather to the opposition, while the spirit of the anti-unionists was highly excited, and the leaders, on several occasions, appeared solicitous to waive further argument, and try conclusions with the pistol. The secretary, a gallant and fearless man himself, was therefore desirous that his own spirit should be infused into his supporters, and to effect it he devised a plan totally unprecedented, and which never could have been thought of in any other country than Ireland.

He invited to dinner, at his house in Merion-square, above twenty of his most staunch supporters, consisting of "tried men," and men of "fighting families," who might feel an individual pride in resenting every personality of the opposition, and in identifying their own honour with the cause of government. The dinner was sumptuous; the champagne and madeira had their due effect, and no man could be more condescending than the noble host. After due preparation the point was skilfully introduced by Sir John Blaquiere (since created Lord de Blaquiere), who, of all men, was best calculated to promote a gentlemanly, convivial, fighting conspiracy. He was of the old school, and an able diplomatist; and with the most polished manners and im-

* "Mr. Pitt had, by a private despatch to Lord Cornwallis, desired that the measure should not be then pressed, unless he could be certain of a majority of fifty. The chancellor, on learning the import of that despatch, expostulated in the strongest terms at so pusillanimous a decision. His lordship never knew the meaning of the word moderation in any public pursuit, and he cared not whether the Union were carried by a majority of one or one hundred."

† The fire-eating propensities of the Irish aristocracy were actually advanced during the final debate in the British House of Commons, as good and sufficient grounds against the Union! "But a matter of greater alarm to Doctor Lawrence was the disturbance that might be occasioned by the introduction of so many members from Ireland in that house, from a quickness of disposition, and a propensity to duelling. He confessed that he was not without apprehensions for the order, the tranquillity, and the security of the house, even under the good government and authority of so excellent a chairman as the present speaker."—*Parliamentary Reports.*

posing address, combined a friendly heart and decided spirit, while in polite conviviality he was unrivalled.

Having sent round many loyal, mingled with joyous and exhilarating toasts, he stated that he understood the opposition were disposed to personal unkindness, or even incivilities, towards his Majesty's best friends—the unionists of Ireland. He was determined that no man should advance upon him by degrading the party he had adopted, and the measures he was pledged to support. A full bumper proved his sincerity—the subject was discussed with great glee, and some of the company began to feel a zeal for actual service.

Lord Castlereagh affected some coquetry, lest this idea should appear to have originated with him; but when he perceived that many had made up their minds to act even on the offensive, he calmly observed, that some mode should, at all events, be taken to secure the constant presence of a sufficient number of the government friends during the discussion, as subjects of the utmost importance were often totally lost for want of due attendance. Never did a sleight-of-hand man juggle more expertly.

One of his lordship's prepared accessories (as if it were a new thought) proposed, humorously, to have a dinner for twenty or thirty every day, in one of the committee chambers, where they could be always at hand to make up a house, or for any emergency which should call for an unexpected reinforcement, during any part of the discussion.

The novel idea of such a detachment of legislators was considered whimsical and humorous, and, of course, was not rejected. Wit and puns began to accompany the bottle; Mr. Cooke, the secretary, then, with significant nods and smirking innuendoes, began to circulate his official rewards to the company. The hints and the claret united to raise visions of the most gratifying nature—every man became in a prosperous state of official pregnancy: embryo judges—counsel to boards—envoys to foreign courts—compensation pensioners—placemen at chance—and commissioners in assortments—all revelled in the anticipation of something substantial to be given to every member who would do the secretary the honour of accepting it.

The scheme was unanimously adopted—Sir John Blaquiere pleasantly observed that, at all events, they would be sure of *a good cook* at their dinners. After much wit, and many flashes of convivial bravery, the meeting separated after midnight, fully resolved to eat, drink, speak, and fight for Lord Castlereagh. They so far kept their words, that the supporters of the Union indisputably shewed more personal spirit than their opponents during the session.

When this singular proceeding was communicated, an opposition meeting assembled at Chalemont-House, the object being to counteract the pistol project of Lord Castlereagh. Luckily, the temperament of the opposition was unequal—and the "war to the knife" sentiments of the fighting section of the assembly, was overruled by a majority of the meeting. From the temper of the times, and the tone adopted

by the unionists, hostile meetings were calculated on as unavoidable—and yet, strange to say, while a petty election in those days was rarely concluded without three or four adjournments from the hustings to the field, the great question of the Irish Union, with all its political excitement and stormy debates, produced a solitary duel—Mr. Grattan's hostile affair with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. They quarrelled, fought, and voted during the same debate, Mr. Isaac Corry* (the chancellor) being slightly wounded on the occasion.

Such had been the state of the momentous question of a union, when the king, in closing the session of '99, thus expressed himself (July 29):—

"It is with peculiar satisfaction I congratulate you on the success of the steps which you have taken for effecting an entire union between my kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

"This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign, being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to my Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings derived from the British constitution, and to establish, on the most solid foundation, the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole empire."

The interval which passed until parliament re-assembled has been generally noticed—and the tone of the times and the temper of the parties may be sufficiently collected from the preceding pages.

Whatever progress the supporters of the proposed union had made during the parliamentary recess, no change of popular sentiment on the subject took place in the metropolis. When the resolutions of the British legislature, intended as a basis for a union with Ireland, being remitted,

* "Mr. Isaac Corry, the son of an eminent merchant in Newry, had been elected representative in parliament for his native town, and commenced his public life under the patronage of that dignified Irishman, Mr. John O'Neil, with great advantages. His figure and address were those of a gentleman, rather graceful and prepossessing; and though not regularly educated, he was not badly informed. He was a man of business, and a man of pleasure; he had glided over the surface of general politics, and collected the idioms of superficial literature; he possessed about a third-rate public talent. His class of elocution in parliament was sometimes useful, and always agreeable; but on momentous subjects he was not efficient. In facing great questions, he frequently shrunk back—in facing great men, he was sufficiently assuming. His public principles were naturally patriotic, but his interest lost no time in adapting them to his purposes. He sought to acquire the character of an accomplished financier, but he was totally unequal to the mazes of financial speculation, and there he altogether failed. His private habits and qualities were friendly and engaging—his public ones as correct as his interest would admit of.

"As a reward for his fidelity to the Irish minister of 1799, he succeeded in the first object of his life—the supplanting of Sir John Parnell in the Chancellorship of the Irish Exchequer. But it added little to his emolument, and nothing to his reputation. He wrangled through the Irish Union as a ministerial partisan, and exposed himself as a financier in the Imperial Parliament. His influence was neutralized when he lost his country—his pride was extinguished when he lost his office; and he was defeated at Newry, in which he thought himself established. Like others of his repenting countrymen, he withdrew from public life upon the purchase of his integrity, regretting past scenes, and disgusted with the passing ones. He lingered out his latter days in an inglorious retirement, the prey of chagrin, and the victim of unimportance. As a private friend, it is impossible but to regret him—as a public character, he has left but little of celebrity."—*Barrington.*

with some alterations, for the reconsiderations of that country, in May, 1789, became a subject of parliamentary discussion, the populace of Dublin, and many other towns, manifested an aversion to the union in every mode in which they could shew it short of an armed opposition.

The last session of an Irish parliament opened on the 15th of January, 1800. Sir Lawrence Parsons, in the Commons, moved that they should, in their address to the Viceroy, declare their disapprobation of an incorporating union. This motion was negatived by 138 voices against 96. The speech delivered by the Viceroy, it was generally expected, would have openly avowed the determination of the government to propose and carry the union—but not an allusion to that subject was made, nor was there a debateable point in the address. The opposition saw the able policy of the minister, and it was evident, from the *tactique* employed by Lord Castlereagh, that he had wisely determined to carry his important measure by sap, and not by storm. To counteract this intention, Sir Lawrence Parsons proposed his motion, and never did a parliamentary proposition elicit a more signal display of party energy and talent. "Every mind was at its stretch—every talent was in its vigour; it was a momentous trial, and never was so general and so deep a sensation felt in any country. Numerous British noblemen and commoners were present at that and the succeeding debate, and they expressed opinions of Irish eloquence which they had never before conceived, nor ever after had an opportunity of appreciating. Every man on that night seemed to be inspired by the subject. Speeches more replete with talent and with energy, on both sides, never were heard in the Irish senate—it was a vital subject. The sublime, the eloquent, the figurative orator—the plain, the connected, the metaphysical reasoner—the classical, the learned, and the solemn declaimer, in a succession of speeches, so full of energy and enthusiasm, so interesting in their nature, so important in their consequence, created a variety of sensations even in the bosom of a stranger, and could scarcely fail of exciting some sympathy with a nation which was doomed to close for ever that school of eloquence which had so long given character and celebrity to Irish talent."*

The debate proceeded with increasing heat and interest till past ten o'clock the ensuing morning (16th). Many members on both sides signalized themselves to an extent that never could have been expected. The result of the convivial resolution at Lord Castlereagh's house, already mentioned, was actually exemplified and clearly discernible; an unexampled zeal, an uncongenial energy, an uncalled for rancour, and an unusual animation broke out from several supporters of government, to an extent which none but those who had known the system Lord Castlereagh had skilfully suggested to his followers, could in any way account for. This excess of ardour gave to this debate not only a new and extraordinary variety of language, but an acrimony of invective, and an absence of all moderation, never before so immoderately practised. This violence was in unison with the pugnacious project of

* Secret Memoirs of the Union.

anticipating the Anti-Unionists in offensive operations—some remarkable instances were actually put into practice.

The debate on this occasion was attended with some singular occurrences. The house was wearied out, and the subject exhausted, when, at seven o'clock in the morning, Mr. Grattan, who had seceded from the contest through chagrin and ill health the preceding session, suddenly and unexpectedly entered the house again.

It is probably one of the most interesting parliamentary episodes upon record, and we will give it in Barrington's words.

"At that time Mr. Tighe returned the members for the close borough of Wicklow, and a vacancy having occurred, it was tendered to Mr. Grattan, who would willingly have declined it, but for the importunities of his friends.

"The lord-lieutenant and Lord Castlereagh, justly appreciating the effect his presence might have on the first debate, had withheld the writ of election till the last moment the law allowed, and till they conceived it might be too late to return Mr. Grattan in time for the discussion. It was not until the day of the meeting of parliament that the writ was delivered to the returning officer. By extraordinary exertions, and perhaps by following the example of government, in overstraining the law, the election was held immediately on the arrival of the writ. A sufficient number of voters were collected to return Mr. Grattan before midnight; by one o'clock the return was on its road to Dublin; it arrived by five; a party of Mr. Grattan's friends repaired to the private house of the proper officer, and making him get out of bed, compelled him to present the writ to parliament before seven in the morning, when the house was in warm debate on the union. A whisper ran through every party, that Mr. Grattan was elected, and would immediately take his seat. The ministerialists smiled with incredulous derision, and the opposition thought the news too good to be true.

"Mr. Egan was speaking strongly against the measure, when Mr. George Ponsonby and Mr. Arthur Moore (now judge of the Common Pleas) walked out, and immediately returned, leading, or rather helping, Mr. Grattan, in a state of total feebleness and debility. The effect was electric. Mr. Grattan's illness and deep chagrin had reduced a form never symmetrical, and a visage at all times thin, nearly to the appearance of a spectre. As he feebly tottered into the house, every member simultaneously rose from his seat. He moved slowly to the table; his languid countenance seemed to revive as he took those oaths that restored him to his pre-eminent station; the smile of inward satisfaction obviously illuminated his features, and reanimation and energy seemed to kindle by the labour of his mind. The house was silent—Mr. Egan did not resume his speech. Mr. Grattan, almost breathless, as if by instinct, attempted to rise, but was unable to stand. He paused, and with difficulty requested permission of the house to deliver his sentiments without moving from his seat. This was acceded to by acclamation, and he who had left his bed of sickness to record, as he thought, his last words in the parliament of his country, kindled gra-

dually, till his language glowed with an energy and feeling which he had seldom surpassed. After nearly two hours of the most powerful eloquence, he concluded with an undiminished vigour, miraculous to those who were unacquainted with his intellect."

The division, on the part of government was even more favourable than they had expected, and while the unionists were exhilarated by the almost certain prospect of success, the section unfriendly to the measure were proportionately desponding as to the result of the struggle. No means, however, of conversion or confirmation were omitted on either side,—and, in order to counteract the first effects of this ministerial triumph in the capital, within an hour or two after the adjournment of the House of Commons (10 o'clock, 16th July), an aggregate meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin was convened by instant requisition, at which very strong resolutions were passed,* and a high panegyric pronounced on the patriotic virtue of Mr. Grattan. Nothing could indicate more pointedly the unsteady tenure of popular favour on which the demagogue can rely—for the same men had, by obloquy and ingratitude, forced him to retire from public life a few short months before.

On the 15th of February, after several petitions against a union had been presented to the house, the whole plan of the intended measure was detailed by Lord Castlereagh, who, after displaying the general principle of the union, proposed eight articles, as the foundations on which it might be established, to the mutual benefit of both kingdoms. On the division, after a long debate that ensued, 158 supported Lord Castlereagh's motion, and 115 opposed it.†

On the result of the debate being known, the populace became extremely turbulent, and unequivocal marks of public disapprobation were evinced towards the unionist members of the Commons, while, under a strange delusion, the citizens of Dublin considered that the

* Vide Appendix.

† "Lord Castlereagh's motion was artful in the extreme—he did not move expressly for any adoption of the propositions, but that they should be printed and circulated, with a view to their ultimate adoption.

"This was opposed as a virtual acceptation of the subject; on this point the issue was joined, and the Irish nation was on that night laid prostrate. The division was—

"Number of Members	300
"For Lord Castlereagh's motion	158
"Against it	115
"Of Members present, majority	43
"Absent	27

"By this division it appears that the government had a majority of the house of only eight, by their utmost efforts. Twenty-seven were absent, of whom every man refused to vote for a union, but did not vote at all, being kept away by different causes; and of consequence, eight above a moiety carried the union; and of the one hundred and fifty-eight who voted for it in 1800, twenty-eight were notoriously bribed or influenced corruptly."

measure they detested would be abandoned, and indulged in their imaginary triumph. Lord Castlereagh was hanged in effigy in Merrion-square—and for the protection of the government supporters a squadron of cavalry was ordered to mount guard in Foster-place, and a threat held out, that in the event of riotous proceedings being continued, the parliament should be removed from the metropolis to Cork. The chancellor, it was said, determined, at a meeting of a privy council, to turn the military against the population, should their violence continue, and an outrage took place which certainly gave colour to the statement.

About nine at night, a party of the military stationed in the old Custom-house, near Essex-bridge, silently sallied out with trailed arms, without any civil magistrate, and only a serjeant to command them: on arriving at Capel-street, the populace were in the act of violently huzzaing for their friends, and, of course, with equal vehemence, execrating their enemies; but no Riot Act was read, no magistrate appeared, and no disturbance or tumult existed to warrant military interference.

The soldiers, however, having taken a position a short way down the street, without being in any way assailed, fired a volley amongst the people; of course a few were killed and some wounded; amongst the former were a woman and a boy. This outrage was brought afterwards before parliament—but it fell to the ground, and the offending parties escaped punishment.*

In the meanwhile the question of the Union was hastening to its crisis—and in both houses the debates were carried on with unabated asperity. In the Irish house of peers, the man who signalized his zeal against the union, was the Marquis of Downshire. He opposed it with indefatigable industry and perseverance, with moderate eloquence, but with the weight of a fair and unblemished character, and the reputation of being sincerely and faithfully attached to his native country. But neither his exertions nor those of other lords were of any avail. The measure of the union was carried, in the Irish House of Lords, by a great majority—but a protest† was entered on the journals of the Irish House of Lords, and signed by twenty peers.

The most interesting debates on the union took place, as was to be expected, in the Irish House of Commons. On the 13th of March, Sir John Parnell, wishing to have the sense of the nation more decisively ascertained than it could be in the present parliament, moved that the king should be requested to dissolve it, and convoke another—a kind of convention parliament. Mr. Saurin distinguished himself greatly by his eloquence and spirit in support of the motion, and strongly urged an appeal to the people. On this occasion, the solicitor-general accused Mr. Saurin of "unfurling the bloody flag of rebellion;" while Mr. Egan insinuated that himself and other members of administration "had unfurled the flag of prostitution and corruption." The motion was negatived, after a long and animated debate, by a large majority.

* *Barrington.* † Vide Appendix.

In the course of the adjourned debate on the 17th, the previously-augmented feelings existing between Mr. Corry and Mr. Grattan was brought to a hostile issue. "On the appointed day, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Corry, retreated his old ground of argument, which he interspersed with much personal acrimony and abuse, directed particularly to Mr. Grattan, who vindicated himself in strong language, and retorted upon his opponent the insinuations of unconstitutional and unmanly conduct. Mr. Corry replied with redoubled severity, and Mr. Grattan rejoined with such increased power of censure, as threw the seat of resentment completely on the chancellor. The house saw the inevitable consequence, and the Speaker (the house was in committee) sent for Mr. Grattan into his chamber, and pressed his interposition to some amicable adjustment, which Mr. Grattan positively refused, saying, that he saw and had been some time aware of a set made to pistol him off on that question, therefore it was as well the experiment was tried then as at any other time. Both parties had instantly left the house upon Mr. Grattan's finishing philippic. Matters having been speedily adjusted by the seconds, they proceeded in hackney-coaches to a field on the Ball's-bridge-road, which they reached at twilight. It was agreed they should level and fire at their own option. The first shot on both sides did no mischief—Mr. Grattan's passed through Mr. Corry's coat. On the second level, there was much science and pistol play. Mr. Grattan's ball hit his antagonist on the knuckle of his left hand, which he had extended across his breast to protect his right side, and, taking a direction along his waist, did no other injury. The populace, notwithstanding the quickness and secrecy with which the business was conducted, followed the parties to the ground, and there was reason to fear, had Mr. Grattan fallen, that his antagonist would have been sacrificed on the spot to the resentment of the mob, so enthusiastically were they devoted to their favourite. The issue of the affair reached the House of Commons whilst they were still in debate, a little after eight in the morning."*

The resolutions of the British parliament were, in the meanwhile, carried to Ireland; and, being approved by the Irish parliament, after a few slight alterations, were ratified by the parliaments of both kingdoms, and passed into a law, by the royal assent, on the 2nd of July. The opposition to the union in Ireland had by this time become feeble; some of its adversaries, by mature deliberation, had brought themselves to a conviction of the utility of the measure; while others, the more wise, seeing could counterbalance the loss of independence, forbore the ineffectual resentment and complaint, began to fix their attention on other objects.

The debates upon the union are now simply to be detailed—the fate of Ireland was sealed, further opposition hopeless. Incidents had occasionally changed the colour of the debate—by turns violent, ludicrous, and pathetic. One of those singular incidents which, though trivial, occasionally produce a great sensation, occurred in the

* Parnell.

progress of the bill, on a debate respecting local representation. "From the importance of the subject, and the strong feelings of every party, the slightest incident, the most immaterial word, or trivial action, was construed into an indication of something momentous. Mr. Charles Ball, the new member for Clogher, was a most ardent, impetuous, and even furious opponent of a union, on any terms or under any circumstances. He was a very large, eager, boisterous, and determined man; he uttered whatever he thought, and there was no restraining his sentiments. In the midst of a crowded coffee-room he declared his astonishment, that whilst hundreds of wretched men every day sacrificed their lives in resisting those who openly attacked their liberty, there were none who did not at once rid their country of the monsters who were betraying it. It could easily be done, he said, by a few hand-grenades, thrown from the gallery when your ministerial gentlemen are locked up for a division.

"The extravagance of the idea excited general merriment; but there were some who actually conceived the practicability of the scheme. Mr. Ball, with affected gravity, added, that he had heard such a plan was intended; and this only increased the previous merriment. The house presently commenced its sitting, and Mr. Secretary Cooke had taken the chair of the committee, when suddenly a voice like thunder burst from the gallery, which was crowded to excess: 'Now,' roared the Stentor, 'now let the bloodiest assassin take the chair!—Let the bloodiest assassin take the chair!'

"Any attempt at description of the scene would be unavailing—the shells and hand-grenades of Mr. Ball presented themselves to every man's imagination. All was terror and confusion: many pressed towards the doors, but the door-keepers had fled, and turned the keys to prevent the escape of the culprit. A few hats fell by accident from the galleries, which were in a state of tumult. These appeared like bomb-shells to the terrified members: pocket-pistols and swords were upon the point of being produced; every man seemed to expect the bloody assassins to rush in hundreds from the galleries. No explosion, however, took place—no assassins descended; and a scuffle in the gallery was succeeded by an exclamation, "We have secured him! We have secured him!" which restored some confidence to the senators. The serjeant-at-arms now ascended, sword in hand, and was followed by many of the members, whose courage had been quiescent till there was a certainty of no danger. Mr. Denis Brown, as a forlorn hope, was the first to mount the gallery. After a valiant resistance, an herculean gentleman was forced down into the body of the house, by a hundred hands. As soon as he was effectually secured, all the members were most courageous; some pommelled, some kicked him, and at length he was thrown flat upon the floor, and firmly pinioned. The whole power of parliament, however, could not protect them from his eloquence; and most powerfully did he use his tongue. The gigantic appearance of the man struck every body with awe, and none but the lawyers had the least conception that he was a Mr. Sinclair, one of the most *quiet and* well-behaved barristers of the profession. He

was a respectable, independent, and idle member of the Irish Bar, but an enthusiast against a union. He had dined with a party of the same opinions at the house of a friend, who was undoubtedly a madman, but whose excellent wine and wild conversation had elevated Mr. Sinclair so very far above all dread, that he declared he would himself, that night, in spite of all the traitors, make a speech in the house, and give them his full opinion of the only measure that should be taken against them. He accordingly repaired to the gallery, and, on seeing the secretary take the chair, could no longer contain himself, but attempted to leap down among the members. Being restrained by some friends who were with him, he determined, however, to make his speech, and commenced with the most appalling expression of what he conceived should be the fate of the unionists. He was committed to Newgate by the house, and remained there till the session ended."*

Before the third reading of the bill, the anti-unionists quitted the house—and the last scene is given by Barrington, with scenic fidelity. Mr. Foster was a determined opponent to the Union—and as he had officially to pronounce the "delenda" of that parliament to which he was enthusiastically attached, and over which he had presided, adored by his own party, and respected by men of all politics, it may be imagined that the trial would be severe.

"The situation of the Speaker, on that night, was of the most distressing nature a sincere and ardent enemy of the measure, he headed its opponents; he resisted it with all the power of his mind, the resources of his experience, his influence, and his eloquence.

"It was, however, through his voice that it was to be proclaimed and consummated. His only alternative, resignation, would have been unavailing, and could have added nothing to his character. His expressive countenance bespoke the inquietude of his feelings; solicitude was perceptible in every glance, and his embarrassment was obvious in every word he uttered.

"The galleries were full, but the change was lamentable; they were no longer crowded with those who had been accustomed to witness the eloquence and to animate the debates of that devoted assembly. A monotonous and melancholy murmur ran through the benches—scarcely a word was exchanged amongst the members—nobody seemed at ease—no cheerfulness was apparent—and the ordinary business, for a short time, proceeded in the usual manner.

"At length the expected moment arrived—the order of the day for the third reading of the bill, for a "Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland," was moved by Lord Castlereagh—unvaried, tame, cold-blooded, the words seemed frozen as they issued from his lips; and, as if a simple citizen of the world, he seemed to have no sensation on the subject.

"At that moment he had no country—no god but his ambition; he made his motion, and resumed his seat, with the utmost composure and indifference.

* Secret Memoirs of the Union.

"Confused murmurs again ran through the house—it was visibly affected; every character, in a moment, seemed involuntarily rushing to its index, some pale, some flushed, some agitated; there were few countenances to which the heart did not despatch some messenger. Several members withdrew before the question could be repeated, and an awful, momentary silence succeeded their departure. The Speaker rose slowly from that chair which had been the proud source of his honours and of his high character: for a moment he resumed his seat, but the strength of his mind sustained him in his duty, though his struggle was apparent. With that dignity which never failed to signalize his official actions, he held up the bill for a moment in silence—he looked steadily around him on the last agony of the expiring parliament. He at length repeated, in an emphatic tone, 'As many as are of opinion that THIS BILL do pass, say aye.' The affirmative was languid but indisputable—another momentary pause ensued—again his lips seemed to decline their office—at length, with an eye averted from the object which he hated, he proclaimed, with a subdued voice, 'the AYES have it.' The fatal sentence was now pronounced—for an instant he stood statue-like, then indignantly flung the bill upon the table, and sunk into his chair."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SUMMARY OF THE OPINIONS IN FAVOUR OF, OR OPPOSITION TO, THE UNION.

We have, in recording the long and doubtful attempt to effect a legislative union, confined ourselves generally to an historic outline. To record the sentiments delivered in College-green and St. Stephen's, by those who were equally ardent in support and opposition, would be a tedious repetition of similar arguments, urged in favour or disapprobation of the measure during its different stages through either house. The selection of a few speeches, much abridged, will enable the reader to estimate the grounds on which the respective members, Peers and Commons, received or rejected the proposed union of the kingdoms, and place the gist of public sentiment before him, as it was delivered on the Commons' floor, or issued from the press.*

* Before the end of December, 1798, no fewer than thirty pamphlets were published in Ireland upon this momentous question, viz., "Arguments for and against an Union between Great Britain and Ireland considered." "Thoughts on an Union, by Joshua Spencer, Esq." "No Union; being an Appeal to Irishmen, by Mathew Weld, Esq." "A Letter to Joshua Spencer, Esq., occasioned by his 'Thoughts on an Union,' by a Barrister." "An Union neither necessary nor expedient for Ireland; being an Answer to the author of 'Arguments, &c.' by Charles Ball, Esq." "An Answer to 'Arguments, &c. &c.,' in a Letter to Edward Cook, Esq., Secretary at War, by Pemberton Rudd, Esq." "Second Letter, by Pemberton Rudd, Esq." "An Address to the People of Ireland against an Union, by a friend to Ireland." "The Probability, Causes, and Consequences of an Union, by Dennis Taffe." "Reasons against an Union, by an Irishman." "Observations on 'Arguments for and against an Union.'" "Strictures on 'Arguments for and against an Union.'" "First Letter to a Noble Lord, on the subject of the Union, by Giles S. Smith, Esq." "Cease your Funning, or the Rebel detected." "A Letter addressed to the Gentlemen of England and Ireland, on the Expediency of a Federal Union between the two Kingdoms, by Sir John Jervis White Jervis, Bart." "A Reply to 'Arguments for and against an Union,' by Richard Jebb, Esq." "A Report of the Debate of the Irish Bar, on Sunday, the 9th of November, on the Subject of an Union of the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland, with the Speeches of Messrs. Saurin, Spencer, St. George Daly, Jameson, P. Burrows Barnes, T. Grandy, John Beresford Loyd, Driscoll, Goold, W. Bellew, Orr, Stokes, Geraghty, M'Clelland, Leader, Plunket, Lynch, F. Dobbs, and Webber." "Some Observations on the projected Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and the inexpediency of agitating the measure at this time, by J. H. C——, Esq., Barrister at Law." "A Memoire on some Questions respecting the projected Union of Great Britain and Ireland, by Theobald M'Kenna, Barrister at Law." "A Letter to his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis, on the proposed Union; in which his Excellency's political situation is candidly discussed, by an Irishman." "An Address to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, upon the Subject of an Union, by an Old Friend." "A Letter to Theo. M'Kenna, Esq., on the subject of his Memoire, by John Hamilton, Esq." "Reply to Theo. M'Kenna, Esq., by Molyneux." "Vaticination,

It was generally admitted by persons tolerably impartial, that the ablest defence of the measure was made by the late Sir William (then Mr.) Smith, when the address was reported on the 24th of January. After declaring his conviction that a legislative incorporation would not only be beneficial to Ireland, but had become absolutely necessary for her safety and prosperity, he thus continued:—

"As the British islands constituted one empire, their imperial union was not the mere result of a temporary and accidental union of their crowns on the same head. The crowns were constitutionally blended: his Majesty's being king of Great Britain was the *sine qua non*, and efficient cause of his being king of Ireland: he was their monarch *ipso facto* of his being the sovereign of the sister kingdom; and to deny (or at least to act on such denial) the truth of that position, would be treason against the principles of the Irish constitution.

"So far then as a legislative union allotted a single legislature to a single empire, it was a rational and wholesome measure; so far as it provided that one empire should no longer be exposed to the risk of wavering, languidly and inertly, between the dissentient systems of two parliaments, union was the corrective of a dangerous anomaly. A difference of opinion or system between the two legislatures must paralyze the general force of the empire; and that as well the more vaguely malcontent, as the direct enemies of the connection might (the former inadvertently, the latter by design) make that legislative distinctness the means for bringing about a separation.

"As far as the tendency of union went to limit the British empire to one legislature, its operation would be to fortify that empire, and eradicate those seeds of separation which it contained; and this tendency would on one hand raise an enemy to the measure in every foe to British greatness and British connection; and on the other recommend union to the favour of all those who thought British connection salutary, and wished it to be secured; and who, maintaining, as a maxim, that Ireland must stand and fall with England, felt themselves interested at all times to aggrandize the force of the empire, and felt themselves especially called upon to do so, when the state of opinions and of things throughout the world, and when the power, and success, and hostile dispositions of France, rendered it necessary that the British empire should concentrate all its strength, or surrender all its honours.

"Some might reply, that British influence would operate as an antidote to the mischiefs apprehended, and would prevent legislative dissensions from weakening and tearing asunder the energies of the

or Pue's Occurrences Redivivus." "The Rights of the Imperial Crown of Ireland defended, by George Barnes, Esq." "Reply to 'Arguments for and against an Union,' by J. B. Bethel, Esq." "Keep up your Spirits, or Huzza for the Empire, being a fair Argumentative Defence of an Union, by a Citizen of the Isle of Man." "An Address to the Electors of Ireland, on the Present Situation of Affairs." "A Demonstration of the Inevitability of a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, involving a Refutation of every argument which has been or can be urged against that Measure, by a Philosopher." "A Review of the Question of Union, as it involves Constitution and Commerce."

empire, or Irish independence from checking the views or injuring the interests of Britain. But that supposition, he thought, insultingly derogated from the practical independence of the Irish parliament, which was thus allowed to be subordinate to that of Great Britain. Where an actual subjection thus existed, it might be rendered only the more mischievous and oppressive by being concealed behind a mask of nominal independence; and the desired antidote would be more effectually found in the union than in a division of legislatures. To an objection that the paucity of the representatives of Ireland in the imperial parliament would leave that country at the mercy of Britain, he replied, that the Irish representation would be commensurate to Irish power, resources, and contribution, and that a unity of interest would secure the right and welfare of every part of the empire; it would also be now preferable, after Ireland had long possessed a distinct parliament By obtaining a union upon just and equitable terms, she would exchange her separate legislature for such an efficient share in the imperial councils as would insure a full participation in the benefits of the British constitution, and she would thus gain all that she would originally have been entitled to demand.

"'But (said he) we sacrifice a portion of our national splendour—I admit it, and make the sacrifice with regret; I allow for, I almost rejoice and triumph at that repugnance with which this measure is at first received: I agree with those who consider national pride and honour as some security for national valour, liberty, and virtue. But let us look to our country, torn with conflicts, and stained with blood; let us turn our eyes inwards to the traitors and separatists who swarm amongst us; let us contemplate the state of Europe and of the world, and then inquire whether it may not be expedient to sacrifice somewhat of our dignity, and exchange our situation for one which will secure and strengthen our connection with Great Britain, at a time when this connection is at once peculiarly necessary and precarious, which will fortify that empire of which we make a part; whose ruin is attempted, and whose destruction must be ours; a situation which will secure to us the British constitution, with all those benefits which that admirable system involves.'

"Of the competency of parliament to the enactment of such reform he had never heard any doubts expressed; and the arguments which, he thought, might be offered against the alleged right were inconclusive, yet perhaps as plausible as any that could be urged against the competency of the legislature to a decree of union. That the authority of the parliament had this extent he had not the slightest doubt. His opinion, he said, was founded on precedent, on the mischiefs which would result from a contrary doctrine, on the express authority of constitutional writers, and on the genuine principles of the constitution itself. By enacting a union, parliament would do no more than change (it would not surrender or subvert) the constitution. Ireland, after a legislative incorporation, would still be governed by three estates; and her inhabitants would enjoy all their privileges unimpaired. If the legislature could new model the succession to the

crown, or change the established religion, it might certainly ordain those alterations which a union would involve. To controvert its right would be to deny the validity of the act for the incorporation of Scotland with England and Wales. On the legitimacy of that act depended the title of his Majesty to the United Kingdom—to the crown of the United Kingdom; for the second article of the agreement was the only act of settlement that limited to the house of Hanover, in repugnance to the strict hereditary principle of the Scottish constitution, the succession to that united monarchy which the first article had created. He instanced many mischiefs, which in that supposition would attend the impeachment of the Scottish Union.

"The question was not whether they should surrender the liberties of the country: what minister would dare propose such a question to parliament or to the nation? The question was, whether union might not so modify their constitution as to promote prosperity and peace, whilst it left their liberties, not only unimpaired, but better secured?

"Whether union would not fortify, not merely England, but that empire of which Ireland made a part, whose safety was menaced, and whose destruction she could not survive?

"Whether it would not silence internal jealousy and dissension, establish their religion firmly, conciliate their Catholic brethren, and consolidate their people?

"Whether it would not at once bestow upon them commercial advantages, and enable them to use them? Whether it would not establish amongst them that respectable and industrious order of men which was the boast of the sister country and the want of Ireland?

"Whether, at the same time that it gave them an efficient weight in the imperial councils, it would not still more secure their welfare, by entangling their interests, so obviously and inextricably, with those of Britain, that all grudging policy, all narrow jealousy of Irish advancement, if it ever existed, must have an end?

"Whether, by disarming separatists of those instruments which they then possessed towards severing the kingdoms, it would not render it injurious to Britain to retard Irish aggrandizement, and make it folly for her to view the advancement of that country with apprehension?

"Whether the alternative of union or separation be not offered to them as explicitly as they need wish it to be? and whether they ought to hesitate in their choice?

"Whether separation from England be not subjection to France? If so, he called upon all good men to turn a reluctant eye on the horrors which had disfigured that at once formidable and wretched country, and to shudder at the prospect which that suggestion disclosed.

"Whether many objections to union which were loudly urged were not such as the terms might easily obviate, and which were then therefore premature?

"Whether, if legislative incorporation tend to fortify the empire,

Great Britain be not likely to purchase that imperial strength, by the most ample and liberal concessions in point of terms?

"Whether two legislatures in one empire did not tend to disunite? and whether experience have not alarmingly reduced that theory to practice?

"Whether the testimony of all who oppose a union be so disinterested as to deserve implicit credit?

"Whether the example of Scotland have not proved that faction, not patriotism, may vehemently oppose a union—that integrity and public spirit might vote for whatever sacrifice the measure involved—and finally, that time may sanction such a step, by shewing legislative incorporation to be the base of national prosperity?

"Whether their situation were not such as to require some radical and tranquil change?

"He declared himself to be deaf to clamour, obstinate to intimidation, but open to reason, ever preferring to retract than persist in error.

"It was his deliberate opinion, that a legislative union with Great Britain would save Ireland, if obtained on those fair terms which he thought likely to be conceded."

As a pendant we quote the Speaker's (Mr. Foster's) celebrated speech on the regency question (11th February):—

Mr. Foster for the first time now delivered his sentiments at considerable length. His first aim was to demonstrate the finality of the settlement of 1782. He censured Mr. Pitt's speech, which he termed a paltry production, the merest tissue of general assertion without proof, high-flown language without meaning, and assumptions without argument.

"One point, he observed, was a new and incontrovertible ground of constitutional permanence and finality—namely, that modification of Poyning's law which secured the continuance of the connection between the kingdoms, by rendering the great seal of Britain necessary for every Irish law, and making the British minister responsible to the British nation, if any bill tending to injure the empire, or to separate Ireland from it, should receive the royal assent in the western realm. This regulation, he argued, was intended to secure union and connection on a firm, lasting, and unalterable basis. It gave to the British parliament, as Mr. Dundas had observed, a control over the third estate of the Irish parliament, but it was a control over the king's naked power of assent only; which gave to Great Britain an effectual pledge that Ireland retained no power to do any act (i. e. without the concurrence of Great Britain) to weaken or impair the connection.

"For his having recommended the commercial propositions of 1785, he had been accused of great inconsistency. But he denied that an atom of the constitution would have been surrendered by the plan of 1785, but this new system would lead to its utter annihilation. The measure of 1782 was all constitutional—that of 1785 all commercial.

"The pretences for a legislative union were ill supported. The risk of a disagreement on the subject of peace or war, or with regard to

foreign treaties, would not justify the adoption of a measure so unconstitutional. The case of regency afforded the only apparent foundation of alarm; but the bill now under consideration would remove all apprehensions on that head.

"The arguments adduced for a union of the two legislatures were, he said, equally applicable to the union of the two houses of either parliament. These might disagree, and ought, by parity of reasoning, to be formed into one assembly. Where would then be our constitution? It would yield to monarchical or republican despotism. The balancing principle composed the chief excellence of our constitution, and why might not the two legislatures, guarded by one head, perform national and imperial functions in a better and more efficacious manner than a combined parliament?"

Mr. Foster then took a very wide and minute review of the trade of Ireland, and declared his opinion that it would not flourish more after a union than under a resident parliament. It was already in a thriving state; it enjoyed all desirable freedom, and required only the care and attention of its natural protectors.

"On the subject of religion he barely remarked, that an Irish parliament might adjust all points in which the Protestants and Catholics differed, as judiciously and effectually as an imperial legislature.

"He severely censured that want of political wisdom which had induced the English minister to hold out Ireland to the enemy as the most vulnerable part of the empire, torn by internal factions, barbarous, weak, and contemptible. It was painful even to refer to the phrases by which he insulted the feelings of every Irishman. They knew them to be unfounded. Had they been true, it was the duty of a discreet statesman to have concealed with reverence the failings and weakness of so considerable and important a part of the empire. He tells the enemy the danger and the remedy—the danger immediate, the remedy distant and uncertain. He destroys a constitution which the Irish hold as the dear sacred palladium of their liberty, and would persuade the world there would be more zeal in Ireland when the constitution should no longer remain to animate its spirit and invigorate its exertions.

"Another advantage mentioned by the advocates of the measure was still more strange—namely, that it would tranquillize Ireland. If a resident parliament and resident gentry could not soften the manners and amend the habits, or promote social intercourse, would no parliament, and fewer resident gentry, do it? What was the great misfortune with respect to the tenantry of that kingdom? The middlemen, who intervene between the owner and the actual occupier, and these are mostly to be found on the estates of absentees. It had remained for Mr. Pitt to advance a new system, that depriving a country of its native resident landlords, encouraging land-jobbers and land-pirates, degrading the hospitality of the old mansion-houses into the niggardly penury of agents' dwellings, was become the approved modern mode of making happy and contented tenants, of forming good men and good subjects.

"That the adding to the bishop's duty of attending to his diocese the new and imperial duty of quitting the kingdom for eight months in the year, was the best way of making him acquainted with his clergy, and of enforcing attention to their parishioners.

"That a parliament, unacquainted with the local circumstances of a kingdom, ever at too great a distance to receive communication or information for administering in time to the wants or wishes of the people, or to guard against excesses or discontent, was more capable of acting beneficially than the one which, by being on the spot, and acquainted with the habits, prejudices, and dispositions of their fellow-subjects, best knew how to apply relief.

"In adverting to the late treason and rebellion, there they applied to fact. Could any parliament sitting in Great Britain have developed the secret system of conspiracy, animated the loyal, and supported the executive, with the effect that very parliament had done? What would the ridiculous exhibition have been at that time, of a united parliament walking through St. James's-park with their address, and yet what vigour and energy did the instant procession of near two hundred members, with the mace, to the castle give to the loyal ardour of the country? it animated the loyal spirit which crushed the rebellion before a single soldier could arrive from England, notwithstanding the uncommon exertions made there to expedite their sailing.

"The extraordinary, wise, and necessary measure of proclaiming martial law, required the concurrence of parliament to support the executive. The time would have passed by, before the concurrence could have been asked for and received from London; and it would have given a faint support, coming from strangers, compared with the impression of its springing from Irishmen, all liable to every danger and inconvenience from its operation, and yielding themselves and their properties to its control.

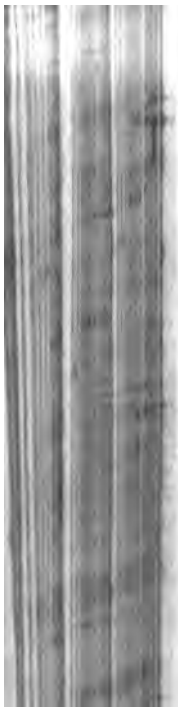
"'The volunteers,' said the Speaker, 'the saviours of their country and terror of its enemies, when their great work was effected, and, by the indiscreetness of a few leaders, their zeal was misled, and they began to exercise the functions of parliament, we spoke out firmly—they heard our voice with effect, and took our advice, instantly returning to cultivate the blessings of peace. I ask you, would equal firmness in a parliament, composed five parts in six of strangers, sitting in another country, have had the same effect? You know it would not. Personal character, respect to individuals, opinion of their attachment to one common country, all impressed an awe which was irresistible.'"

After having spoken very warmly to the incompetency of parliament to surrender their legislative power, he closed his speech with the following address to his countrymen:—

"'Were I to address the Catholics, the Protestants, and all religions, I would say, your country is in danger; a desperate attempt is on foot to seduce you to surrender the independence of your parliament. You are all natives of the same island, interested in its trade, its prosperity, its freedom, and in all the blessings of a glorious and happy constitu-



Rebels destroying a house and furniture.



tion—bounden by every tie of duty to yourselves, your country, and your posterity, to preserve it, join all hands and hearts together, bring the vessel into port, forget all family differences, all local or partial jealousies, and save Ireland, save your country. Tell the bold minister who wants to take away your constitution, that he shall not have it, that you will not be his dupe; that you love Britain as a brother, but you will be his brother, not his dependent; and that you will not degrade yourselves from an independent kingdom into an abject colony.

"'To any of you who have doubts on the measure, I would say, these very doubts call on you to vote against it. Do not hazard a change where you have a doubt—a change from which there is no return: accept it, you have it for better for worse—you never can untie the knot: no appeal, no parliament left, to hear, to argue, or to speak for you; and if the step you take should prove wrong, if it should unfortunately end in the nation's calling again for her old constitution, and the politics of the British cabinet should be so desperate as not to listen to that call, think of the dreadful consequences, of which you may be the cause, if fatally the shock of arms should follow. Even to you, whose conviction is clear, I would say, if the majority of your countrymen think differently from you, if even a respectable part of them only think so, do not rest so confidently on your own judgments as to risk a measure which you cannot undo; remember then, if the direful necessity should ever arrive to make it expedient, you may embrace it when you please, but, if once adopted, it is irrecoverable. Were I speaking in another assembly, and if in such assembly any member sat returned for a borough, where the wishes of the electors followed the voice of some one individual, by which he came to have an habitual superiority, and of course a strong interest in its preservation (I do not say such a case exists here, though it might not be unparliamentary to suppose it), I would tell him, he is a trustee—and, without positive and direct desire, he should not do an act which is to annihilate the interest he is intrusted with. No, no—let all join in cherishing the parliament—it is a good one, and has done its duty; it has proved itself competent to every purpose of legislation, to procure peace, and to put down rebellion. Refuse the measure, but refuse it with calmness and dignity. Let not the offer of it lessen your attachment or weaken your affection to Britain; and prove that you are, and wish to be (as the Duke of Portland told you that you were), 'indissolubly connected with Great Britain, one in unity of constitution and unity of interest.' But, above all, revere and steadily preserve that constitution which was confirmed to you under his administration in 1782, and which has given you wealth, trade, prosperity, freedom, and independence.'"

On the address being read in the British Commons, on the 22nd of January, Mr. Sheridan thus met the question:—"He said, that he conceived it incumbent upon ministers, before they proposed the discussion of a plan of union, to offer some explanations with regard to the failure of *the last* solemn adjustment between the countries, which

had been generally deemed final. There was the stronger reason to expect this mode of proceeding, when the declaration of the Irish parliament in 1782 was recollected. The British legislature having acquiesced in this declaration, no other basis of connection ought to be adopted. The people of Ireland, who cherished the pleasing remembrance of that period when independence came upon them as it were by surprise, when the genius of freedom rested upon their island, would come to this second adjustment with a temper which would 'augur not tranquillity but disquietude, not prosperity but calamity, not the suppression of treason, but the extension and increase of plots to multiply and ensanguine its horrors.'

"It might be deemed informal, he hoped it was not improper, to enter into the discussion on an address of thanks. There were topics on which silence would be unworthy of the majesty of truth, and his country had claims upon him which he was not more proud to acknowledge than ready to liquidate to the full measure of his ability.

"There was a time when it would have been intimated to him, that to agitate in that house any question relative to the affairs of Ireland would be an encroachment on the rights of the parliament of that country; and that such an insult to the dignity of that body, and to its competence of legislation, would inflame that quick spirit of independence which the sister kingdom knew how to express, and had ever appeared both able and ready to infuse into a system of ardent, intrepid opposition to every act of ulterior domination. But now that the question involved the independence and very existence of the Irish parliament, he did not suppose that any speaker would have recourse to such an argument. In discussing the intricate and delicate interests which the king's message embraced, he could see the possible danger of increasing the discontent of the people of Ireland; but danger was to be apprehended from a violation of the rights and the independence of Ireland. Whatever might be the consequences of the present scheme, he was disposed to give credit to ministers for purity of intention. He could not suspect that they would propose a measure which they believed would ultimately cause a separation of Ireland from this country. He feared the agitation of the question might rather encourage than deter our foes, and that the distraction which it might produce would aid their purpose.

"To render an incorporate union in any respect a desirable measure, the sense of the nation ought to be freely manifested in favour of it; but there was no prospect of obtaining such a concurrence; and a union carried by surprise, by intrigue, by fraud, corruption, or intimidation, would leave both countries, with regard to permanency of connection, in a situation worse than the present: nor ought the union to be obtained by following the advice of a pamphleteer (Mr. Cook), who hinted that we should recollect the game played off by the volunteers of Ireland to take advantage of Great Britain, and play the same game against them. Let them never have to say to the English, 'you offered us your assistance against domestic and foreign enemies; we accepted it, and in return gave you affection and gratitude, and the irreproachable

pledge of all the support in our power. You then took advantage with your forty thousand soldiers; you constrained us to submit to a union, you would not wait for our consent. Some were afraid of being suspected of disloyalty, if they should come forward; others were banished; all were sensible that it was in your power, by acts of negative intimidation (the expression would be understood by those who talked of negative success), by refusing to send more men, or to relieve our pecuniary difficulties, to force a union.' If by such acts they deprived Ireland of the power of resisting any claims made upon her, if thus they wrung from her her independence, if thus they intimidated and corrupted her parliament to surrender the people to a foreign jurisdiction, he would not justify the Irish in a future insurrection, but he would say, that the alleged grounds for it would wear a very different complexion from the late.

"That the proposition itself should be entertained in Ireland, must be considered as an extraordinary case. To the period of the last solemn adjustment, the great impolicy and heinous injustice of the British government towards Ireland for three hundred years is notorious and avowed. Is it then reasonable to suppose, that a country, the object of such insult for three centuries, when at last she had wrung from our tardy justice that independence which she had a right to claim, and had obtained commercial advantages, should, only sixteen years afterwards, so far forget all prejudices, as to surrender the means by which she acquired those advantages? Would this be the case, if the free sense of the country were manifested? But it is possible that, during those sixteen years, the parliament may have forfeited the confidence of the country. Do the Irish plead guilty to this charge? On the contrary, did not his Majesty congratulate Ireland, that by the vigour of her parliament she had acquired an increase of prosperity? And that by the vigilance of the Irish parliament the late conspiracy was detected and brought to light; and when new disturbances are dreaded, was it to be dismissed? Was the detection of plots likely to be better effected by the English parliament?

"Would it be maintained that the measure of a union would not wholly dissolve the legislature of Ireland; that independence would survive union, though in a modified state; and that the parliament would be left to judge of the local affairs of Ireland? Really this seems almost too much for men's feelings. A parliament! A sort of national vestry of Ireland, sitting in a kind of mock legislative capacity, after being ignobly degraded from the rank of representatives of an independent people, and deprived of the greatest authority that any parliament could possess! Could such a state be called a state of independence? And could we suppose that the Irish would agree to such a union under any other circumstances than those of force?

"Was the parliament of England competent or qualified to legislate for the parliament of Ireland? Impossible! Every advantage of situation favoured the one—the other was unfitted for governing, or giving law, by every disadvantage of situation and every dissimilarity of temper and *habit*. Lord Chancellor Clare said, that the English

parliament was less acquainted with the state of Ireland than any other body of men in the world. How, then, was the parliament of England better fitted to legislate for Irishmen than that of Ireland, with its experience?

"With respect to the general effect of intimidation, it did not rest upon presumption. Had not a threat been thrown out, in what might be considered as an official proclamation, that the troops which had been sent to Ireland might be withdrawn, that the money with which she was aided might be withholden, and the country left helpless and devoted? Must not the Irish, then, who have supported the connection, feel that they are not at liberty to choose? Such insinuations as Irish clerk or secretary had thought proper to throw out in his official pamphlet. The effect, then, upon the Irish must be, that it is impossible for them to come to a free discussion of the subject. Such hints from persons in office, and the dismissal of the best friends of Ireland from office, warranted this inference, that if a person, whether in or out of office, should oppose the union, he will be considered as a traitor to his country. What must be the effect upon the minds of the officers and volunteers throughout the kingdom? He was willing to believe that the noble lord at the head of affairs in Ireland had been directed to do what had been alluded to, and that it was not of his own accord. But to talk of free-will under such circumstances was only adding mockery to injustice, and insult to injury.

"He contended that the adjustment proposed would only unite two wretched bodies; that the minds would still be distinct, and that eventually it might lead to separation. The King of Sardinia had lately consented to the surrender of his territory, and said it was right, but did any one believe that the consent was real? The case was the same with respect to Ireland,—we could not have her real consent; we do not wish it, or would not have had recourse to corruption and intimidation. They had heard much abuse of French principles, but he recommended the abstaining from French practices. Let no suspicion be entertained that we gained our object by intimidation or corruption,—let our union be a union of affection and attachment, of plain dealing and free-will; let it be a union of mind and spirit, as well as of interest and power; let it not resemble those Irish marriages which commenced in fraud and were consummated by force. Let us not commit a brutal rape on the independence of Ireland, when by tenderness of behaviour we may have her the willing partner of our fate. The state of Ireland did not admit such a marriage; her banns ought not to be published to the sound of the trumpet, with an army of forty thousand men. She was not qualified for hymeneal rites, when the grave and the prison held so large a share of her population.

"Some delay in this matter could produce no danger; and it was incumbent on the projectors of the plan to state the reasons which rendered them so eager to press it. As they had not explained their motives, he had been obliged to have recourse to the Castle pamphlet *as to* the proclamation of the Irish government. That author offered

singular reasons for despatch—a dread of the continued influence of the Pope and the intrigues of the British anti-ministerial party. He had also a singular mode of quieting the Catholics, by making them desperate, by telling them that they had nothing to hope from their parliament. 'Dissatisfaction (said the pamphleteer) would sink into acquiescence, and acquiescence soften into content.' 'A very pretty sentence,' said Mr. Sheridan, 'for a novel!' But what right had the author to assume, that when the union should have taken away the rights of the Catholics, their dissatisfaction would sink into acquiescence? On the topic urged by the pamphleteer respecting the expediency of making use of a time of war and embarrassment to accomplish the wishes of Britain, in return for the advantage taken by the Irish volunteers on a former occasion, and by the United Irishmen at a more recent period, he remarked, that the indignation of every man of honour must be roused by such an appeal to the spirit of revenge. Such arguments weighed so lightly against the disadvantages of the measure, that he could not but condemn the precipitancy with which it was brought forward.

Mr. Sheridan then stated the probable risk of changes in our political system, from the introduction of one hundred members into the British House of Commons; members who, having sacrificed the parliament of their own country, might not be scrupulously tender of the British constitution. He then disputed the competency of the Irish legislature to sacrifice itself, and transfer its power to the British legislature.

On bringing the question before the English House of Peers, Lord Grenville thus addressed them:—"In rising, in pursuance of the notice he had given, and for the purpose of calling their lordships' attention to the very important subject of the resolutions communicated to that house, some time since, by the Commons, relative to the state of Ireland, on which it was his intention to submit a motion to their lordships, he had, he said, the satisfaction to be convinced, that the two main points upon which the question could be properly argued had been already established, and were so fully impressed upon their lordships' minds, that no diversity of opinion could properly arise; viz. that whatever steps they should take on the present occasion, the sole and exclusive rights of the Irish legislature should be duly respected, and considered upon the same footing as that of Great Britain; and, secondly, that it was essential to the interest of the empire at large, that the connection between the two kingdoms should be strengthened and improved to as high a degree of perfection as the case admitted. There was, he said, however, another preliminary to the subject itself, which was started by some who appeared generally to approve of the measure, and that was, whether, under the present state of things, it was proper at all to discuss the subject? In answer, he asked, whether it would not be wise and politic to urge, with as little delay as the case would admit of, a fair and temperate discussion of the general question, in order to do away the mistaken prejudices and unfounded impressions which had prevailed against the measure in Ireland?

There his lordship took occasion to remark the manner in which the question stood in the parliament of Ireland. The resolution of their Commons (for more it could not be called) certainly was not conclusive. That which passed in their lower house of parliament, so far from amounting to any thing like a law, was, in fact, a dead letter upon their journals. In such a case, the British parliament surely ought not to be precluded from doing what wisdom and prudence dictated.

"With respect, therefore, to the question, whether, in the present state of things, in the particular circumstances of both countries, there appeared a necessity for the adoption of a plan, whereby the strength and resources of both countries might be consolidated and improved? or, whether or not there appeared a necessity for a change in the Irish system? The necessity of a change, he believed, was allowed on all hands; the grand difference of opinion was with respect to the remedy for the grievances complained of in that country. His lordship then adverted to the settlement of 1782, and contended that it was not conclusive, neither was it intended, he said, at that time to be conclusive; such were the declarations at that time, and such was the language expressed in the addresses to the crown. It was, then, a duty incumbent on parliament, to come forward and supply the defects of the former settlement. With regard to the supposed existing bond of connection between the two countries, he was not afraid to say, it was *absolutely null;* not that it was imperfect or inadequate, but absolutely null. If the two parliaments were suffered to remain in their present state—if the countries clung together by no other bond of connection than the present, the connection was, he repeated, absolutely null. If this was suffered, the evils would be necessarily entailed upon their descendants, if they did not fall upon themselves. If, by the British constitution, the royal power could be exercised free from the control of parliament, then, indeed, the regal identity might be a bond of connection; but if the whole system of the regal power be not only under the control, but cannot go on without the aid and assistance of parliament, and the parliaments of each kingdom are to remain distinct and separate, then, he said, the bond of connection was obviously *null.* Here his lordship argued at some length, and asserted, that the countries were reduced to the alternative, of either giving up the exercise of the independence of the parliament of the one country, or of all bond of connection whatever between both. There was, he remarked, an instance, which would be introduced in this part of the argument, viz. the case of the regency, which took place in the year 1789; and the conduct of the Irish parliament on that occasion best spoke for itself. No regular mode was laid down before that period for meeting such an exigency. The question was considered by both parliaments; and the mode in which the Irish parliament thought proper to supply the exigency was one very different from that adopted by the British. This, he said, was one of the cases that evinced the necessity of an incorporated union. He next made some remarks on the competency of parliament; and said, in the opinion of that excellent lawyer and states

man, Blackstone, parliament was competent to effect a change in the constitution itself, as it had done in the measure of the union with Scotland. If it be argued that the parliament of Ireland be incompetent to agree to an incorporate union with the legislature of this country, it must follow that every act of the English parliament, not only since the union with Scotland, but even since its first existence as a parliament, must be an infringement upon public rights.

"Another objection had been urged, which, if well founded, he should feel as of very great weight, viz. that which regarded the honour and independence of the Irish parliament; but, did the proposed union go to attack that independence, he should not give it the least countenance. But to what did this objection amount? Surely, when examined, it would be found that never was there a more complete mistake, or a more groundless misapprehension of terms. In the first place, he said, the very notion of compact, on which this union was proposed to be founded, implied the independence of each legislature; for, unless there were independence, there could not be a contract; and the very recognizing of the powers of parliament to enter into this treaty contained an acknowledgment of its distinct independent authority. His lordship next made some observations relative to the union with Scotland; and said, there had been many lamentable cries with respect to the effects of that union, but time had shewn how fallacious they were. No interest of Scotland had been sacrificed; so far from it, it had remarkably flourished since that era, in its agriculture, wealth, and commerce; its towns had largely increased in population, and many of its local advantages had been attended to. It was for the general interests of the empire to consult the interests of every component part of it; and as this had proved true with regard to Scotland, and in consequence of a union with that country, so also, he was persuaded, a similar measure would operate with regard to Ireland."

The Earl of Moira opposed the resolutions. "He was in hopes that the noble secretary of state would have seen the propriety of postponing the consideration of them under the present circumstances. There was no person, he said, who would more heartily than himself concur in the measure, were he assured that it was founded in the wishes of the majority of the people of Ireland; but was it not manifest that the opposition to it was not limited to the Irish parliament only, but that it had been treated by the nation at large with an abhorrence amounting almost to a degree of phrensy? After this marked reprobation of the proposal, what could be more calculated to add fuel to the flame than our persevering in it? It had been stated, in support of the resolutions, that Ireland could not go on in its present state. He had predicted, that the system of government which had been pursued in that country could not go on, and he had unfortunately proved too true a prophet. That, however, was not a consequence flowing from the constitution of Ireland, but the result of a frantic exercise of severities on the part of government. The noble secretary had touched on the state of Ireland, with regard to the state of economy in the establishment of its military force. He had said, that a case might occur in which the

parliament of Ireland would refuse to pay the troops; and seemed to think it strengthened very materially his position on this ground of argument, by taking occasion to observe, that the test taken by the military of Ireland was different from that taken by the troops of England, and that from this much mischief might, at one time or other, ensue. If, said he, the observation concerning the test referred only to the militia of Ireland, it was foreign to any conclusion that could be drawn with respect to the present argument; because that difference applied to troops raised exclusively for local service, and of course organised according to local convenience. If it respected the regular army, the latitude must have been prescribed in the enlisting orders issued from the British War-office; and it would prove nothing, but that government was wisely satisfied that a man might be a brave soldier and a trusty supporter of his country's cause, even though he should believe there were ten sacraments. The noble lord had expatiated on the benefits which a union would confer on Ireland. Possibly he might be right; but the question whence any opinion was to be drawn respected the expediency of bringing forward these resolutions. Whether justly or not, it appears, said he, that they think the demand upon Ireland was nothing less than the whole body of her laws, her rights, her liberties, her independent parliament. Under such circumstances, how does the mass of the Irish nation weigh such a supposed demand? Disgusted as they have been by recent outrages, and smarting from the lash of late severities, and irritated by present threats of continued infliction—how could it be supposed that they would meet with temper the proposition for drawing closer the ties to which they have been mischievously told were owing all their past sufferings? Such sufferings, he said, they had all undergone or witnessed, and they had justly ascribed them, not to the licentiousness of the soldiers, but to the principle and procedure of government. In the nature of the union there was not any thing that held forth to the inhabitants of Ireland a security against the violence of the executive government; but, on the contrary many checks upon that government would be withdrawn. The noble earl (Camden) had alluded to some acts of the legislature of Ireland having been treated with reprobation in that house. He did not know to whom the noble lord alluded. What he had complained of always in that house was, that the conduct of the executive government in Ireland was no more reconcilable to the acts passed by the Irish parliament than it was to justice, or to policy on general principles. He had referred, he said, to the modes of indiscriminate and savage torture, which had been adopted without compunction, and persevered in without remorse. The picketings, the burning of houses, the rapes, and numberless other outrages, that had been perpetrated, with the view, as it was said, of crushing disaffection. The measures which had been resorted to were evidently improper.

"His lordship said, there was something very curious in the noble secretary's imagining that those people, whom he called barbarians, described as utterly uncivilized, and treated as incapable of comprehending the meaning of Catholic emancipation or parliamentary re-

form, were, notwithstanding, intimately acquainted with all the abstruse discussions that had taken place respecting forms of government, and the principles on which they were established. The inapplicability of such a statement, he said, to any thing under present consideration, afforded a presumption that the noble lord had some other view in introducing the observation. After a few more general remarks upon the subject, he concluded by saying, that he felt himself bound to vote against the question."

The last speech we shall offer to the reader was that delivered on the same occasion by the Bishop of Landaff. His Lordship said, "that in rising to deliver his opinion on a subject which had already been illustrated by some of the ablest speakers in that and in the other house of parliament, he could not but feel an apprehension lest he should be considered by their lordships in the unfavourable light of a man unnecessarily vexing the reluctant ear; but, as he had long been accustomed to contemplate the subject as an object of the first political importance, he must entreat their lordships' indulgence, while he explained his sentiments upon it.

"When the Duke of Rutland was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he honoured him with his confidence. The Irish propositions, as they were then called, were under discussion; they were, he said, ultimately abandoned, on the ground of their not being acceptable to the Irish nation. In writing to him about that time, he perfectly well remembered having said, 'You, and your friend the minister of England, would immortalize your characters, if, instead of a mere commercial arrangement, you could accomplish by honourable means a legislative union between the two kingdoms.' His answer, he said, he should never forget. He wholly approved of the measure; but added, the man who should attempt to carry it into execution would be tarred and feathered. He mentioned this circumstance to shew to their lordships, that the opinion which he intended to deliver on the subject was not rashly or recently taken up. Having formed such a judgment, he would not be deterred from declaring it on account of its unpopularity in any country. If he were to express his sentiments of the utility of a union in few words, he would say, that a union would enrich Ireland—that it would not impoverish Great Britain—that it would render the empire, as to defence, the strongest in Europe. The strength of every state depends on the number of its people. The lands, he said, of Great Britain and Ireland, if cultivated to their full extent, if the measure took place, would, in half a century, support a population of thirty millions at least; and thirty millions of people would afford five or six millions of men able to bear arms; but even with one million in arms, with united hearts, what would Great Britain have to fear from the combined aggression of all Europe? Having expressed his general approbation of the measure, he made some remarks on the present parliament of Ireland, whether it had a right to vote away its own extinction. If this was a question with respect to Ireland, a similar one applied to Great Britain, viz. whether the present parliament of Great Britain had, or had not, a right to accede to a union. However,

he said, a volume might be written on the subject, and still the question would be undecided. There was another question which he considered of high importance, and that was, whether the Roman Catholics in Ireland, being a great majority of the people, have or have not a right to some ecclesiastical establishment? This question becomes perplexed, he said, when it was considered that the property, by which such an establishment must be maintained, was principally in the hands of a small minority of the people, who would not receive any direct and immediate benefit from such an establishment. With respect to Protestants and Catholics, he recommended the advice of an ancient Father of the church, who, in composing the animosities of contending religious parties, counselled each side to give up little things, that both sides might obtain great things—peace, tranquillity, and concord. There was another question of great importance, viz. whether the British constitution would or would not undergo some change? and, if any, what change, from the introduction of Irish members into the two houses of parliament here? On these questions, he said, he could speak at considerable length, but he purposely declined entering into the detail of them.

"On the subject of the union, as far as it respected Ireland, three different opinions had been adopted in that country. The first was the opinion of those who thought that an union with Great Britain was the most probable and effectual means of securing, of enlarging, and rendering permanent the prosperity of Ireland. Whatever might be the number of persons who entertained this opinion, he had no scruple in saying he concurred with them. A second opinion was, that British connection was indeed essential to Irish prosperity. This opinion, he said, had been supported by men of such approved integrity and ability, that he suspected his own faculties when he presumed to differ from them.

"In an ordinary mode of reasoning, one would say, that if British connection was essential to Irish prosperity, then the closer that connection was, the greater would be that prosperity. This, he observed, would be an ordinary inference, unless it could be shewn that the connection, when it had approached to a certain degree of proximity, changed at once its nature, like some physical powers which are attractive to a certain distance, and then become repulsive.

"The present bond of connection between the two kingdoms was, that of their having the same king; the proposed bond was, that of their having the same legislature. How slight the former bond was, had been fully shewn by a noble secretary in a former debate upon the subject.

"The third opinion, he said, which prevailed in Ireland on this subject, was, that British connection and British union were equally and irreconcilably hostile to the interests of Ireland. This, he said, was a preposterous opinion, and not supported by experience derived from the history of nations. Ireland, as a graft inserted into the stock of the British empire, might throw out branches in every direction; but 'if,' said his lordship, 'you separate it from this connection, and

plant it in a soil by itself, it will neither strike root downwards, nor bear fruit upwards, for a hundred years, though it should be left to itself, free from the annoyance of its neighbours.' His lordship said he foresaw, and with great satisfaction, the time, should the union take place, when the whole state of Ireland would be changed; it would in time convert the bogs of that country into corn-fields, it would cover its barren mountains with forests, it would dig its mines, cut its canals, erect its fabrics; in a word, it would render the people industrious, enlightened, contented, and happy.

"But though he was a friend to the union, he was no friend to its being accomplished, except by the most honourable means. Ireland at present seemed not disposed to contract. What then, said his lordship, is to be done? Precisely that which Great Britain was doing, viz. giving time to Ireland to consider this subject in all its bearings. His lordship said, he spoke in the sincerity of his heart, that no human means could be devised more suited to the situation of Ireland than a liberal, cordial, legislative union between Great Britain and that country."

With a few cursory observations we shall bring to a close the narrative of the annexation of Ireland to Great Britain.

In detailing the opening, progression, and completion of the legislative union, we have given an historic sketch of the occurrences generally attendant on the measure, avoiding, as much as possible, all inquiry into the much-debated question of its utility or disadvantages when achieved. That it was violently opposed, and dishonestly carried, are facts not to be controverted; and, no matter how desirable the end, the means employed were undoubtedly neither morally nor constitutionally defensible. Nearly half a century has elapsed—with few exceptions, the chief actors have disappeared—and ample time has been permitted to examine how far the violent opposition of the anti-unionists was well grounded, or the promised advantages held out by its supporters were founded on solid principles, and realized in the end.

To condemn a measure merely because it may be ardently opposed is an unsafe test by which to prove its merits. "The first proposal to any small nation for an union and amalgamation with a great and powerful state creates alarm for self-preservation. The powerful nation feels nothing of this kind, because it is only strengthened by such accessions, which it assimilates and transmutes into its own nature and form; but the small nation is loath to abandon its separate existence as a sovereign power, and be swallowed like a stream in the ocean. This principle of human nature is to be recognized in the history of all unions, and of all times. Were example necessary, witness the discontent, the tumult, and the violence of the Scots against the union of their poor country with England. The soil of Scotland might be improved, and the Scots might acquire more wealth, and more comforts; but Scotland, as a kingdom, would be no more. There would no more be any genuine Scotsmen: by the operation of government, they would be gradually mingled and melted down with Englishmen; the Scotch would cease to be a national character; their genius and

manners would be formed by various objects of pursuit, various hope and fears, common to them, with all the other inhabitants of the island.

"A similar train of thinking, exactly, on the subject of the proposed union with Great Britain, prevailed in Ireland; and, as in Scotland, a majority of the men of property and political influence were induced, whether from selfish considerations, or from views of real patriotism (for there certainly were many who acted from both), to exchange, as it were, in some measure, the national identity and existence for a share in the British legislature; and the great mass of the people clung, with fond embraces, around their expiring parent, though she had been, in too many instances, to them but a harsh step-mother: so also a majority of the men of property and political influence in Ireland were induced, from divers motives no doubt, to favour and adopt an incorporating union between Great Britain and Ireland; and so also the great mass of her population looked but on one side at the picture, and, blinded by party prejudice, rejected the measure as one that it was unnational even to consider."

We have described the leading occurrences attendant on the union, traced it through every stage, and given, in the bold and uncompromising language used by statesmen of that day, the conflicting opinions with which opposing parties characterized this most important measure. Whether political circumstances have not permitted the obvious advantages which Ireland may and should realize from a union with Great Britain to be fully developed as yet is possible, or, that a nation which surrendered a corrupt and mischievous home-legislation to become an integral part of one better adapted to promote its prosperity * might have sought too much in return, and consequently suffered disappointment, is another question; to the latter opinion, one of the best-informed and most liberal writers on Irish character and statistics inclines.

"The events that followed," says Mr. Wakefield, "afford a memorable proof how little men are acquainted with the extent of their own desires; and that when enjoyments which they conceive to be the summit of their wishes have been attained, a wider scene opens before them, and new objects arise to disturb their happiness and excite discontent. Considering them, indeed, impartially, it can hardly be denied that they afford some ground for the reflection thrown out against the Irish, that 'they are a turbulent people, who can be satisfied by no concessions, and whose demands increase in proportion to the blessings which they enjoy.' Possessing all the pride of the Scots, without the prudence; equally susceptible of alarm as the English, without the coolness; and, like the French, buoyed up with a high idea of the advantages of their country, which, seen through the medium of national

* "It removed that most objectionable of all political principles, the separate existence of two co-ordinate and independent legislatures in the same state, which constantly exposed the tranquillity of the empire to dangers arising from discord and mutual strife, which ambitious or designing men might promote by the agitation of irritating questions."—Cobbett's P[illegible] Register, vol. ii. p. 78.

vanity, appear magnified greatly beyond the truth, they have, on many occasions, indulged in hopes too vast to be realized, and consequently productive of discontent and disappointment."

In giving a summary result of his own calm and impartial conclusions, Wakefield thus offers his honest conviction of the union as a measure, when Catholic emancipation could be regarded only as one of its prospective advantages:—

"My opinion on the momentous legislative act which united Ireland to Great Britain, and formed the two countries into one empire—an act which I yet hope to see confirmed, and still farther strengthened by the admission of the Roman Catholics to a full participation of the benefits of the British constitution, was not founded on interested motives, nor formed from a partial view of the subject, but adopted after a mature and most attentive consideration of all its bearings and probable effects. These sentiments are now so firmly established, that nothing but strong facts, facts sufficient to outweigh those from which I have drawn my conclusions, can make me in the least swerve from my present opinions. I am aware that it is popular in Ireland to decry the Act of Union.* It is common also to ascribe to Great Britain every evil under which that country is now suffering; but being no great man's parasite, and having no desire to hunt after that most unstable of all earthly possessions, popular favour, I must dissent from such doctrines, and shall leave to those writers who do not hesitate to gratify their spleen at the expense of public tranquillity, to destroy, if they be so disposed, the rising germs of the future happiness of her inhabitants. Connection with Great Britain—union—inseparable union—the being one and the same empire—one and the same people—to have the same interests—throwing the broad parental shield of the British monarchy over the farthermost parts of Ireland, and over the meanest of her inhabitants, can alone promote the general and individual welfare of both countries. Great Britain, by her situation, seems destined to be the friend and protectress of Ireland; the latter, notwithstanding the bravery and martial spirit of her inhabitants, is too weak to defend herself against the attacks of a foreign enemy; but uniting her efforts with those of Great Britain, fighting under the same banners, and directing her views to the same objects, the general good, she may bid a proud defiance to the rest of the world."

Whether the full advantages self-apparent from a union of the kingdoms have or have not been consummated, is not a consideration relevant to this work. Besides the removal of a political anomaly exhibited in the existence of two co-ordinate legislations, we fully believe Mr. Pitt's assertion, that "until a union took place between the two

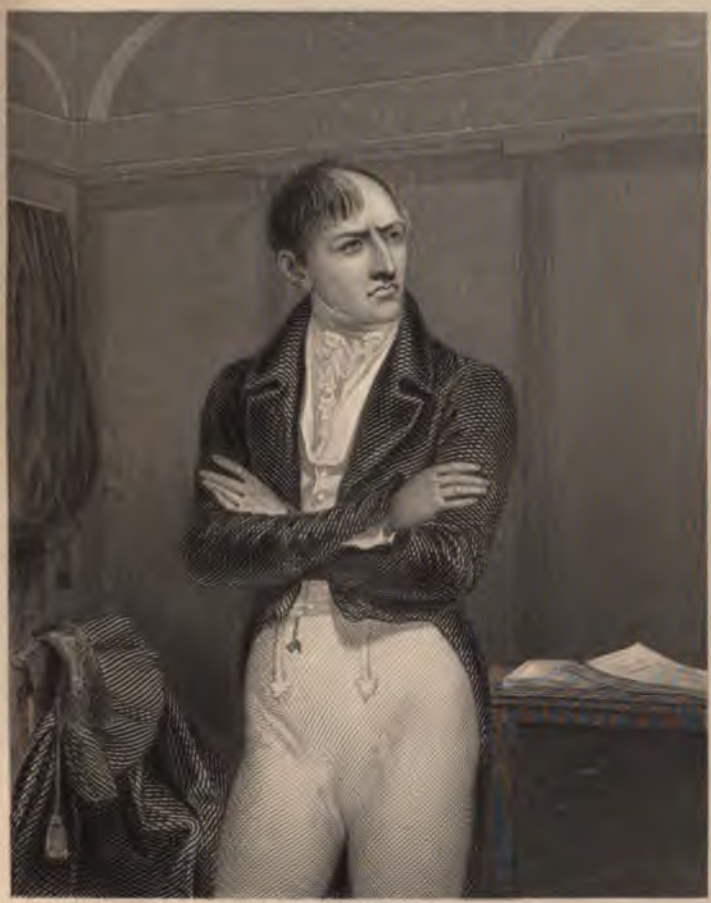
* "Some persons in that country may, perhaps, have adopted the idea of Dr. Johnson; but that celebrated man, notwithstanding his great genius and extraordinary powers of mind, had his prejudices, and this seems to have been one of them. Conversing with an Irish gentleman on the subject of a union, Johnson said, 'Do not make a union with us, Sir; we should unite with you only to rob you. We should have robbed the Scotch, if they had had any thing of which we could have robbed them.'"—*Boswell's Life of Johnson.*

countries, Ireland would never be settled, but be disturbed by the
mischievous speculations and intrigues, and be made the sport of
ties, and of the enemies of England."

The advantages of an Irish union time will yet develop*—and
that of Scotland, years may elapse before its benefits shall be evid
and the false reasonings of its opponents falsified by its results.
describing the progress of the union, we have freely quoted fro
work of a man who denounced the means by which the measu
effected. In that we agree with him—but of the union as com
our own opinions are strictly in accordance with those of Mr. H
den :—

"Thus was accomplished the incorporate union of Great B
and Ireland, an event dreaded by our enemies, and therefore
cherished by every true and loyal subject of his majesty, as af
the sure means of conciliating the affections, consolidating the em
and promoting the prosperity of every part of the British empire."

* "There is no question but, in time, the just reflection on these things w
upon men of honesty in all parts of your Majesty's dominions to acknowle
happiness and advantages of the union, though at present the artifice
enemies, rather than any real mischiefs felt by it, have filled their mouths w
plaint."—*History of the Union between England and Scotland.*



Robert Emmett



CHAPTER XXXVII.

STATE OF IRELAND IN 1801.

THE insurrectionary movements of '98, followed by the political tempest of conflicting opinion which accompanied the union of the kingdoms during its progress, had for several years distracted the Irish people, and totally inhibited any advances in national prosperity. Men now began with a renewed confidence to return to their former pursuits—the north was perfectly tranquillized—the manufacturer and agriculturist resumed the shuttle and the spade—and as events subsequently proved, the Presbyterians, with a very few exceptions, had thoroughly detected the fallacy of ideal liberty, and become sincere converts to the solid advantages which a well-ordered constitution secures to the community.

In other parts of the kingdom, though the flame was openly extinguished, the embers smouldered—desperate individuals still held out—and life and property were rendered insecure. The spread of French principles had been progressive and extensive—and although the many had repudiated the foul doctrines which denounced a king and denied a god, still the pest was not eradicated, and for years afterwards the plague-spot was discovered occasionally.

The opinions delivered by the Irish members of the British legislature will best shew the state of Ireland at this period, and the demand made for arming the executive with the additional power conferred by martial law, would prove in itself that the country was still feverish, and that a portion of the people were discontented, if not disloyal. On the 12th of March, 1801, Lord Castlereagh thus urged the necessity of stringent measures:—

"The task he had to perform was extremely painful, but it was a duty of which he was determined to acquit himself. He was ready to acknowledge that the introduction of martial law in Ireland was almost unparalleled in its constitutional history; but yet he must remind the house that the spirit and principles of modern Jacobinism had compelled the legislature to recognize a system of judicature unknown, except when the operation of all laws was suspended from the open existence of rebellion in the field. The necessity of resorting to so strong a measure was lamentable, but, if it did exist, he could not betray his country and the constitution. He owned the difficulties of carrying such a measure in an assembly where so few had a local knowledge of the circumstances that justified it."

* * * * * * *

"It was his intention to propose it only for three months. He was so confident of its necessity, that he called upon parliament to pass the bill without further inquiry. He admitted what the honourable gentleman had advanced, that, if rebellion existed, the lord-lieutenant might proclaim martial law. But was it more constitutional to come to parliament for an act of indemnity, than to call for its previous authority?

"The rebellion broke out in May, 1798, and martial law continued in force till March, 1799. By the king's authority martial law was then exercised, and the Irish government relied on an act of indemnity in their favour, if they transgressed not the bounds which the necessity of the case prescribed. They were compelled to withhold a great portion of the municipal law, while property could not be protected without martial law. This occasioned a conflict; for no officer could execute his duty, if subject to be brought to trial continually. Many indictments were preferred against officers for attempting to execute the lord-lieutenant's orders; and the rebellion at one period rendered it impossible for the judges to sit unmolested. When it abated, the courts were again opened,—the first, in the metropolis, the King's Bench. In some places the circuit was held, and the assizes conducted under a military force. But civil justice could not be exercised without protection; therefore, one or the other must be sacrificed. After rebellion had been crushed in the field, Jacobinism still contrived to preserve it alive in the country. This malignant spirit produced a new case, obliging the courts of justice to be shut, and the country to seek its protection from martial law. If this spirit still existed, the necessity of martial law was evident,—that it did now exist, he thus proceeded to shew.

"He said, that in activity, malignancy, and perseverance, the Irish rebels exceeded all who had ever attempted the destruction of their government. During the last three months, his excellency had found it necessary to try sixty-three persons in courts-martial, and of these thirty-four were condemned and executed. Most of them were found guilty of overt acts of rebellion, and all of having helped to promote it. In the whole year, two hundred and seven criminals had been tried. The character of the noble person above mentioned was too well known to be suspected of unnecessary rigour. He would not have suspended common law without occasion, but would have allowed the usual trial by jury. The bill ought not to be considered as an establishment of martial law, but for allowing the courts of law to remain open. The crown had power to proclaim martial law when necessary for the good of the empire; but then the process of the courts was at an end, and the accused must, in all cases, be tried by a military tribunal. By the continuance of this act, Jacobinism would be counteracted, and the people retain most of their privileges. It was notorious, that several districts still cherished the spirit that had occasioned such calamities, and prompted the inhabitants to attack the persons and property of their neighbours. But the second object was, to obstruct the administration of justice. For this purpose they used

the most terrible means, and rendered themselves so formidable that neither juries nor witnesses would attend. Unless the bill were renewed, and government could bring criminals summarily to trial, the loyal and industrious must again suffer without hope of redress. The rebels themselves had courts-martial, to try those who were disaffected to their cause. How were they to be successfully combated, if permitted to condemn and instantly execute their captives, while they themselves could be punished only by the slow process of common law? He said, that by vigour and energy the evil had been greatly repressed—and that, three counties excepted, the kingdom was in a state of tranquillity."

In the upper house, Lord Clare warmly supported the measure, and his picture of the state of Ireland was unfortunately a faithful sketch.

Lord Fitzgibbon (Earl of Clare) said,—"That the papers on the table would prove the necessity for a continuance of the bill; and the clerk was desired to read extracts from the reports of the Irish parliament in 1798. He was not surprised that the bill should be received with disgust by a British House of Lords; and he felt degraded in being forced to confess that Ireland could not be saved without its being passed: the civil government of the country could not support its authority without military force. Democracy had taken deep root there, and it would probably be long ere it were eradicated. The subtlety of the seditious would be sufficiently proved by saying, that many of those who went up with addresses to a noble earl, before he left the administration of Ireland, were known to have been engaged in a conspiracy against the government. Martial law was indispensable, and could alone secure the property, religion, and lives of the loyal inhabitants. A noble lord had asked, whether the judges had not gone the circuits regularly? He could answer, that they had always been obliged to have a strong escort for their protection; and two of the judges going to hold the assizes had been attacked by the rebels not many miles from the capital. They were not murdered, it was true, but escaped merely by the rebels having neglected their usual precaution of bribing the servants; for, the post-boys turning about quickly, the speed of their horses saved them. The principal object of the conspirators was to disturb the administration of justice. To give every criminal a list of jurors and witnesses before the day of trial was impracticable; for nine-tenths of them would be murdered before the day appointed came. He said that treason and rebellion had been so completely organized in Ireland, that the mere attempt to administer justice without martial law was defeated, and perverted to the worst purposes. The committee of superintendence in the several districts had spies present at every trial in each circuit, who marked out such jurors as ventured to give a conscientious verdict, and every witness who dared to tell the real truth. From these communications a list of proscriptions was made out, and transmitted, with orders to the several provincial committees to send out a certain number of determined zealots to meet their agents. This was regularly complied with, and the list of assassination delivered to the murderers, who not only were

resemblance since the year 1641. He said, let t
posed the bill take a journey to Ireland. He enga
them a villa, and a farm each, if they would r
they had tasted the luxuries of an Irish life for
them come over (if they survived) and declaim fo
Irish."

In the following June, a Bill of Indemnity passe
immense majorities. As might be imagined, an a
the injured from redress met with a warm oppositio
extraordinary powers given to individuals in tho
were at times abused abominably,* but protection
others, who in perfect honesty of purpose laid th
penalties incurred in the execution of their duty, g
their better feelings, unsanctioned bv statutory law,
rendered imperative by the sad circumstances of the

The short peace† which succeeded was but a lull,
rests itself to collect fresh elements to feed its exh
those who calmly looked at the existing state of thi
repose seemed utterly impossible—Napoleon's charact
developed to shew that such an expectation must be
hope of tranquillity, indeed, could be expected fo
military chieftain whose renown and character had
war—who had manifested such striking proofs of a
bition; and little faith could be placed on the profes
had bent every principle to his personal views, w
equally at the expense of monarchy and democracy,
and who, in every treaty which he framed, had e

* Of all the infamous and corrupt acts perpetrated by the Iri
their name was Legion—probably the indemnity given to Judki
worst.—*Vide Appendix.*

† By the preliminary articles which were signed at London on
1801, by M. Otto on the part of the French republic, and Lord

anxious solicitude to extend his territories and enlarge his power. England alone, of all the civilized world, presented a barrier to his vast and aspiring views; and to remove that barrier, either by conquest or by fraud, was naturally the object nearest to the heart of the usurper.

But the breathing-time allowed to Britain, though brief, was highly serviceable. The Addington administration was popular. The people of England, characteristically honest, placed unbounded confidence in a minister whose integrity was congenial to their own—while his financial arrangements were so judicious, that instead of feeling an increase of burdens, they anticipated the time when they should look for a diminution of them. Yet in this view the task of the minister was Herculean; and it will hereafter be barely credited, even on the stubborn evidence of figures, that the first year after the war Mr. Addington funded no less a sum than ninety-seven millions sterling.*

That friendly professions on the part of the French government to that of England were false and hollow, a strange and unexpected occurrence told. It was long understood, though it could not, in some instances, be legally proved, that the disaffected party in England held a secret correspondence with the French government. Among the active and distinguished confederates of this party was Colonel Despard, a gentleman who had in his military career performed some brilliant exploits, and had been regarded as a meritorious officer. "His success was not equal to his ambition; and disappointment at first, aided afterwards by the pernicious principles sanctioned by the French revolution, seems to have produced in him an inveterate hatred for the constitution of his country, and to have induced him to enter into the most profligate designs for its destruction."

As long back as '97, it had been communicated to government that Despard held a treasonable connection with the French Republic, and, consequently, he had been arrested and imprisoned. In 1802, he was liberated—and so far from having been deterred by long confinement from entering anew into treasonable practices, "the first use he made of freedom was to hatch a plot, so desperate in design, but so absurdly impracticable,† that it seemed rather the emanation of diseased intellect than the plot of a sane conspirator."

* Political Returns.

† "The plan was to ingratiate himself with the lowest and most profligate of the soldiery, particularly of the guards; and by forming a strong and compart party in this body, to have at his disposal a select corps, accustomed and trained to discipline and command, whom he could bring into immediate action, and prepared for any desperate undertaking. The active operations of the conspirators commenced as early as the spring of 1802. About the month of March a society was established, professedly for what they most absurdly termed 'the extension of liberty;' and at the head of this society two soldiers in the guards were ostensibly placed, of the names of Wood and Francis. They began by administering an oath to every person who was admitted a member of the association, and it was chiefly among the soldiery that they sought for proselytes. Their success appears not to have borne any proportion to their diligence; for the association seems never to have extended

It would not be relevant to this work to enter into its details, n
would we have alluded to it, had it not been the immediate precur
of an insurrectionary outbreak in Ireland, as visionary as the wi
project of Colonel Despard. We shall merely observe, that aware
the treasonable proceedings in the English metropolis, governm
permitted the conspiracy to become matured; and on the 16th
November, 1802, the unhappy men were arrested at the Oakley Ar
in South Lambeth, committed to prison, tried on the 7th and 9th of
following February, convicted, and six of the ringleaders executed
the 21st of the same month, mercy being extended to the remainder.

Before the British capital had ceased to wonder at the mad atte
of Despard, a pendent to it was presented in the metropolis of
sister island. Both these revolutionary movements were curio
alike—wild in conception—unmethodized—hopeless of success—c
fined to a handful of conspirators, and these in grade and charac
utterly contemptible—the only leader of the one, a moody malconten
those of the second, two mad enthusiasts, in whom, touching the amo
of mental aberration, it would be a puzzle to determine.

The unfortunate men who acted the most conspicuous parts in
fatal scenes we have now to relate were two of those who ex
rienced the clemency of government after the rebellion of 1798,
had retired to France. The one, Mr. Thomas Russell, had,
Colonel Despard, been a military officer of some reputation in his p
fession, but whose advancement not bearing a proportion to his
bition, had probably been soured by envy and disappointment.
was a man of a singular turn of mind. Unlike the majority of t
who had imbibed the principles of Jacobinism, he was religious eve
enthusiasm. He had, it is said, applied himself particularly to
reading of the prophetical writings; and possibly his visionary sp
lations in this course of study might be applied to the confirmatio
those wild and fantastical notions which he had formed on poli
topics. He had been deeply engaged in the conspiracy of 1798,
been confined with the rest of the disaffected in Kilmainham

beyond the number of thirty or forty obscure individuals, and even some of
became speedily disaffected to the cause.

"The plan was altogether conceived upon military principles, and was not
digested. The conspirators were divided into companies of ten men each, to w
was added an eleventh, under the character of captain; these again were united
larger divisions, under officers with still superior titles; and in case of a revolut
all the conspirators were to be invested with high military rank. Their princ
object was to secure or murder the king as he returned from parliament, at
opening of the session; and for this purpose it was proposed to load the great
in the park with long ball or chain shot, and fire at the king's carriage as it pas
In the meantime, another party was to seize the Tower, and afterwards the Bank
destroy the telegraph, and stop the mail-coaches, which last was to be a signal
the disaffected in the country to march to their assistance. Plausible as was
plan in speculation, we must remark that the numbers of the conspirators were
such as to furnish any hope of success; and it reflects honour on the loyalty
Britons, that so few could be found even among the lowest and most depra
classes of society to enter into a direct plot for overturning the constitution of th
country, or attempting the life of their sovereign."—*Annual Register*.

and had been afterwards removed to Fort George in Scotland. It is well known that they were pardoned on condition of transporting themselves out of his Majesty's dominions, and Russell remained till the spring of the year 1803, when he returned with the commission of general-in-chief, but remained in obscurity till after the fatal *emeute* of the 23rd of July.

The second was the son of a respectable physician in Dublin, and was the younger brother of a barrister of that name, Mr. Thomas Adis Emmet, who had been one of the rebel directory in the year 1798. He was a young man of fine talents rather than solidity of judgment, possessing uncommon eloquence, and no inconsiderable portion of courage and activity.* He was not unqualified for the part he had undertaken—and for a service so pregnant with difficulty and danger, his sanguine temperament was a necessary adjunct. He had quitted Ireland shortly after the unfortunate termination of the former conspiracy, and resided in different parts of the Continent, but principally in France, till Christmas 1802, when he returned to his native country.

In the attempts of these unfortunate men to produce an outbreak, Emmet succeeded, and Russell failed. The field the latter had selected for his treasonable experiment was the north, and the effort was totally abortive.

"We do not find, by the evidence on his trial, that he ever was able to collect more than twelve associates of the lowest rank and most desperate character. The principal scenes of his exertions were the counties of Down and Antrim; and that he acted in concert with Emmet and the other conspirators is evident from the same night, the 23rd of July, being appointed for the insurrection in the north. His connection with the French government was also proved by several expressions, particularly a declaration which he made on the 22nd of July, at Annedorn, while exhorting his associates to take arms—'that he doubted not but the French were fighting in Scotland at that mo-

* "He entered the Dublin University at sixteen, and made an early exhibition of the republican principles in which he had been schooled. Moore, in a notice of him, says, that when he joined a debating society of very questionable character, he found Emmet 'in full reputation, not only for his learning and eloquence, but also for the blamelessness of his life, and the grave suavity of his manners. Of the political tone of this minor school of oratory, which was held weekly at the rooms of different resident members, some notion may be formed from the nature of the questions proposed for discussion, one of which I recollect was, 'Whether an aristocracy or a democracy is most favourable to the advancement of science and literature?' while another, bearing even more pointedly on the relative position of the government and people of this crisis, was thus significantly propounded, 'Whether a soldier was bound on all occasions to obey the orders of his commanding officer?' A quotation from one of his speeches proves the political bias of his mind. After a brilliant eulogy on the French republic, he concluded with a remark sufficiently expressive:—'When a people, advancing rapidly in knowledge and power, perceive, at last, how far their government is lagging behind them, what then, I ask, is to be done in such a case? Why, *pull the government up to the people!*' The consequence of indulging in such language at such a time may be imagined—Emmet was struck off the college roll."—*Memoir of Robert Emmet.*

ment.' Disappointed and discouraged at the cool reception he everywhere experienced, he returned to Dublin, almost immediately after the 23rd of July, where he remained concealed in the house of Mr. Mulet, a gun-maker in Parliament-street, till the 9th of September, when he was apprehended, and on the following day committed to prison."

The story of this ill-judging gentleman is briefly told—his trial came on at Carrickfergus, on the 20th of October, and the evidence produced against him was conclusive. The fact of endeavouring to excite insurrection was decisively proved. He does not appear to have made any defence, but previously to the passing of sentence addressed the court with the impassioned eloquence of enthusiasm, pleading conscience in extenuation of all he had done, but adducing no arguments to prove that it was right. He was executed at Downpatrick, on Friday, the 21st of October.

Emmet's proceedings, when he returned to Ireland, are only required to be noticed, the secret history of his conspiracy being amply detailed in the judicial proceedings which brought him deservedly to the scaffold.

"On his arrival in Ireland, he at first went into a state of the most perfect obscurity, at the house of a Mrs. Palmer, at Harold's Cross, where he assumed the name of Hewitt. The nature of his mission did not admit of his remaining in this retreat longer than was necessary to mature his plans and form his connections. On the 24th of March, in company with Mr. Dowdall, who had been formerly secretary to the Whig Club, he contracted for a house near Rathfarnham, in a place called Butterfield-lane; but their continuance in this situation had excited some suspicion, nor was the place found in all respects commodious for their purposes. About the end of April, a house and premises of some extent, formerly a malt-house, and which had been long unoccupied, were taken in Marshall's-alley, Thomas-street, sufficiently obscure to escape detection, and yet near enough to the heart of the city to effect the most desperate purposes. In this place Emmet lodged for nearly two months, with no better accommodation than a *paillasse*, and surrounded by from fourteen to twenty associates. A depôt of arms was here formed on a large scale; muskets and other weapons were procured from time to time to a considerable amount, and a large manufacture of pikes was secretly carried on.* The conspirators occasionally pressed not only horses but men into their service, and forced the latter to work at different employ-

* "One of these depôts was set apart for the manufacture of gunpowder and the construction of weapons. Some idea of the industry with which Emmet accumulated these implements of deadly vengeance, and his sanguine reliance upon thousands responding to the tocsin of insurrection, may be formed from the catalogue of the contents of his magazine:—'It comprised forty-five pounds of cannon powder, in bundles; eleven boxes of fine powder; one hundred bottles filled with powder, enveloped with musket-balls and covered with canvas; two hundred and forty-six hand-grenades, formed of ink-bottles filled with powder and encircled with buck-shot; sixty-two thousand rounds of musket-ball cartridge: three bushels of musket-balls! a quantity of tow, mixed with tar and [illegible] and other combustible

ments necessary for the object in view, while confined in the depôt. At the same time stores of arms and gunpowder were deposited at the residences of others of their accomplices, in convenient stations of the city. The whole of the conspiracy had, however, been nearly overthrown and developed by an explosion which took place in Patrick-street.* By the ability of the conspirators, or the security of their adversaries, the accident was overlooked, or at least represented as unconnected with any treasonable design. At length the preparations were complete, or the funds of the conspirators exhausted, and the 23rd of July was appointed for a general insurrection.† Though the persons immediately connected with Emmet, Dowdall, and Quigley, the principals in the plot, did not exceed from eighty to one hundred persons, they were so far misled as to the state of the public mind, that they expected the spirit of rebellion would pervade the kingdom. The stopping of the mail-coaches was to be the signal of revolt in the country. The immediate object of the insurgents in the metropolis was the castle, and the vicinity of the depôt in Thomas-street was calculated to favour the intended enterprise against this seat of the government. Various rumours had been afloat for a few days previous that 'a rising,' as it was termed, was intended; but the reports were so contradictory that the government was unable to take any measures of precaution, farther than the doubling of patroles in certain stations. Towards dusk on the 23rd of July, Emmet prepared for the anticipated action, by superintending the distribution of arms and ammunition (of which he had a large supply) amongst the multitude that

matter, for throwing against wood-work, which, when ignited, would cause an instantaneous conflagration; sky-rockets and other signals, &c.; false beams filled with combustibles; with not less than twenty thousand pikes!'"—*Memoir of Robert Emmet.*

* "Two of his contederates were in the house when the explosion took place, one of whom, in endeavouring to throw open a window in order to escape suffocation, severed the artery of his arm—and thus disabled, the poor fellow bled to death. His companion was taken prisoner.

"The sensitive mind of Emmet was not only harrowed up by the terrible fate of his fellows, but apprehending that the explosion would lead to untimely disclosures, he, for the third time since embarking in the enterprise, changed the place of his concealment, by removing from the house occupied by him in Butterfield-lane to one of his depôts situate in Mass-lane. Here he strove to make, as far as possible, amends for the recent loss by increased exertion. So restless was he, that he sought no farther repose than that he derived from occasionally reclining upon a mattrass placed in the midst of the workmen, from which he could by night and day observe the progress of and direct and animate their labours."

† "To add still further to the perplexities of this unenvied position, Emmet was disquieted by the conflicting views which it gave birth to among his associates. Some advocated an immediate resort to arms; others, disheartened by the aspect of affairs, doubted the policy of this; and almost all of them had his individual opinion as to the most practicable mode of commencing operations. Seven days from the explosion were occupied in these deliberations, which ultimately terminated in adoption of a proposal for attempting by surprise to gain possession of the in the vicinity of the city, and of the castle itself. Especial importance wa to obtaining possession of the latter, as it was felt that to have command seat they might speedily secure the power of government."—*Ibid.*

had congregated before the head-quarters of the projected rebellion. But we must not omit to mention that previous to the evening the ill-success of the enterprise had been omened forth, by the return of the Kildare men, who, after marching into the capital, were fortunately persuaded by their leaders to disband and return home. What ensued has been thus graphically described by one of Emmet's coadjutors:—

"About six o'clock, Emmet, Malachy, one or two others, and myself, put on our green uniform, trimmed with gold lace, and selected our arms. The insurgents, who had all day been well plied with whiskey, began to prepare for commencing an attack upon the castle; and when all was ready, Emmet made an animated address to the conspirators. At eight o'clock precisely we sallied out of the depôt, and when we arrived in Thomas-street the insurgents gave three deafening cheers.

"The consternation excited by our presence defies description. Every avenue emptied its curious hundreds, and almost every window exhibited half-a-dozen inquisitive heads, while peaceable shopkeepers ran to their doors, and beheld with amazement a lawless band of armed insurgents, in the midst of a peaceable city, an hour at least before dark. The scene at first might have appeared amusing to a careless spectator, from the singular and dubious character which the riot wore; but when the rocket ascended and burst over the heads of the people, the aspect of things underwent an immediate and wonderful change. The impulse of the moment was self-preservation—and those who, a few minutes before, seemed to look on with vacant wonder, now assumed a face of horror, and fled with precipitation. The wish to escape was simultaneous; and the eagerness with which the people retreated from before us impeded their flight, as they crowded upon one another in the entrance of alleys, court-ways, and lanes; while the screams of women and children were frightful and heart-rending.

"'To the castle!' cried our enthusiastic leader, drawing his sword, and his followers appeared to obey—but when we reached the market-house, our adherents had wonderfully diminished, there not being more than twenty insurgents with us.

"'Fire the rocket!' cried Malachy.

"'Hold awhile,' said Emmet, snatching the match from the man's hand who was about applying it. 'Let no lives be unnecessarily lost. Run back and see what detains the men.'

"Malachy obeyed; and we remained near the market-house, waiting their arrival, until the soldiers approached."

* * * * * * *

"The conspirators assembled previously in the depôt did not exceed the number of fifty, but pikes and other weapons were liberally dispersed among the mob, and the number of the insurgents soon swelled to the amount, it is said, of about five hundred. The night was dark, and the scene is described as tremendous; groups of pikemen, and other insurgents, were dispersed in various parts of the vicinity of the



the insurgents, and armed with a pike. This happened even to some gentlemen of rank and character. The first check which the rebels experienced was from Mr. Edward Wilson, a police magistrate, who, at the head of only eleven men, had the courage to approach the scene of insurrection. He had hardly arrived at the spot, before he found his little party surrounded by a body of nearly three hundred pikemen. Undismayed by their hostile appearance, he called upon them to lay down their arms, or he would fire. The rebels appeared somewhat confused, but one of them, bolder than the rest, advanced, and with his pike wounded Mr. Wilson in the belly, but was instantly shot dead by the wounded magistrate. The fire from his men threw the rest of the body of assailants into some confusion, but they presently opened to the right and left, to make way for such of their party as had fire-arms, when Mr. Wilson thought it prudent to retreat towards the Coombe. The rebels soon after met with a more formidable assailant in Lieutenant Brady, of the 21st Fusileers; who, at the head of only forty men, had the gallantry to advance to the attack. He subdivided his little force into smaller parties, and, though assailed by bottles and stones from the houses, and with shot from the alleys and entries, kept up so warm and well-directed a fire that the insurgents, numerous as they were, soon fled in different directions. Lieutenant Coltman, of the 9th regiment of foot, also, at the head of only four men of his own regiment, and some yeomanry of the Barrack division in coloured clothes, in all but twenty-eight, hastened to the scene of action, and was successful in dispersing the mob, and securing some of the most desperate of the offenders.

"The military now poured in from all quarters; the rebels were routed with considerable slaughter, and, before twelve, the insurrection was completely quelled."

The brief and sanguinary affray, which was detailed fully in the evidence given on the trial of the chief conspirator, we think will bear us out in opinions already freely expressed, regarding the incompetency of the leaders, and the general inefficiency of an Irish mob.* More was in Emmet's favour than he was entitled to have expected. The government, although rumour was rife with alarm, had turned a deaf ear to every attempt to awake it from its culpable security. The detective police of that day—a crew of mercenary bloodhounds—shewed, that within the very heart of a city treasonable plans could be matured, and not a functionary suspect it. To stimulate Sirr and his myrmidons to exertion, crime was not to be prevented, but committed, and a regular price must first be placed upon the offender. The apathy

* "In general, the Irish are rather impetuously brave than steadily persevering: their onsets are furious and their retreats precipitate, but even death has for them no terrors, when they firmly believe that their cause is meritorious. Though exquisitely artful in the stratagems of warfare, yet, when actually in battle, their discretion vanishes before their impetuosity; and, the most gregarious people under heaven, they rush forward in a crowd with tumultuous ardour, and without foresight or reflection, whether they are advancing to destruction or to victory."—*Barrington.*

scene of action, while others were calling out for arms, and led in crowds to the grand depôt."

* * * * * * *

"It was during the height of the insurrection that the venerable magistrate, accompanied by his daughter, Miss Wolfe, and his nephew, a clergyman, arrived in Thomas-street, in his way from his country-house to the castle. Lord Kilwarden, and Mr. Wolfe, his nephew, were inhumanly dragged from the carriage, and pierced with innumerable mortal wounds by the pikemen.* Before he expired he was rescued by a party of the military and of the police; and hearing some violent expression employed as to the punishment of the rebels, he had only time, before he breathed his last, to prefer a petition 'that no man might suffer but by the laws of his country.' Such a death was more honourable than that of a commander who dies in the arms of Victory, and who possibly acts a part to secure a posthumous reputation. Miss Wolfe, by the humanity (if such wretches can be suspected of it) or the heedlessness of the mob, effected her escape, and, on foot and unattended, was one of the first who arrived at the castle to give notice of the horrors of the night. Colonel Browne, a gentleman greatly respected, was another victim of the multitude, and was assassinated in the same brutal and cowardly manner. On the first alarm he repaired to join his regiment, but, uninformed of the precise station which was occupied by the rebels, he unfortunately, in the darkness of the night, fell in with the main body; he received a shot from a blunderbuss, and was almost immediately hewn to pieces.

"Every casual passenger, who was not murdered, was forced to join

* The following story in connection with this action was also for some time subsequently current among the "lower orders" of Dublin:—

"In the year 1795, when Kilwarden was attorney-general, a number of young men (all of whom were between the age of fifteen and twenty) were indicted for high treason. Upon the day appointed for their trial they appeared in the dock, wearing shirts with tuckers and open collars, in the manner usual with boys. When the chief justice of the Queen's Bench, before whom they were to be tried, came into court and observed them, he called out, 'Well, Mr. Attorney, I suppose you are ready to go on with the trials of these truckered traitors?' The attorney-general was ready and had attended for the purpose; but indignant and disgusted at hearing such language from the judgment-seat, he rose and replied, 'No, my lord, I am not ready; and,' added he, in a low tone, to one of the prisoners' counsel who was near him, 'if I have any power to save the lives of these boys, whose extreme youth I did not before observe, that man shall never have the gratification of passing sentence upon a single one of these truckered traitors.' He performed his promise, and soon after procured pardons for them all, upon condition of their expatriating themselves for ever; but one of them obstinately refusing to accept the pardon upon that condition, he was tried, convicted, and executed." Thus far the fact upon creditable authorities: what follows is given as an authenticated report. After the death of this young man, his relatives, it is said, readily listening to every misrepresentation which flattered their resentment, became persuaded that the attorney-general had selected him alone to suffer the utmost severity of the law. One of these, a person named Shannon, was an insurgent on the 23rd of July; and when Lord Kilwarden, hearing the popular cry of vengeance, exclaimed from his carriage, "It is I, Kilwarden, chief justice of the King's Bench!" "Then," cried out Shannon, "you're the man that I want!" and plunged a pike into his lordship's body.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

TRIAL, CONVICTION, AND EXECUTION OF ROBERT EMMET.

FAVOURED by the darkness of the night, Emmet, and a few follow
ers, contrived to escape from the city, and headed to that haunt
outlawed and desperate malefactors, the mountain range of Wicklo
For better security, the party separated, each adopting the best mea
within his power to evade the now uplifted hand of outraged justi
Emmet, it was said, might possibly have quitted the country in
fishing boat, but his wild attachment to a daughter of the celebrat
Curran induced him to return to the metropolis, and seek a parti
interview with his mistress. None but a madman would have risk
the dangerous experiment—but Emmet appears to have been influenc
in all his actions by the wildest impulse, and, accordingly, he regain
the city safely, and again took up his quarters in his old concealme
Harold's cross. On the 25th of August, he was arrested by Ma
Sirr, and a special commission immediately issued—Lord Norbu
with Barons George and Daly, presiding.

"It opened, on the 31st of August, with the trial of Edward Ke
ney, a calenderer, who was proved, on the testimony of M'Cabe,
accomplice, and others, not only to have been active in organizing
conspiracy, but to have been actively engaged in the insurrection of
23rd July; having been one of the first who was apprehended by
party commanded by Lieutenant Brady. His trial was followed,
the 1st of September, by that of Thomas Maxwell Roche, an old m
of about seventy. Both were found guilty, and were executed
Thomas-street, the scene of their criminality—Kearney on the first, a
Roche on the following day: both acknowledged the justice of th
sentence. Several other prisoners of inferior note were afterwards tri
and executed, all of whom died penitent. In particular, Henry Howl
who had shot one of the police-officers who attempted to apprehe
him, addressed the multitude in a pathetic exhortation, exclaiming
'Good people, pray for me: and pray that I may be forgiven my sin
which I heartily repent of. Good people, you see to what a situati
I am brought by my own folly, and by bad advisers. Good peopl
love one another, and forget all animosities; relinquish your foolish pu
which, if you continue to follow, will, in the end, bring you
to the situation in which I now stand!' He confessed that he had, wit
murdered Colonel Browne, on the night of the rebellio
fully sensible of the enormity of the crime, as well as
to Mr. Hanlon, the Tower-keeper, and exhibite
the deepest remorse. His whole conduct, indee

he saw the prisoner, who appeared to have the chief direction. Here the witness described the weapons and missiles of various kinds; also the uniforms, and particularly that, on the evening of the 23rd, he saw three men dressed in green uniforms, richly laced; one of whom was the prisoner, who wore two gold epaulettes, but the other two only one each.

"To a question by the Court, the witness said, that he gave information of the circumstances deposed in his evidence, the next morning, to Mr. Ormsby, in Thomas-street, to whom he was steward."

"Sergeant Thomas Rice and others proved the proclamation of the Provisional Government found in the depôt;* identified the desk which the prisoner used there; and a letter signed 'Thomas Addis Emmet;' and directed to 'Mrs. Emmet, Milltown, near Dublin,' beginning 'My dearest Robert.'"

"Edward Wilson, Esq., recollected the explosion of gunpowder which took place in Patrick-street, previous to the 23rd of July; it took place on the 16th. He went there and found an apparatus for making gunpowder; was certain that it was gunpowder exploded. Proved the existence of a rebellious insurrection, as did also Lieutenant Brady. The latter added, that on an examination of the pikes, which he found in Thomas-street, four were stained with blood on the iron part, and on one or two of them the blood extended half-way up the handle."

"John Doyle, a farmer, deposed to the following effect:—That on the morning of the 26th July last, about two o'clock, a party of people came to his house at Ballymace, in the parish of Tallaght, seven miles from Dublin. He had been after drinking, and was heavy asleep; they came to his bedside, and stirred and called him, but he did not awake at once; when he did and looked up, he lay closer than before: they desired him to take some spirits, which he refused. They then moved him to the middle of the bed, and two of them lay down, one on each side of him. One of them said—'You have a French general and a French colonel beside you, what you never had before.' For some hours the witness lay between asleep and awake. When he found his companions asleep he stole out of the bed, and found in the room some blunderbusses, a gun, and some pistols. The number of blunderbusses, he believed, were equal to the number of persons, who, on being collected at breakfast, amounted to fourteen. Here he identified the prisoner as one of those who were in the bed with him.

"The witness then further stated, that the party left his house between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, and proceeded up the hill. The next morning the witness found under the table, on which they breakfasted, one of the small printed proclamations, which he gave to John Robinson, the barony constable."

"Rose Bagnall, residing at Ballynascorney, about a mile further up the hill from Doyle's, proved that a party of men, fifteen in number, and whom she described similar to that of the preceding witness, came

* Vide Appendix.

to her house on the night of the Tuesday immediately after the insurrection."

"John Robinson corroborated the testimony of the witness Dyas relative to the small proclamation, which he identified."

"Joseph Palmer deposed that he was clerk to Mr. Colville, and lodged at his mother's house, at Harold's Cross. He recollected the apprehension of the prisoner, at his mother's house, by Major Sirr; and that he had lodged there the preceding spring, at which time, and when he was arrested, he went by the name of Hewitt. The prisoner came to lodge there, the second time, about three weeks before the last time, and was habited in a brown coat, white waistcoat, white pantaloons, hessian boots, and a black stock. The pantaloons were of cloth. Those who visited the prisoner inquired for him by the name of Hewitt. At the time he was arrested there was a label on the door of the house expressive of its inhabitants. It was written by the witness, but the prisoner was omitted, at his request, because he said he was afraid government would take him up. The prisoner, in different conversations with the witness, explained why he feared being taken up. He acknowledged that he had been in Thomas-street on the night of the 23rd of July, and described the dress he wore on that occasion, part of which were the waistcoat, pantaloons, and boots already mentioned, and particularly his coat, which he described as a very handsome uniform. The prisoner had a conversation with witness about a magazine, and expressed much regret at the loss of the powder in the depôt. The proclamations were likewise mentioned by the prisoner, and he planned a mode of escape, in the event of any attempt to arrest him, by going through the parlour-window into the back-house, and from thence into the fields. Here the witness was shewn a paper, found upon a chair in the room in which the prisoner lodged, and asked if he knew whose handwriting it was—he replied, that he did not know, but was certain that it had not been written by any of his family, and that there was no other lodger in the house besides the prisoner."

The examination of this witness being closed, extracts from several papers found in the possession of Emmet were then read.

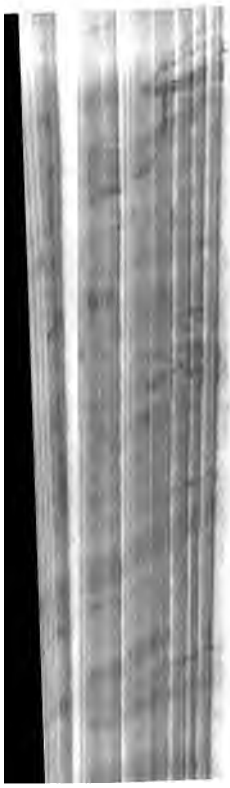
Major Henry Charles Sirr stated—"I went, in the evening of the 25th of August, to the house of one Palmer. I had heard there was a stranger in the back parlour. I rode, accompanied by a man on foot; I desired the man to knock at the door. He did, and it was opened by a girl. I alighted, and ran directly into the back parlour. I saw the prisoner sitting at dinner: the woman of the house was there, and the girl who opened the door was the daughter of the woman of the house. I desired them to withdraw. I asked the prisoner his name; he told me his name was Cunningham. I gave him in charge to the man who accompanied me, and went into the next room to ask the woman and daughter about him; they told me his name was Hewitt. I went back, and asked how long he had been there? He said he came that morning. He had attempted to escape before I returned, for he was bloody, and the man said he knocked him down with a



George Cruikshank

Emmett preparing for the Insurrection

UNIV. OF WISC.



pistol I then went to Mrs. Palmer, who said he had lodged there for a month. I then judged he was a person of some importance. When I first went in, there was a paper on the chair, which I put into my pocket. I then went to the canal bridge for a guard, having desired him to be in readiness as I passed by. I planted a sentry over him, and desired the non-commissioned officer to surround the house with sentries, while I searched it. I then examined Mrs. Palmer, and took down her account of the prisoner, during which time I heard a noise, as if an escape was attempted. I instantly ran to the back part of the house, as the most likely part for him to get out at; I saw him going off, and ordered a sentinel to fire, and then pursued myself, regardless of the order. The sentry snapped, but the musket did not go off. I overtook the prisoner, and he said, 'I surrender!' I searched him, and found some papers upon him."

On the witness expressing concern at the necessity of the prisoner's being treated so roughly, he, the prisoner, observed, "that all was fair in war." The prisoner, when brought to the Castle, acknowledged that his name was Emmet.

The case for the crown having closed, and Emmet declined to enter into any defence, Mr. Conyngham Plunket rose to address the jury, previous to the judge's charge. To this the prisoner's legal advisers objected, as the counsel for the crown could not be said to have a right to reply to evidence, when no defence had been made. Lord Norbury, however, decided otherwise,—and Mr. Plunket then addressed the court.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

SPEECH OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL—LORD NORBURY'S CHARGE—FINDING OF THE JURY—EMMET'S CELEBRATED SPEECH—HIS EXECUTION—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

"My Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury,

"You need not entertain any apprehension that, at this hour of the day, I am disposed to take up a great deal of your time, by observing upon the evidence which has been given. In truth, if this were an ordinary case, and if the object of this prosecution did not include some more momentous interests than the mere question of the guilt or innocence of the unfortunate gentleman who stands a prisoner at the bar, I should have followed the example of his counsel, and should have declined making any observation upon the evidence. But, gentlemen, I do feel this to be a case of infinite importance indeed—it is a case important, like all others of this kind, by involving the life of a fellow-subject; but it is doubly and ten-fold important, because, from the evidence which has been given in the progress of it, the system of this conspiracy against the laws and constitution of the country has been developed in all its branches; and in observing upon the conduct of the prisoner at the bar, and bringing home the evidence of his guilt, I am bringing home guilt to a person who, I say, is the centre, the life-blood and soul of this atrocious conspiracy.

"Gentlemen, with respect to the evidence which has been offered upon the part of the crown to substantiate the guilt of the prisoner, I shall be very short indeed in recapitulating and observing upon it—I shall have very little more to do than to follow the statement which was made by my learned and eloquent friend, who stated the case upon the part of the crown; because it appears to me that the outline which was given by him has been with an exactness and precision seldom to be met with, followed up by the proof. Gentlemen, what is the sum and substance of that evidence? I shall not detain you by detailing the particulars of it. You see the prisoner at the bar returning from foreign countries some time before hostilities were on the point of breaking out between these countries and France; at first avowing himself—not disguising or concealing himself—he was then under no necessity of doing so; but when hostilities commenced, and when it was not improbable that foreign invasion might co-operate with domestic treason, you see him throwing off the name by which he was previously known, and disguising himself under new appellations and characters. You see him in the month of March or April going to an

obscure lodging at Harold's-cross, assuming the name of Hewitt, and concealing himself there—for what purpose? Has he called upon any witness to explain it to you, if he were upon any private enterprise, if for fair and honourable views, or any other purpose than that which is imputed to him by the indictment? Has he called a single witness to explain it? No; but after remaining six weeks or two months in this concealment, when matters began to ripen a little more, when the house was hired in Thomas-street, which became the depôt and magazine of military preparation, he then thinks it necessary to assume another character and another place of abode, accommodated to a more enlarged sphere of action; he abandons his lodging, he pays a fine of sixty-one guineas for a house in Butterfield-lane, again disguised by another assumed name—that of Ellis. Has he called any person to account for this, or to excuse by argument, or even by assertion, this conduct?—why, for any honest purpose, he should take this place for his habitation under a feigned name?

"But you find his plans of treason becoming more mature. He is there associated with two persons, one of the name of Dowdall. We have not explained in evidence what his situation is, or what he had been; the other is Quigley—he has been ascertained by the evidence to have been a person originally following the occupation of a bricklayer; but he thought proper to desert the humble walk in which he was originally placed, and to become a framer of constitutions and a subverter of empires.

"With these associates he remains at Butterfield-lane, occasionally leaving it and returning again; whether he was superintending the works which were going forward, or whatever other employment engaged him, you will determine. Be it what it may, if it were not for the purpose of treason and rebellion, he has not thought proper by evidence to explain it. So matters continued until some short time before the fatal night of the 23rd of July. Matters became somewhat hastened by an event which took place about a week before the breaking out of the insurrection—a house in Patrick-street, in which a quantity of powder had been collected for the purposes of the rebellion, exploded. An alarm was spread by this accident; the conspirators found that if they delayed their schemes and waited for foreign co-operation, they would be detected and defeated, and therefore it became necessary to hasten to immediate action. What is the consequence? From that time the prisoner is not seen in his old habitation, he moves into town, and becomes an inmate and constant inhabitant of this depôt. These facts, which I am stating, are not collected by inference from his disguise, his concealment, or the assumption of a foreign name, or the other concomitant circumstances, but are proved by the positive testimony of three witnesses, all of whom positively swear to the identity of his person, Fleming, Colgan, and Farrell, every one of whom swears he saw the prisoner (tallying exactly with each other as to his person, the dress he wore, the functions he exercised), and every one of whom had a full opportunity of knowing him. You saw him at Butterfield-lane, under the assumed

name of Ellis—you see him carrying the same name into the depôt, not wishing to avow his own until the achievement of the enterprise would crown it with some additional éclat.

"The first witness, Fleming, appears in the character of a person who was privy to the conspiracy—he was acquainted with the depôt from the moment it was first taken—he had access to it and co-operated in the design—he was taken upon suspicion—and under these circumstances he makes the disclosure. If the case of the prosecution rested upon the evidence of this man alone, though an accomplice in the crime, it would be sufficient evidence to go to you for your consideration, upon which you would either acquit the prisoner or find him guilty. In general, from the nature of the crime of treason, from the secrecy with which it is hatched and conducted, it frequently happens that no other evidence can be resorted to but that of accomplices; and therefore, notwithstanding the crimes of such witnesses, their evidence is admissible to a jury. But, doubtless, every honest and considerate jury, whether in a case of life or not, will scrupulously weigh such evidence. If it be consistent with itself, disclosing a fair and candid account, and is not impeached by contradictory testimony, it is sufficient to sustain a verdict of guilt.

"But, gentlemen, I take up your time unnecessarily in dwelling upon this topic, which I introduced rather in justification of the principles which regulate such evidence, than as attaching any particular weight to it in the present instance; because, if you blot it altogether from your minds, you have then the testimony of two other persons not tainted with the conspiracy—one of them brought in while in a state of intoxication, and the other taken by surprise when he was watching at the door—in every respect corroborating the testimony of Fleming, and substantiating the guilt of the prisoner. You heard the kind of implements which were prepared, their account of the command assumed by the prisoner, living an entire week in the depôt, animating his workmen, and hastening them to the conclusion of their business. When the hour of action arrived, you see him dressed in military array, putting himself at the head of the troops who had been shut up with him in this asylum, and advancing with his party, armed for the capture of the Castle, and the destruction of his fellow-citizens!

"Gentlemen of the jury, what was the part which the prisoner took in that night of horror, I will not attempt to insinuate to you; I hope and trust in God, for the sake of himself—his fame—his eternal welfare—that he was incapable of being a party to the barbarities which were committed; I do not mean to insinuate that he was, but that he headed this troop, and was present while some shots were fired, has been proved by uncontroverted testimony. At what time he quitted them—whether from prudence, despair, or disgust he retired from their bands—is not proved by evidence upon the table; but from the moment of the discomfiture of his project, we find him again concealed. We trace him with the badges of rebellion glittering upon his person, attended by the two other consuls, Quigley, the bricklayer, and Dowdall,

the clerk,—whether for concealment, or to stimulate the wretched peasantry to other acts of insurrection, you will determine. We first trace him to Doyle's, and then to Bagnall's; one identifies him, the other, from her fears, incapable of doing so; but the same party, in the same uniforms, go to her house, until the apprehension of detection drove them from her. When he could no longer find shelter in the mountains, nor stir up the inhabitants of them, he again retires to his former obscure lodging, the name of Ellis is abandoned, the regimental coat is abandoned, and again he assumes the name of Hewitt. What is his conduct in this concealment? He betrays his apprehensions of being taken up by government, for what? Has any explanation been given to shew what it could be, unless for rebellion? There he plans a mode of escape, refusing to put his name upon the door. You find him taken a reluctant prisoner, twice attempting to escape, and only brought within the reach of the law by force and violence. What do you find then? Has he been affecting to disguise his object, or that his plan was less dignified than his motive—that of treason? No such thing. He tells young Palmer that he was in Thomas-street that night, he confesses the treason, he boasts of his uniform, part of which was upon his person when he was taken; he acknowledges all this to the young man in the house—a witness, permit me to remark, not carried away by any excess of over-zeal to say any thing to the injury of the prisoner, and therefore to his testimony, so far as it affects the prisoner, you may with a safe conscience afford a reasonable degree of credit.

"Under what circumstances is he taken? In the room in which he was, upon a chair near the door, is found an address to the government of the country, and in the very first paragraph of that address the composer of it acknowledges himself to be at the head of a conspiracy for the overthrow of the government which he addresses, telling them, in diplomatic language, what conduct the undersigned will be compelled to adopt, if they shall presume to execute the law. He is the leader, whose nod is a FIAT, and he warns them of the consequences

"Gentlemen of the jury, you will decide whether the prisoner at the bar or Mrs. Palmer was the person who denounced those terms, and this vengeance against the government. What is found upon him? A letter written by a brother conspirator, consulting him upon the present posture of the rebellion, their future prospects, and the probability of French assistance, and also the probable effects of that assistance, if it should arrive. What further is found? At the depôt—and every thing found there, whether coming out of the desk which he appears to have used and resorted to, or in any other part of the place which he commanded, is evidence against him—you find a treatise upon the art of war, framed for the purpose of drilling the party who were employed to effect this rebellion; but of war they have proved that they are incapable of knowing any thing but its ferocities and its crimes. You find two proclamations, detailing systematically and precisely the views and objects of this conspiracy, and you find a manuscript copy of one of them, with interlineations and other marks of its

history an original draft. It will be for you to consider wh
house of Mr. Hyde was provided, at the depôt, and re
in speaking them, or whether it was formed by Dowdall
by drawing the hackney-coach, or by Stafford the baker, or a
fabrick, unless of the addition of this young man, who h
was himself by his house!

Gentlemen, with regard to this mass of accumulated c
seeming unbiassed proof of the guilt of the prisoner, I con
can be capable of feeling together two ideas can have a doubt.
him, do I address you, or why should I suppose any longer up
time and your attention? Because, as I have already mentio
but this to be a case of great public expectation, of the ver
national importance; and because, when I am prosecuting a m
alone with the blackness of this conspiracy flowed, I expose t
public eye the utter meanness and inadequacy of its resources. W
how it were itself to be! A plan—not to correct the excesses
whom the abuses of the government of the country; not to rem
any grievance or imputation which might have grown upon the surf
of the constitution, or to restrain the overgrown power of the cro
or to restore any privilege to Parliament, or to throw any new securi
around the liberty of the subject. No. But it plainly and bold
avows itself to be a plan to separate Great Britain from Ireland, w
and Ireland! Gentlemen, I should feel it a waste of words and
of public time, were I to address you or any person within the limits
of my voice—were I to talk of the frantic desperation of the plan of
any man, who speculates upon the dissolution of that empire whose
glory and whose happiness depends upon its indissoluble connection.
But were it practicable to sever that connection, to untie the links
which bind us to the British constitution, and to turn us adrift upon
the turbulent ocean of revolution, who could answer for the existence
of this country, as an independent country, for a year? God and
nature have made the two countries essential to each other; let them
cling to each other to the end of time, and their united affection and
loyalty will be proof against the machinations of the world.

"But how was this to be done? By establishing 'a free and inde-
pendent republic!' High-sounding name! I would ask, whether the
man who used them understood what he meant? I will not ask what
may be its benefits, for I know its evils. There is no magic in the
name. We have heard of 'free and independent republics,' and have
since seen the most abject slavery that ever groaned under iron
despotism growing out of them.

"Formerly, gentlemen of the jury, we have seen revolutions effected
by some great call of the people, ripe for change and unfitted by their
habits for ancient forms; but here, from the obscurity of concealment,
and by the voice of that pigmy authority, self-created, and fearing to
shew itself but in arms under cover of the night, we are called upon

to surrender a constitution which has lasted for a period of one thousand years. Has any body of the people come forward, stating any grievance or announcing their demand for a change? No. But while the country is peaceful, enjoying the blessings of the constitution, growing rich and happy under it, a few desperate, obscure, contemptible adventurers in the trade of revolution form a scheme against the constituted authorities of the land, and by force and violence to overthrow an ancient and venerable constitution, and to plunge a whole people into the horrors of civil war!

"If the wisest head that ever lived had framed the wisest system of laws which human ingenuity could devise—if he were satisfied that the system was exactly fitted to the disposition of the people for whom he intended it, and that a great proportion of that people were anxious for its adoption, yet give me leave to say, that under all these circumstances of fitness and disposition, a well-judging mind and a humane heart would pause awhile and stop upon the brink of his purpose, before he would hazard the peace of the country, by resorting to force for the establishment of his system; but here, in the phrenzy of distempered ambition, the author of the proclamation conceives the project of 'a free and independent republic,'—he at once flings it down, and he tells every man in the community, rich or poor, loyal or disloyal, he must adopt it at the peril of being considered an enemy to the country, and of suffering the pains and penalties attendant thereupon.

"And how was this revolution to be effected? The proclamation conveys an insinuation that it was to be effected by their own force, entirely independent of foreign assistance. Why? Because it was well known that there remained in this country few so depraved, so lost to the welfare of their native land, that would not shudder at forming an alliance with France, and therefore the people of Ireland are told, 'the effort is to be entirely your own, independent of foreign aid.' But how does this tally with the time when the scheme was first hatched—the very period of the commencement of the war with France? How does this tally with the fact of consulting in the depôt about co-operating with the French, which has been proved in evidence? But, gentlemen, out of the proclamation I convict him of duplicity. He tells the government of the country not to resist their mandate, or think that they can effectually suppress rebellion by putting down the present attempt, but that 'they will have to crush a greater exertion, rendered still greater by foreign assistance;' so that upon the face of the proclamation they avowed, in its naked deformity, the abominable plan of an alliance with the usurper of the French throne, to overturn the ancient constitution of the land, and to substitute a new republic in its place.

"Gentlemen, so far I have taken up your time with observing upon the nature and extent of the conspiracy, its objects, and the means by which they proposed to effectuate them. Let me now call your attention to the pretexts by which they seek to support them. They have not stated what particular grievance or oppression is complained of—

but they have travelled back into the history of six centuries, they have raked up the ashes of former cruelties and rebellions, and upon the memory of them they call upon the good people of this country to embark into similar troubles; but they forget to tell the people that until the infection of new-fangled French principles was introduced, this country was for one hundred years free from the slightest symptom of rebellion, advancing in improvement of every kind beyond any example, while the former animosities of the country were melting down into a general system of philanthropy and cordial attachment to each other. They forget to tell the people whom they address that they have been enjoying the benefit of equal laws, by which the property, the person, and constitutional rights and privileges of every man are abundantly protected; they have not pointed out a single instance of oppression. Give me leave to ask any man who may have suffered himself to be deluded by those enemies of the law, what is there to prevent the exercise of honest industry and enjoying the produce of it? Does any man presume to invade him in the enjoyment of his property? If he does, is not the punishment of the law brought down upon him? What does he want? What is it that any rational friend to freedom could expect, that the people of this country are not fully and amply in the possession of? And therefore, when those idle stories are told of six hundred years' oppression, and of rebellions prevailing when this country was in a state of ignorance and barbarism, and which have long since passed away, they are utterly destitute of a fact to rest upon, they are a fraud upon feeling, and are the pretext of the factious and ambitious working upon credulity and ignorance.

"Let me allude to another topic: They call for revenge on account of the removal of the Parliament. Those men who, in 1798, endeavoured to destroy the Parliament, now call upon the loyal men, who opposed its transfer, to join them in rebellion—an appeal vain and fruitless. Look around and see with what zeal and loyalty they rallied round the throne and constitution of the country. Whatever might have been the difference of opinion heretofore among Irishmen upon some points, when armed rebels appear against the laws and public peace, every minor difference is annihilated in the paramount claim of duty to our king and country.

"So much, gentlemen, for the nature of this conspiracy, and the pretexts upon which it rests. Suffer me for a moment to call your attention to one or two of the edicts published by the conspirators. They have denounced, that if a single Irish soldier—or in more faithful description, Irish rebel—shall lose his life after the battle is over, quarter is neither to be given or taken. Observe the equality of the reasoning of these promulgers of liberty and equality. The distinction is this: English troops are permitted to arm in defence of the government and the constitution of the country, and to maintain their allegiance—but if an Irish soldier, yeoman, or other loyal person, who shall not, within the space of fourteen days from the date and issuing forth of their sovereign proclamation, appear in arms with them—if he presumes to obey the dictates of his conscience, his duty, and his

interest, if he has the hardihood to be loyal to his sovereign and his country—he is proclaimed a traitor, his life is forfeited, and his property is confiscated. A sacred palladium is thrown over the rebel cause—while, in the same breath, undistinguishing vengeance is denounced against those who stand up in defence of the existing and ancient laws of the country. For God's sake, to whom are we called upon to deliver up, with only fourteen days to consider of it, all the advantages we enjoy? Who are they who claim the obedience? The prisoner is the principal. I do not wish to say any thing harsh of him; a young man of considerable talents, if used with precaution, and of respectable rank in society, if content to conform himself to its laws. But when he assumes the manner and the tone of a legislator, and calls upon all ranks of people, the instant the provisional government proclaim in the abstract a new government, without specifying what the new laws are to be, or how the people are to be conducted and managed, but that the moment it is announced, the whole constituted authority is to yield to him—it becomes an extravagance bordering upon phrenzy; this is going beyond the example of all former times. If a rightful sovereign were restored, he would forbear to inflict punishment upon those who submitted to the king *de facto;* but here there is no such forbearance—we who have lived under a king, not only *de facto*, but *de jure* in possession of the throne, are called upon to submit ourselves to the prisoner, to Dowdall, the vagrant politician, to the bricklayer, to the baker, the old clothes man, the hod man, and the ostler. These are the persons to whom this proclamation, in its majesty and dignity, calls upon a great people to yield obedience, and a powerful government to give 'a prompt, manly, and sagacious acquiescence to their just and unalterable determination!' 'We call upon the British government not to be so mad as to oppose us.' Why, gentlemen, this goes beyond all serious discussion, and I mention it merely to shew the contemptible nature of this conspiracy, which hoped to have set the entire country in a flame; when it was joined by nineteen counties from north to south, catching the electrical spark of revolution, they engaged in the conspiracy: the general, with his lieutenant-general, putting himself at the head of the forces, collected not merely from the city, but from the neighbouring counties, and when all the strength is collected, voluntary and forced, they are stopped in their progress, in the first glow of their valour, by the honest voice of a single peace officer, at which the provincial forces, disconcerted and alarmed, ran like hares when one hundred soldiers appeared against them.

"Gentlemen, why do I state these facts? Is it to shew that the government need not be vigilant, or that our gallant countrymen should relax in their exertions? By no means; but to induce the miserable victims who have been misled by those phantoms of revolutionary delusion, to shew them that they ought to lose no time in abandoning a cause which cannot protect itself and exposes them to destruction, and to adhere to the peaceful and secure habits of honest industry. If they knew it, they have no reason to repine at their lot; Providence is

so unkind to them in casting them in that humble walk in which they are placed. Let them obey the law and cultivate religion, and worship their God in their own way. They may prosecute their labour in peace and tranquillity; they need not envy the higher ranks of life, but may look with pity upon that vicious despot who watches with the sleepless eye of disquieting ambition, and sits a wretched usurper trembling upon the throne of the Bourbons. But I do not wish to awaken any remorse, except such as may be salutary to himself and the country, in the mind of the prisoner. But when he reflects that he has stooped from the honourable situation in which his birth, talents, and his education placed him, to debauch the minds of the lower orders of ignorant men with the phantoms of liberty and equality, he must feel that it was an unworthy use of his talents—he should feel remorse for the consequences which ensued, grievous to humanity and virtue, and should endeavour to make all the atonement he can, by employing the little time which remains for him in endeavouring to undeceive them

"Liberty and equality are dangerous names to make use of. If properly understood, they mean enjoyment of personal freedom under the equal protection of the laws; and a genuine love of liberty indicates an affection for our friends, our king and country, a reverence for their lives, an anxiety for their safety, a feeling which advances from private to public life, until it expands and swells into the more dignified names of philanthropy and philosophy. But in the cant of modern philosophy, these affections, which form the ennobling distinctions of man's nature, are all thrown aside; all the vices of his character are made the instruments of moral good—an abstract quantity of vice may produce a certain quantity of moral good. To a man whose principles are thus poisoned and his judgment perverted, the most flagitious crimes lose their names; robbery and murder become moral good. He is taught not to startle at putting to death a fellow-creature, if it be represented as a mode of contributing to the good of all. In pursuit of those phantoms and chimeras of the brain, they abolish feelings and instincts, which God and nature have planted in our hearts for the good of human kind. Thus, by the printed plan for the establishment of liberty and a free republic, murder is prohibited and proscribed; and yet you heard how this caution against excesses was followed up by the recital of every grievance that ever existed, and which could excite every bad feeling of the heart, the most vengeful cruelty and insatiate thirst for blood.

"Gentlemen, I am anxious to suppose that the mind of the prisoner recoiled at the scenes of murder which he witnessed, and I mention one circumstance with satisfaction—it appears he saved the life of Farrell; and may the recollection of that one good action cheer him in his last moments. But though he may not have planned individual murders, that is no excuse to justify his embarking in treason, which must be followed by every species of crimes. It is supported by the rabble of the country, while the rank, the wealth, and the power of the country is opposed to it. Let loose the rabble of the country from

the salutary restraints of the law, and who can take upon him to limit their barbarities? Who can say he will disturb the peace of the world, and rule it when wildest? Let loose the winds of heaven, and what power less than omnipotent can control them? So it is with the rabble: let them loose, and who can restrain them? What claim, then, can the prisoner have upon the compassion of a jury, because, in the general destruction which his schemes necessarily produce, he did not meditate individual murder? In the short space of a quarter of an hour what a scene of blood and horror was exhibited! I trust that the blood which has been shed in the streets of Dublin upon that night, and since upon the scaffold, and which may hereafter be shed, will not be visited upon the head of the prisoner. It is not for me to say what are the limits of the mercy of God; what a sincere repentance of those crimes may effect: but I do say, that if this unfortunate young gentleman retains any of the seeds of humanity in his heart, or possesses any of those qualities which a virtuous education in a liberal seminary must have planted in his bosom, he will make an atonement to his God and his country, by employing whatever time remains to him in warning his deluded countrymen from persevering in their schemes. Much blood has been shed—and he, perhaps, would have been immolated by his followers if he had succeeded. They are a blood-thirsty crew, incapable of listening to the voice of reason, and equally incapable of obtaining rational freedom, if it were wanting in this country, as they are of enjoying it. They imbrue their hands in the most sacred blood of the country, and yet they call upon God to prosper their cause, as it is just! But as it is atrocious, wicked, and abominable, I most devoutly invoke that God to confound and overwhelm it."

Lord Norbury recapitulated the evidence to the jury.

The jury, without leaving the box, pronounced a verdict of guilty.

The judgment of the court having been prayed upon the accused, and the customary proclamation for silence made, the clerk of the crown asked him, "what he had to say why judgment of death and execution should not be awarded against him, according to law?"

With perfect calmness the prisoner bowed to the court, and thus addressed it:—

"My Lords,

"What have I to say that sentence of death should not be passed on me according to law? I have nothing to say that can alter your predetermination, nor that will become me to say, with any view to the mitigation of that sentence which you are here to pronounce, and I must abide by. But I have that to say which interests me more than life, and which you have laboured (as was necessarily your office in the present circumstances of this oppressed country) to destroy—I have much to say, why my reputation should be rescued from the load of false accusation and calumny which has been heaped upon it. I do not imagine that, seated where you are, your minds can be so free from impurity as to receive the least impression from what I am going to utter. I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the bre

of a court constituted and trammelled as this is. I only wish, and that is the utmost I expect, that your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories untainted by the foul breath of prejudice, until it finds some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storm by which it is at present buffeted.

"Were I only to suffer death, after being adjudged guilty by your tribunal, I should bow in silence, and meet the fate that awaits me without a murmur: but the sentence of the law, which delivers my body to the executioner, will, through the ministry of that law, labour in its own vindication, to consign my character to obloquy; for there must be guilt somewhere,—whether in the sentence of the court or in the catastrophe, posterity must determine. A man in my situation, my lords, has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, and the forces of power over minds which it has corrupted or subjugated, but the difficulties of established prejudice. The man dies, but his memory lives; that mine may not perish—that it may live in the memory of my countrymen—I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. When my spirit shall be wafted to a more friendly port—when my shade shall have joined the bands of those martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field, in defence of their country and virtue, this is my hope—I wish that my memory and name may animate those who survive me, while I look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government which upholds its domination by blasphemy of the Most High; which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the forest; which sets man upon his brother, and lifts the hand, in the name of God, against the throat of his fellow who believes or doubts a little more than the government standard—a government steeled to barbarity by the cries of the orphans and the tears of the widows which it has made.

[Here Lord Norbury interrupted Mr. Emmet, observing, that men and wicked enthusiasts who felt as he did, were not equal to the accomplishment of their wild designs.]

"I appeal to the immaculate God—I swear by the throne of Heaven, before which I must shortly appear—by the blood of the murdered patriots who have gone before me, that my conduct has been, through all this peril and through all my purposes, governed only by the conviction which I have uttered, and by no other view than that of the cure, and the emancipation of my country from the superinhuman oppression under which she has so long and too patiently travailed; and I confidently and assuredly hope that, wild and chimerical as it may appear, there is still union and strength in Ireland to accomplish this noblest enterprise.

"Of this I speak with the confidence of immense knowledge, and with the consolation that appertains to that confidence. Think me, my lords, I say this for the petty gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness: a man who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie will not hazard his character with posterity, by asserting a falsehood on a subject so important to his country, and on an occasion like this

Yes, my lords, a man who does not wish to have his epitaph written until his country is liberated, will not leave a weapon in the power of envy, nor a pretence to impeach the probity which he means to preserve even in the grave to which tyranny consigns him.

[He was again interrupted by the court.]

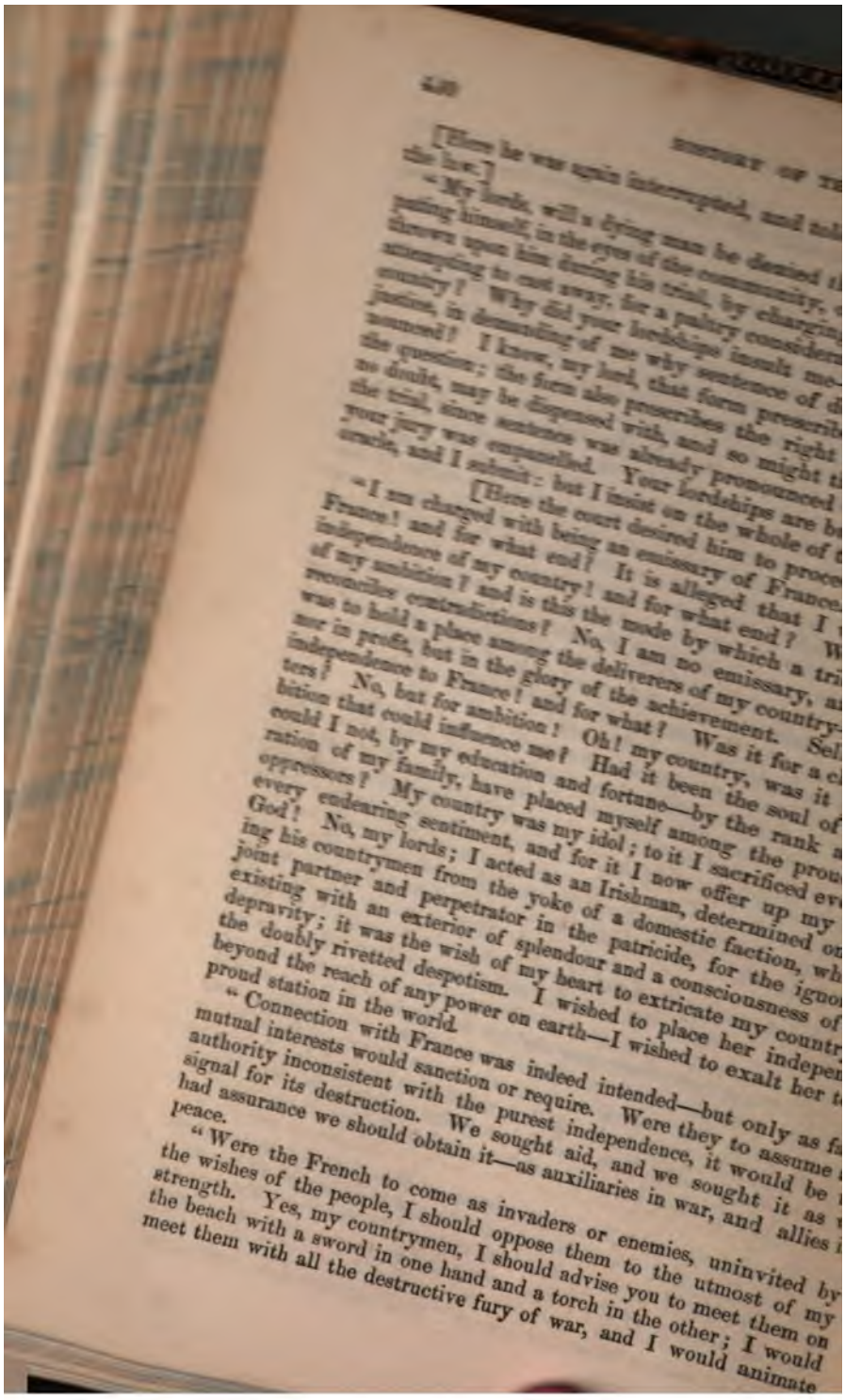
"Again I say, what I have spoken was not intended for your lordships, whose situation I commiserate rather than envy—my expressions were for my countrymen; if there is an Irishman present, let my last words cheer him in the hour of affliction.

[Lord Norbury again interrupted, and said, that he did not sit there to hear treason.]

"I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law; I have also understood the judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience, and to speak with humanity, to exhort the victim of the laws, and to offer with tender benignity their opinion of the motives by which he was actuated in the crime of which he was adjudged guilty. That a judge has thought it his duty so to have done, I have no doubt; but where is the boasted freedom of your institutions—where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice, if an unfortunate prisoner, whom your policy, and not your justice, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated?

"My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the proposed ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to me than the purposed shame, or the scaffold's terrors, would be the shame of such foul and unfounded imputations as have been laid against me in this court. You, my lord, are a judge; I am the supposed culprit; I am a man, you are a man also; by a revolution of power we might change places, though we never could characters. If I stand at the bar of this court, and dare not vindicate my character, what a farce is your justice! If I stand at this bar, and dare not vindicate my character, how dare you calumniate it? Does the sentence of death, which your unhallowed policy inflicts on my body, also condemn my tongue to silence, and my reputation to reproach? Your executioner may abridge the period of my existence, but while I exist, I shall not forbear to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions; and as a man to whom fame is far dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave to those I honour and love, and for whom I am proud to perish.

"As men, my lords, we must appear on the great day at one common tribunal, and it will then remain for the Searcher of all hearts to shew a collected universe, who was engaged in the most virtuous actions or actuated by the purest motives—by the country's oppressors or—



ny countrymen to immolate them in their boats before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last entrenchment of liberty should be my grave. What I could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish, because I should feel conscious that life, any more than death, is unprofitable when a foreign nation holds my country in subjection.

"But it was not as an enemy the succours of France were to land. I looked indeed for the assistance of France, but I wished to prove to France, and to the world, that Irishmen deserved to be assisted; that they were indignant at slavery, and ready to assert the independence and liberty of their country.

"I wished to procure for my country the guarantee which Washington procured for America—to procure an aid which, by its example, would be as important as its valour—disciplined, gallant, pregnant with science and experience; who would perceive the good, and polish the rough points of our character; they would come to us as strangers, and leave us as friends, after sharing our perils and elevating our destiny. These were my objects—not to receive new taskmasters, but to expel old tyrants; these were my views, and these only became Irishmen. It was for these ends I sought aid from France, because France, even as an enemy, could not be more implacable than the enemy already in the bosom of my country.

[Here he was interrupted by the court.]

"I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my countrymen as to be considered the keystone of the combination of Irishmen, or, as your lordship expressed it, 'the life and blood of the conspiracy.' You do me honour over-much—you have given to the subaltern all the credit of a superior. There are men engaged in this conspiracy who are not only superior to me, but even to your own computation of yourself, my lord; before the splendour of whose genius and virtues I should bow with respectful deference, and who would think themselves disgraced to be called your friend, and who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand.

[Again the judge interrupted him.]

"What, my lord! shall you tell me on the passage to that scaffold which that tyranny, of which you are only the intermediary executioner, has erected for my murder, that I am accountable for all the blood that has and will be shed in this struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor; shall you tell me this, and shall I be so very a slave as not to repel it!

"I do not fear to approach the Omnipotent Judge, to answer for the conduct of my whole life, and am I to be appalled and falsified by a mere remnant of mortality! By you, too, who, if it were possible to collect all the innocent blood that you have shed in your unhallowed ministry in one great reservoir, your lordship might swim in it.

Here the judge interfered.]

"Let no man dare, when I am dead, to charge me with dish



over my lifeless corpse. And am I, who lived bu
and who have subjected myself to the dangers o
watchful oppressor, and the bondage of the grave,
countrymen their rights, and my country her indep
be loaded with calumny and not suffered to resent
God forbid!

"If the spirits of the illustrious dead participat
and cares of those who are dear to them in this t
ever dear and venerable shade of my departed father
scrutiny upon the conduct of your suffering son, a
even for a moment deviated from those principles
patriotism which it was your care to instil into my y
for which I am now about to offer up my life.

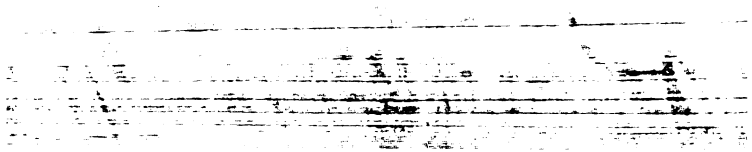
"My lords, you are impatient for the sacrifice—the
seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors that surr
it circulates warmly and unruffled through the cha
created for nobler purposes, but which you are ben
purposes so grievous that they cry to heaven. Be ye
but a few words more to say. I am going to my cold
—my lamp of life is nearly extinguished—my race i
opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom! I
quest to ask at my departure from this world, it is t
silence! Let no man write my epitaph; for as no ma
motives dare now vindicate them, let not prejudice or i
them. Let them and me repose in obscurity and peac
remain uninscribed, until other times and other men c
my character. When my country takes her place am
of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph
have done!"

Execution followed fast upon conviction, and Emm

ceeding in a hackney-coach to the place of execution, the worthy divine made a last effort to remove his unbelief. Emmet listened for a short time patiently, then turning to Dr. Dobbin he requested him to forbear. "I appreciate your motives, and I thank you for your kindness, but you merely disturb the last moments of a dying man unnecessarily. I am an infidel from conviction, and no reasoning can shake my unbelief."

If any sparks of disaffection lingered in the country, the mad outbreak of this deluded man finally extinguished them. The democratic feeling ten years before rife in the north of Ireland, and prevalent among the Presbyterians, had, long before Emmet's *emeute*, been generally repudiated, a political change had been wrought rapidly in Ulster, and the educated and intelligent portion of the kingdom, whom American connection and French example influenced for a time, had detected the unsound principles of theoretic liberty, and disowned the rotten foundations upon which mob-governments are superstructed. When Russell, an early disciple of the republican school, attempted to operate a movement in the north, not half-a-dozen fools could be found to listen to delusory principles, which had been tested and found wanting; and when he suffered the extreme penalty of the law at Downpatrick, the utmost charity to which his quondam admirers reached, was to declare that he was insane—a conclusion no doubt correct.

The legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland, which followed immediately on the insurrection of '98, has ever been considered as a pendant on that unfortunate era in Irish history. Like the Union of the Scottish and the English crowns, that enactment which incorporated the countries met with virulent opposition. But although half a century has well-nigh elapsed, and all the advantages promised from the Irish Union may not yet have been fully developed, still, the connection has proved too valuable not to force a conviction of its mutual utility on all who dispassionately consider the relations of both kingdoms. For party-purposes, its legality has been questioned, and a severance of the Act which binds England and Ireland by reciprocated advantages, has been freely recommended. But common sense points out the project as Utopian—and a few years hence, the blessings of Repeal, like the promises of Jack Cade, will be found in practicability, pretty similar. In one material point the demagogues differed—the Reformer of London Stone might himself have credited the assurances he gave his followers—while, whomsoever beside might be deluded, the Irish Agitator never was a dupe himself. Britain may descend from her high position among nations, the sovereignty of the seas be lost, and the monarchy overturned—then, indeed, a Repeal of the Irish Union may take place—but not till then.





APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN IN 1791.

1st. This society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.

2nd. The members of this society shall either be ordinary or honorary, and shall not be limited to any description of men, but to extend to all persons who may be deemed eligible.

3rd. Every candidate for admission into this society shall be proposed by one member, and seconded by another, both of whom shall vouch for his character and principles, and whose name shall be entered on the books of the society; the candidate to be ballotted for on the society's subsequent meeting, and if one of the beans be black, he shall stand rejected.

4th. As a fund is necessary the better to carry into effect the purpose of this association, each member, on his admission, shall pay to the society the sum of and per month while he shall continue a member.

5th. The officers of this society shall be a secretary and treasurer, who shall be appointed by ballot every three months, viz. on every first meeting in November, February, May, and August.

6th. This society, in manner aforesaid, shall appoint two members, who with the secretary shall act for the society in a baronial committee, which members shall receive on each night of their attendance on said committee.

7th. This society shall in manner aforesaid appoint members, who, with the treasurer, shall form a committee of finance, &c.

8th. At the request of either committee, or any members signing a requisition, the secretary, or if he should be absent, the treasurer shall call an extra meeting of the society.

9th. This society shall meet in ordinary every evening at o'clock; the president to be chosen by the majority of the members present, of whom shall be a quorum.

10th. Every respect and deference shall be paid to the chairman. On his rising from his seat and taking off his hat, there shall be silence,

and the members seated. He shall be judge of order and propriety; shall grant leave of absence at pleasure; shall not enter into debate. If any member behave improperly, he is empowered to direct an apology; or if refractory, fine him in any sum not exceeding and on refusal to do as directed, he shall therefore be expelled the society for

11th. No member shall speak more than twice to a question, without leave from the chairman.

12th. Every person elected a member of this society, whether ordinary or honorary, shall, previous to his admission, take the following test in a separate apartment, in the presence of the persons who proposed and seconded him, and one member appointed by the chairman; or in case of absence of one of the two persons, the chairman shall appoint another member to act for the absentee; after which the new member shall be brought into the body of the society, and there take the test in the usual form.

TEST.

In the awful presence of God.

"I, A. B., do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland.

"I do further declare that neither hope, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on, or give evidence against any member of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation."

13th. A member of any other acknowledged society, being introduced to this society by a member, shall, upon producing a certificate signed by the secretary, and sealed with the seal of the society to which he may belong, and taking the foregoing test, be admitted to attend the sittings of this society.

14th. No member shall have a certificate but by applying to the committee, who shall grant it, unless the member is leaving his place of residence, which certificate shall be lodged with the secretary on his return.

15th. When this society shall amount to the number of thirty-six members, it shall be equally divided by lot, that is, the names of all the members shall be put into a hat or box, the secretary or treasurer shall draw out eighteen individually, which eighteen shall be considered the senior society, and the remaining eighteen the junior, who shall apply to the baronial committee through the delegates of the senior society, for a number; and that this division shall only take place in the months of October, January, April, and July. The fund shall also be equally divided.

16th. That no society shall be recognized by any committee, unless approved of and taking the test, and amounting in number to seven members.

DECLARATION OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

Whereas certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the Catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny; and whereas it is at this time peculiarly necessary to remove such imputations, and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our Protestant brethren, that we hold no principle whatsoever incompatible with our duty as men or as subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil, or religious.

Now we, the Catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all such imputations, and in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies of men, and individuals among our Protestant brethren, do hereby, in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn declaration:

1st. We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion, that princes, excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons. We hold such doctrine in detestation, as wicked and impious; and we declare, that we do not believe that either the pope, with or without a general council, or any prelate or priest, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever, can absolve the subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, who is, by authority of Parliament, the lawful king of this realm.

2nd. We abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle, that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being heretics; and we declare solemnly before God, that we believe that no act, in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by or under pretence or colour, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever.

3rd. We further declare, that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics." This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as contrary to our religion, but as destructive of morality, of society, and even of common honesty; and it is our firm belief, that an oath made to any person, not of the Catholic religion, is equally binding as if it were made to any Catholic whatsoever.

4th. We have been charged with holding as an article of our belief, that the pope, with or without the authority of a general council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers can acquit and absolve us, before God, from our oath of allegiance, or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man:

Now we do utterly renounce, abjure, and deny, that we hold or maintain any such belief, as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and, above all, repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic religion.

5th. We do further declare, that we do not believe that the pop Rome, or any other prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or o to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.

6th. After what we have renounced, it is immaterial, in a poli light, what may be our opinion or faith in other points respecting pope: however, for greater satisfaction, we declare, that it is no article of the Catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to bel or profess, "that the pope is infallible," or that we are bound to any order, in its own nature immoral, though the pope, or any e siastical power, should issue or direct such order; but, on the contr we hold, that it would be sinful in us to pay any respect or obedi thereto.

7th. We further declare, that we do not believe that any sin w soever committed by us can be forgiven at the mere will of any p or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever; but, sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution, as far as be in our power, to restore our neighbour's property or character, i have trespassed on or unjustly injured either; a firm and sincere lution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of giveness; and that any person who receives absolution without previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament.

8th. We do hereby solemnly disclaim, and for ever renounce interest in, and title to, all forfeited lands resulting from any right supposed rights, of our ancestors, or any claim, title, or interest ther nor do we admit any title, as a foundation of right, which is established and acknowledged by the laws of the realm, as they stand. We desire further, that whenever the patriotism, libera and justice of our countrymen, shall restore to us a participation in elective franchise, no Catholic shall be permitted to vote at any elec for members to serve in parliament, until he shall previously tak oath to defend, to the utmost of his power, the arrangement of prop in this country, as established by the different acts of attainder settlement.

9th. It has been objected to us, that we wish to subvert the pre church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic e blishment in its stead: now we do heartily disclaim, disavow, solemnly abjure any such intention; and further, if we shall be mitted into any share of the constitution, by our being restored to right of elective franchise, we are ready, in the most solemn man to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion, or Protes government in this country.

Signed, by order and on behalf of the general committee of Catholics of Ireland,

EDWARD BYRNE, Chairman.
RICHARD M'CORMICK, Secretary

ANTRIM PETITION.

The Humble Petition of the Freeholders of the County of Antrim, convened by public notice from the High Sheriff, at Ballymena, on Monday, May 8th, 1797. The Honourable Chichester Skeffington, High Sheriff, in the chair, Luke Teeling, Esq., Secretary.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"Sire,

"We, the freeholders of the county of Antrim, in the kingdom of Ireland, feel it our most indispensable duty to your Majesty, to ourselves, and to our country, at this awful crisis, to approach the Throne with a representation of our most intolerable and most unmerited sufferings; and we do conjure your Majesty, by that great covenant which binds the sovereign and the subject in the reciprocal duty of allegiance and protection, and in the awful presence of God, not to suffer those advisers against whom we prefer our just complaints, to add to the catalogue of their offences that of shutting your eyes or your ears to the dangers of your empire or the miseries of your people.

"They have involved us in a war, of which the motives and the conduct have marked their injustice and incapacity, and of which the disastrous event seems reserved by Providence as a dreadful example of unprovoked and frustrated oppression. Innoxious only to the enemy, its fury and havoc have recoiled only on ourselves, in the waste of blood, in the profusion of treasure, in the destruction of private industry and happiness, in the depravation of public integrity, in the loss of character, in the decay of liberty, and finally, in the ruin of commercial credit.

"Such are the fatal consequences which the empire has to charge upon the advisers of this most calamitous war, but they form only part of the crimes and sufferings which have deformed and degraded your Kingdom of Ireland.

"Your Majesty's ministers have laboured in this country, and with the most fatal success, to destroy the third estate of the legislature, and reduce the government to an arbitrary despotism, by bribing the representatives of the people to betray their constituents in parliament; and this crime, if capable of aggravation, they have aggravated by the most public avowal of the fact.

"They have laboured with the most remorseless perseverance to revive those senseless and barbarous religious antipathies, so fatal to morals and to peace, and so abhorrent to the mild and merciful spirit of the gospel.

"They have answered our demands for a full and fair participation of the rights and privileges of the British constitution, and our just complaints of their rapacity, corruption, and oppression, by the most atrocious calumnies against our characters, and the most merciless prosecutions against our lives; and in order more effectually to organize

the system of vengeance and servitude, they have endeavoured, thro
the medium of spies and informers, those baleful instruments of
potism, to destroy public confidence, and poison the intercours
private life. They have employed the forms of that legislatio
which they have destroyed the substance in the enaction of penal l
by which they have successively abrogated the right of arms for
protection, the right of being free from arbitrary arrest and impri
ment, and that sacred right of trial by jury of our country; rights
the protection of which, 'the united will of a people resolved to be f
called your Majesty's illustrious family to the throne.

"One enormity only remained unattempted by your Maje
ministers, and upon that, too, they have at last presumed to advent
to set up a prerogative avowedly against the law, and to let loose
your subjects all the horrors of licentious power and military force
sending bands of mercenaries in every direction, unattended in ge
by civil or even military officers, to plunder the houses (once
santuaries of your faithful people) of those arms which were neces
for their protection and their defence, which form such an esse
feature of discrimination between the freeman and the slave, and wh
when assistance could not be obtained from your Majesty's minis
they voluntarily wielded in defence of your person and governmen

"Such are the measures by which the submission that the pre
tive owes to the law has been blasphemously disclaimed; by w
the constitution has given place to the bayonet, and the people
been put out of the protection of the peace; by which numbers of
fellow-subjects have been banished without even the forms of a
or are crowded into dungeons; and this only because they have d
to unite together in the vindication of common right, in the just
legal resistance of common oppression, in the kind and brotherly
solation of common suffering.

"Such, Sire, are the grievances of a people who know that
title to liberty is from God and nature, which no human law can a
gate, nor authority take away. Had your Majesty's people of
land, without regard to religious distinction, been fully and f
represented in the Commons House of Parliament, the evils of w
we complain could never have existed. We do, therefore, imp
your Majesty, as you value the happiness of your people, to aid t
in the speedy attainment of that inestimable blessing. We do he
prefer to the justice of our King this our complaint against t
wicked and unprincipled ministers, who, to the inseparable calam
of war, have, with the most wanton cruelty, superadded the horro
intestine tyranny and proscription, alike regardless of the right
Ireland, and of the union and safety of the empire. And we p
your Majesty to dismiss them from your presence and councils
ever."

MILITARY PAPER FOUND IN THE POSSESSION OF LORD E. FITZGERALD.

Copy of a paper found in the writing-box of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, on the 12th of March, by the officer who went that day to arrest him under a charge of treason.

If ever any unfortunate cause should put our city, with the other parts of the country, into the possession of a cruel and tyrannical enemy, whose government, by repeated oppressions, might drive us into the last stage of desperate resistance, our conduct then should be regulated in a manner best calculated for obtaining victory.

The following thoughts are humbly offered for the inspection of every real Irishman.

It is supposed that the enemy have a well-appointed and disciplined standing army.

In such a case, every man ought to consider how that army could be attacked or repelled, and what advantage their discipline and numbers might give them in a populous city, acting in concert with the adjoining counties.

It is well known that an officer, of any skill in his profession, would be very cautious of bringing the best-disciplined troops into a large city in a state of insurrection, for the following reasons.

His troops, by the breadth of the streets, are obliged to have a very narrow front; and, however numerous, only three men deep can be brought into action, which, in the widest of our streets, cannot be more than sixty men, as a space must be left on each side or flank for the men who discharge to retreat to the rear, that their places may be occupied by the next in succession, who are loaded; so, though there are a thousand men in a street, not more than sixty can act at one time; and should they be attacked by an irregular body armed with pikes or such bold weapons, if the sixty men in front were defeated, the whole body, however numerous, are unable to assist, and immediately become a small mob in uniform, from the inferiority of number in comparison to the people, and easily disposed of.

Another inconvenience might destroy the order of this army. Perhaps at the same moment, they may be dreadfully galled from the house-tops, by showers of bricks, coping-stones, &c. which may be at hand, without imitating the women of Paris, who carried the stones of the unpaved streets to the windows and tops of the houses in their aprons.

Another disadvantage on the part of the soldiers would be, as they are regulated by the word of command, or stroke of the drum, they must be left to their individual discretion, as such communications must be drowned in the noise and clamour of a popular tumult.

In the next place, that part of the populace who could not get into the engagement would be employed in unpaving the streets, so as to

impede the movements of horse or artillery; a
the army were likely to pass, numbers would
barriers of hogsheads, carts, cars, counters, do
which barriers by the army would be disputed
forming at every twenty or thirty yards, or an
situation might require. Should such precauti
the progress of an army through one street, or o
be very tedious and attended with great loss, if
stroyed; at the same time the neighbouring cou
mass, and dispose of the troops scattered in their v
a junction or a passage of any army intended for th
tear up the roads, and barricade every convenient
timber, implements of husbandry, &c.; at the sam
hedges, walls, ditches, and houses, with men armed w
would keep up a well-directed fire.

However well exercised standing armies are suppos
quent reviews and sham battles, they are never prep
roads or inclosed fields, in a country like ours, covere
rable and continued intersections of ditches and hedge
which is an advantage to an irregular body, and may
be disputed against an army, as so many fortifications
ments.

The people in the city would have an advantage, by
with pikes or such weapons. The first attack, if possibl
made by men whose pikes were nine or ten feet long, by
they could act in ranks deeper than the soldiery, whose arm
shorter; then the deep files of the pikemen, by being weig
easily break the thin order of the army.

The charge of the pikemen should be made in a smart tr
flank or extremity of every rank; there should be intrepid m
to keep the fronts even, that at closing every point should
ther; they should have, at the same time, two or three like b
convenient distances in the rear, who would be brought up, if w
to support the front, which would give confidence to their brot
action, as it would tend to discourage the enemy; at the sam
there should be in the rear of each division some men of spirit, t
the ranks as close as possible.

The apparent strength of the army should not intimidate, as cl
on it makes its powder and ball useless; all its superiority is in f
ing at a distance; all its skill ceases, and all its action must be
pended, when it once is within reach of the pike.

The reason of writing and printing this is, to remind the people
discussing military subjects.

JOHN SHEARES' LETTER TO NEILSON.

The letter addressed to Neilson, and dated the 23rd of May, was in the following terms:—

"SIR,

"I have sought you in every direction, but unfortunately in vain. It is now too late to use many words upon the subject of our intended interview, let it suffice to say, that I am acquainted with the destructive design you meditate, and am resolved to counteract it, whatever it may cost. Rest assured that nothing shall check a resolution which honour, private affection, and public duty unite to demand the immediate execution of, and that, however unwilling I may be at any other moment to take the only steps which your obstinacy may render necessary this evening, for the preservation of my friends and of my country, I will without hesitation take them. The scheme you have undertaken I view with horror, whether its effects be considered as relating to my imprisoned friends, the destruction of whose property and lives must be the consequence even of your success, or as affecting Arthur O'Connor's existence, the precarious chance for which you thus cruelly lessen; or (what is superior to every other consideration) as ensuring the ruin of Ireland's freedom. In short, Mr. ———, to be candid with you, the scheme is so totally destitute of any apology, even from the plea of folly or passion, that I cannot avoid attributing its origin to a worse cause, and nothing can convince me of the contrary, but your immediately foregoing so pernicious an enterprise. In these sentiments I am not singular, nor in the resolution which arises from them, and should you doubt me, you must purchase your conviction at a severe cost. My resolution and that of my friends is this: if you do not, by nine o'clock this evening, give us every necessary and sacred assurance, that you will counteract and prevent the perpetration of this plot against all that you ought to hold dear, notice of it shall be given to the government, without a moment's delay, for we do prefer that a few misguided (not to say guilty) individuals should perish, than that every remaining hope of our country's success, and the lives of our most valued friends, should be sacrificed by the accomplishment of a stupid, perhaps wicked undertaking. Do not feed yourself with hope that any consideration shall deter me from fulfilling this threat. If every poignard you could command were at my throat, I would do my duty. I did think well of you, I wish to do so still, you alone can prevent me.

"J. S.

"I dine at 52, Abbey-street, where I shall expect your answer before eight o'clock."

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPELS DESTROYED OR DAMAGED DURING THE LATE REBELLION.

County of Wexford and Ferns.

Denominations.	Date.
Boulevogue, Whitsunday,	27 May, 1798
Maglas	30 ditto
Arklow	9 June
Ramsgrange	19 ditto
Drumgold	21 ditto
Ballymurrin	22 ditto
Ananoe	28 ditto
Gorey	4 Aug.
Crane	17 Sept.
Rock	12 Oct.
Ballydulfe	19 ditto
River	19 ditto
Monnseed	25 ditto
Clologue	26 ditto
Ferns	18 Nov.
Oulart	28 ditto
Ballygarret	15 Jan. 1799
Ballynamonabeg	24 Feb.
Murntown	24 Apr.
Monomolin	3 May
Kilrush	15 ditto
Marshalstown	7 June
Crossebeg	23 ditto
Killenaurin	29 ditto
Litter, damaged	29 ditto
Blackwater, ditto	29 ditto
Monageer	1 July
Killely	1 Sept.
Adamstown, damaged ..	1 Sept.
Gucrane	Oct.
Gurnacuddy, damaged ..	ditto
Glanbryan	13 Mar. 1800
Ballimakefy	16 July
Camie	3 Sept.
Davidstown, damaged ..	Oct.

Arch-diocese Dublin, County Wicklow.

Arklow	9 June 1798
Roundwood	26 ditto
Anamoe	28 ditto
Annacorra (Diocese Ferns)	2 Sept.
Wicklow, damaged ..	2 ditto
Kilpatrick	11 Oct.
Ballinvolagh	11 ditto
Killeveny (Diocese Ferns)	11 Nov.
Castletown	ditto
Ashford	25 Jan. 1799
Glenaly	Feb.
Kilquiggan, on Easter Sunday (Diocese Leighlin)	24 Mar.

County Wicklow, Arch-diocese of Dublin.

Denominations.	Date
Johnstown	20 Apr 1798
Wicklow Abbey, residence of the parish priest ..	12 July
Kilmurry	23 Aug.
Newbridge, partly destroyed	Nov.
Macredin, otherwise Curyulart	Mar. 1800

County of Kilkenny, Diocese of Ossory.

Rosbercon, near New Ross	18 Dec. 1798
Corren, near Kilkenny ..	4 July, 1799
Murkally ditto	ditto
Tullagher, near Rosbercon	Sept. 1800

County Carlow, Diocese of Leighlin.

Clonmore	6 Mar. 1799
Hacketstown, on Easterday	4 May
Rathloe	Aug.
Newtown, damaged ..	Mar. 1800

County Kildare.

Kildare, Diocese of Kildare	4 June 1798
Castledermot (Arch-diocese of Dublin)	28 Mar. 1799
Athy, ditto	May

Queen's County, Diocese of Leighlin.

Stradbally	24 June, 1798

County Diocese of Meath.

Dunbayne	26 May, 1798

County Cavan.

Killeshandra, Diocese of Kilmore	July, 1800
Caolency, ditto	ditto

King's County.

Shinrone, Diocese of Killaloe.

County Dublin.

Ballyboghill, Arch-diocese of Dublin, accidentally destroyed by soldiers before the rebellion.

County Cork.

Kilbrogan, near Bandon, destroyed before the rebellion, or at the commencement of it, by Scotch soldiers.

In all, sixty-nine chapels destroyed or damaged, of which fifty have been surveyed, and compensation allowed and paid by order of government, which has likewise ordered the others to be estimated.—Dublin, 6th May, 1801, add the parish priest's house at Wicklow.

ADDRESS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

The Address of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, on Wednesday, May the 30th, 1798.

May it please your Excellency,

We, the undersigned, his Majesty's most loyal subjects the Roman Catholics of Ireland, think it necessary at this moment publicly to declare our firm attachment to his Majesty's royal person, and to the constitution, under which we have the happiness to live; we feel, in common with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, the danger to which both are exposed from an implacable and enterprising enemy menacing invasion from abroad, and from the machinations of evil and disaffected men conspiring treason within his Majesty's kingdom; under these impressions, we deem it necessary to remove, by an open and explicit declaration, every idea of countenance afforded on our part to a conduct bearing even the appearance of indifference and indiscretion, much more to a conduct holding forth symptoms of disaffection and hostility to the established order of government in this kingdom, in the preservation of which, though we differ from it in some points of spiritual concern, we feel too deeply interested to look with an indifferent eye at its overthrow.

Allow us, then, to assure your Excellency, that we contemplate with horror the evils of every description, which the conduct of the French republic has produced on every nation hitherto weak enough to be deluded with its promises of liberty, and offers of fraternity; we anticipate similar misfortunes as awaiting this his Majesty's kingdom, in the deprecated event of successful invasion; with confidence we state our determination not to be outdone by any description of our fellow-subjects in zealous endeavours for averting that calamity: and that although anxious to enjoy, free of every restriction, the full benefit of our constitution, we reject with indignation any idea of removing the restrictions, under which we still labour, by means of foreign invasion, or by any other step inconsistent with the known laws of the land; we prefer, without hesitation, our present state to any alteration thus obtained; and with gratitude to the best of kings, and to our enlightened legislature, we acknowledge such a share of political liberty and advantage, already in our possession, as leaves us nothing to expect from foreign aid, nor any motive to look elsewhere, than to the tried benignity of our sovereign, and the unbiassed determination of the legislature, as the source of future advantage.

We cannot avoid expressing to your Excellency our regret at seeing amid the general delusion, many, particularly of the lower order, of our religious persuasion engaged in unlawful associations and practices. Yet we trust that your Excellency's discernment will lead you to make every just allowance for the facility with which men, open to delusion from their situation in life, are led astray from their political duty: it shall be our endeavour to call such men to a sense of their duty, by pointing out to them how inconsistent their conduct is with their real interest, and how contrary to the maxims of religion which they profess; nor shall we less endeavour, by our conduct, to convince all descriptions of our fellow-subjects, how much we are impressed with the necessity of laying aside all considerations of religious distinctions, and joining in one common effort for the preservation of our constitution, of social order, and of the Christian religion, against a nation whose avowed principles aim at the destruction of them all.

We request your Excellency will make these our sentiments known to his Majesty, and we rely with confidence on your Excellency's acknowledged candour and generosity, that you will represent us in that light, to which we venture to hope our conduct and principles have given us a just claim.

FINGAL, SOUTHWELL,
GORMANSTOWN, KENMARE,

With seventy-two baronets, gentlemen of distinction, and professors of divinity, together with the Rev. Peter Hood, D.D. president of the Royal College of Maynooth, for himself and the professors and students of said college, and above 2,000 whose names are too numerous to be inserted.

A LIST OF ALL THE BOROUGHS IN IRELAND AND THEIR RESPECTIVE PATRONS.

Boroughs.		Patrons.			Voters.
Antrim	...	Lord Massereene	...	...	12
Belfast	...	Lord Donegall ...	...	...	12
Randalstown	...	Right Hon. John O'Neil ...		...	12
Armagh	...	Primate ...	...	...	12
Charlemont	...	Lord Charlemont	...	...	12
Carlow	...	William Burton	...	...	12
Old Leighlin	...	Bishop of Leighlin	...	...	12
Belturbet	...	Lord Belmore ...	...	...	12
Cavan	...	T. Nesbit and Theo. Clements		...	—
Ennis	...	Sir L. O'Brien and Lord Conyngham			—
Baltimore	...	Sir J. Freke ...	...	...	2
Bandon Bridge	...	Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Bernard			—

Boroughs.	Patrons.	Voices.
Castlemartyr ...	Lord Shannon	2
Charleville ...	Lord Cork	2
Cloghnekilty ...	Lord Shannon	2
Doneraile ...	Lord Doneraile	2
Kingsale ...	Lord Clifford	2
Mallow ...	Mr. Jephson	2
Middleton ...	Lord Middleton	2
Rathcormuck ...	Lord Riversdale	2
Youghal ...	Lord Shannon and Mr. Unaicke ...	2
Ballyshannon ...	Mr. Conolly	2
Donegall ...	Lord Arran	2
Killybegs ...	Mr. Burton Conyngham	2
Lifford ...	Lord Erne	2
St. Johnstown ...	Lord Wicklow	2
Bangor ...	Lord Bangor and Lord Carrick ...	—
Hillsborough ...	Lord Hillsborough	2
Killileagh ...	Sir. J. Blackwood	2
Newtown ...	Lord Calledon	2
Newcastle ...	Mr. Latouche	2
Enniskillen ...	Lord Enniskillen	2
Athenry ...	Mr. Blakeney	2
Galway Town ...	——— and Mr. Bowes Daly	—
Tuam ...	Mr. Bingham	2
Ardfert ...	Lord Glandore	2
Dingle ...	Mr. Townsend	2
Tralee ...	Sir B. Denny	2
Athy ...	Duke of Leinster	2
Harristown ...	Mr. J. Latouche	2
Kildare ...	Duke of Leinster	2
Naas ...	Lord Mayo	2
Callan ...	Lord Callan	2
St. Cannice ...	Bishop of Ossory	2
Inistioge ...	Mr. Tighe	2
Gowran ...	Lord Clifden	2
Kilkenny City ...	Earl Ormond and Lord Desart ...	—
Knocktopher ...	Sir Hercules Langrishe	2
Thomastown ...	Lord Clifden	2
Banagher ...	Mr. Ponsonby	2
Philipstown ...	Lord Belvedere	2
Carrick ...	Lord Leitrim	2
Jamestown ...	Two Messrs. King	—
Askeyton ...	Lord Carrick and Mr. Massey ...	—
Kilmallock ...	Right Hon. Silver Oliver	2
Limerick City ...	Lord Perry and P. Smith... ...	—
Coleraine ...	Marquis Waterford and Mr. Jackson	—
Newtown Limavady	Mr. Conolly	2
Granard ...	Mrs. M'Cartney	2
Lanesborough ...	Lord Clonbrock	

Boroughs.		Patrons.			
Longford	...	Lord Longford	...	...	...
Johnstown	...	Lord Granard	...	...	...
Ardee	...	Two Messrs. Ruxton	...	...	...
Carlingford	...	Mr. Moore	...	...	...
Dundalk	...	Lord Clanbrassil	...	...	...
Dunleer	...	Mr. Foster and Mr. Coddington			...
Castlebar	...	Lord Lucan	...	...	...
Athboy	...	Lord Darnley	...	...	...
Duleek	...	Col. Bruen	...	...	...
Kells	...	Lord Bective	...	...	...
Navan	...	Mr. Preston and Lord Ludlow			...
Ratoath	...	Mr. Lowther	...	...	...
Trim	...	Lord Mornington		...	...
Monaghan	...	Lord Clermont	...	...	...
Ballynakil	...	Marquis Drogheda		...	...
Maryborough	...	Sir J. Parnel	...	...	...
Portarlington	...	Lord Portarlington		...	...
Boyle	...	Lord Kingston	...	...	...
Roscommon	...	Mr. Sandford	...	...	...
Tulsk	...	Mrs. Walcot	...	...	...
Sligo	...	Owen Wynne	...	...	...
Cashel	...	Mr. Pennyfather		...	...
Clonmel	...	Lord Mountcashel		...	...
Fethard (Tipperary),		Lord Lismore and Mr. Barton			...
Augher	...	Marquis of Abercorn		...	...
Clogher	...	Bishop of Clogher		...	...

The thirty-two counties and twelve following boroughs are omitted, as being popular, and therefore the property of no individual.

Popular Boroughs.

Carrickfergus,	Drogheda,	Londonderry,
Cork City,	Dublin City,	Dungarvan,
Downpatrick,	Dublin University,	Waterford City,
Newry,	Swords,	Lisburn.

A class of power (according to the preceding catalogue) formed by the negatives that could be commanded into opposition by these names.

	Votes.		Votes.
Lord Shannon	7	Burton Conyngham ...	2
Lord Loftus	7	Mr. Tighe	4
Duke of Leinster ...	4	Duke of Devonshire...	3
Lord Hillsborough ...	4	Mr. Conolly	4
Lord Granard	4	Marquis Waterford ...	1
Lord Clifden	4		

PROTEST OF THE IRISH PEERS AGAINST THE UNION.

DISSENTIENT,

1. Because the measure recommended by our most gracious sovereign was a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be founded upon equal and liberal principles. We cannot help observing, that the terms proposed in the said bill are inconsistent with those principles, and are totally unequal. That Great Britain is thereby to retain entire and undiminished her Houses of Lords and Commons, and that two-fifteenths of the Irish peers are to be degraded and deprived of their legislative functions, and that two-thirds of the Irish House of Commons are to be struck off.

Such a proceeding appears to us totally unequal, both in respect of numbers and the mode of forming the united parliament; and we cannot suggest any reason for reducing the number of members of the Irish houses of parliament, which does not apply with more force to reducing the number of the members in the British houses of parliament, whose numbers so greatly exceed that of the members of the Irish houses of parliament.

2. Because the measure recommended by his Majesty, was a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, by which we understand such a Union as should so perfectly indentify the two nations, that they should become one nation, and that there should not exist any distinct interest between them.

When we consider the provisions of the said bill, we find that

although its professed object is to form a perfect Union between the
it does not in any sort effect it. It unites the legislature, but does no
identify the nations. Their interests will remain as distinct as the
are at present. Ireland will continue to be governed by a viceroy
assisted by an Irish privy council. Her purse, her revenues, her e
penditure, and her taxes, will be as distinct as they are at present fro
those of Great Britain, even their intercourse of trade must be carri
on as between two separate nations, through the medium of revenu
officers. Such distinctness of interest proves that they require
separate parliaments, resident in each kingdom, to attend to them
That such Union is only nominal, and that it does not effect the
complete and entire Union recommended by his Majesty, but shows
that from the circumstances of the two nations, the same is totally
impracticable.

3. Because the adjustment of the numbers of the Irish members t
be added to the two houses of the imperial parliament has been deter-
mined upon without any official documents, or other authentic informa-
tion, having been laid before parliament. That upon the Union with
Scotland, such proportion was adjusted by the commissioners appointed
for England and Scotland, upon an examination of their respective
claims, having thereupon agreed that the number of commoners to be
added to the English commoners, consisting of five hundred and fifty-
teen, should be forty-five on the part of Scotland; and the number of
English peers, being then one hundred and eighty-five, they calculated
that sixteen were the same proportion to that number which forty-five
were to the English House of Commons, and therefore determined upon
that number of peers. This calculation justified the propriety of such
adjustment, and we cannot conceive upon what principle the number of
Irish peers was reduced to thirty-two, when, according to the propor-
tion aforesaid, it ought to have been fifty-three. We must consider
such conduct as unjust in its principle, and wantonly casting a stigma
upon the Irish peerage, by depriving twenty-one of their body of their
just rights of sitting in the united parliament.

4. Because, that however proper it may have been for two parlia-
ments to mark out the great outlines for forming a Union between
the two nations, we think that from their situations in different king-
doms, and the impracticability of communication between them, they
were ill-suited to the adjustment of matters which required detail.

That the mode of proceeding adopted by the great Lord Somers
upon the Union with Scotland, of appointing commissioners on the
behalf of each nation, is proved by experience to have been well
adapted to that purpose. That such commissioners having the means
of procuring information, and communication with each other, were
thereby enabled to settle with propriety, and to the satisfaction of both
nations, such matters as should be necessary to be adjusted between
them. That instead of adopting that wise and rational mode of pro-
ceeding, the adjustment of the numbers to be added to the imperial
parliament has been established in pursuance of the mandate of the
British minister, without laying before Parliament any official docu-

ient whatsoever, or taking any step to procure information concerning ıe respective claims of the two nations.

5. Because, by the original distribution of power between the two ouses of parliament, it has been established as a leading and funda- nental principle of the constitution, that the commons should hold the ›urse of the nation without the interference of the peerage; notwith- ‹tanding which, and that the said bill declares that Irish peerages shall ›e considered as peerages of the United Kingdom; it directs that Irish peers shall be eligible as commoners to represent any place in Great Britain, whereby the purse of the nation will be eventually put into the hands of the peers of the United Kingdom, under the description of Irish peers, in direct defiance of the aforesaid principle. That it is evident, that such innovation was introduced by the minister, for the purpose of preventing the opposition which the measure might receive from such Irish peers as were members of the British House of Commons, which is clearly evinced by their not being made eligible for any place in Ireland, from whence they derive their honours.

That by the provision in the bill for a constant creation of peers for Ireland, the Irish peerage is to be kept up for ever, thereby perpetuating the degrading distinction by which the Irish peerage is to continue stripped of all parliamentary functions. That the perpetuity of such distinction would have been avoided by providing, that no Irish peer should hereafter be created (which is the case of Scotch peers). And that whenever the Irish peers shall be reduced to the number of twenty-eight, they should be declared peers of the united empire, agreeably with the British. From which time all national distinctions between them should cease.

6. Because, when we advert to the corrupt and unconstitutional language held out by the ministers, to such members as claimed property in boroughs, intimating to them, that they should be considered as their private property, and should be purchased as such, and the price paid out of the public purse, such language appears to us to amount to a proposal to buy the Irish parliament for government, and makes the Union a measure of bargain and sale between the minister and the individual.

7. Because, when we compare the relative abilities of Great Britain and Ireland, we find the contribution to be paid by two kingdoms to the expenses of the united empire most unequally adjusted, and that the share of two-seventeenths, fixed upon as the proportion to be paid by Ireland, is far beyond what the resources will enable her to discharge. Should Ireland undertake to pay more than she shall be able to answer, the act will be irrevocable, and the necessary consequences will be a gradual diminution of her capital, the decline of her trade, a failure in the produce of her taxes, and, finally, her total bankruptcy. Should Ireland fail, Great Britain must necessarily be involved in her ruin, and we will have to lament, that our great and glorious empire will be brought to the brink of destruction by the dangerous and visionary speculation of substituting a new system of government for Ireland, in the place of that constitution, which she has experienced to

be the firmest security for the preservation of her liberties. We think it proper to observe, that if the ministry had any plausible grounds whereon they have calculated the said proportion, they have not designed to lay them before the parliament, nor have the usual and established forms of proceeding to investigate matters of intricate and extended calculation been resorted to, by appointing committees for their examination, neither have commissioners been appointed, as was done upon the Union with Scotland. Had the minister applied his attention to that very necessary inquiry, of ascertaining the relative ability of the two nations, he would have compared the balance which Great Britain has in her favour from her trade with all the world, amounting to fourteen millions eight hundred thousand pounds, with that of Ireland upon the whole of her trade, amounting to five hundred and nine thousand three hundred and twelve pounds, bearing a proportion to each other of about twenty-nine to one. He would have examined into the amount of the revenue out of which the said proportions must naturally be paid, namely, the produce of the permanent taxes of each nation, which he would have found to have produced in Great Britain in the year ending the fifth of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, the sum of twenty-six millions, and that the permanent taxes of Ireland in the corresponding year did not exceed two millions, bearing a proportion to each other of about thirteen to one. He would have been informed, that the only influx of money into Ireland which can be discovered, is the said balance of her trade of five hundred thousand pounds, and that she remits to Great Britain annually seven hundred and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty-three pounds, a sum exceeding by upwards of two hundred and fifteen thousand pounds the amount of such balance.

That the remittances to her absentees, as stated by Mr. Pitt, amount to one million, but are computed really to amount to double that sum, and must necessarily greatly increase, should the Union take place, such drains exhausting in a great degree the resources of this kingdom, and adding to the opulence of Great Britain. The facility with which large sums of money have lately been raised in Great Britain, compared with the unsuccessful attempt to raise so small a sum in this kingdom as one million and a half, would have afforded to him the strongest proof of the opulence of the one, and the poverty of the other. From the Irish minister's own statement, he has computed, that the sum for which this kingdom shall be called upon annually in time of war as her contribution, will amount to four millions four hundred and ninety-two thousand six hundred and eighty pounds, but has not attempted to point out the means by which she can raise so enormous a sum. When the minister shall find, that the circumstances of Ireland are such as have been herein stated, and shall recollect, that this new project has been suggested by him, and forced upon this nation, he will feel the immense responsibility which falls upon him for the disastrous consequence which it may produce, not only upon this kingdom but upon the whole empire. He will be alarmed at the discontents, which an imposition of taxes beyond the abilities of the

eople to pay must produce, and the fatal consequences that they may ccasion.

8. Because the transfer of our legislature to another kingdom will leprive us of the only security we have for the enjoyment of our liberties, and being against the sense of the people, amounts to a gross breach of trust, and we consider the substitute for our constitution, namely, the return of the proposed number of persons to the united parliament, as delusive, amounting indeed to an acknowledgment of the necessity of representation, but in no sort supplying it; inasmuch as the thirty-two peers and the one hundred commoners will be merged in the vast disproportion of British members, who will in fact be the legislators of Ireland; and when we consider, that all the establishments are to continue, which must add to the influence of the minister over the conduct of parliament, and advert to his power in the return of Irish members to parliament, we conceive, that such portion is more likely to overturn the constitution of Great Britain than to preserve our own.

9. Because we consider the intended Union a direct breach of trust, not only by the parliament with the people, but by the parliament of Great Britain with that of Ireland.

Inasmuch as the tenor and purport of the settlement of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, did intentionally and expressly exclude the re-agitation of constitutional questions between the two countries, and did establish the exclusive legislative authority of the Irish parliament without the interference of any other, that the breach of such a solemn contract, founded on the internal weakness of the country, and its inability at this time to withstand the destructive design of the minister, must tend to destroy the future harmony of both, by forming a precedent, and generating a principle of mutual encroachment in times of mutual difficulties.

10. Because, that when we consider the weakness of this kingdom, at the time that the measure was brought forward, and her inability to withstand the destructive designs of the minister, and couple to the act itself the means that have been employed to accomplish it, such as the abuse of the place bill for the purpose of modelling the parliament, the appointment of sheriffs to prevent county meetings, the dismissal of the old steadfast friends of constitutional government, for their adherence to the constitution, and the return of persons into parliament, who had neither connection nor stake in this country, and were therefore selected to decide upon her fate: when we consider the armed force of the minister, added to his powers and practices of corruption, —when we couple these things together, we are warranted to say, that the basest means have been used to accomplish this great innovation, that the measure of Union tends to dishonour the ancient peerage for ever, to disqualify both houses of parliament, and subjugate the people of Ireland for ever. Such circumstances, we apprehend, will be recollected with abhorrence, and will create jealousy between the two nations, in the place of that harmony which for so many centuries has been the cement of their union.

11. Because the argument made use of in favour of the Union, namely, that the sense of the people of Ireland is in its favour, we know to be untrue; and as the ministers have declared, that they would not press the measure against the sense of the people, and as the people have pronounced decidedly, and under all difficulties, their judgment against it, we have, together with the sense of the country, the authority of the minister to enter our protest against the project of Union, against the yoke which it imposes, the dishonour which it inflicts, the disqualification passed upon the peerage, the stigma thereby branded on the realm, the disproportionate principle of expence it introduces, the means employed to effect it, the discontents it has excited, and must continue to excite: against all these, and the fatal consequences they may produce, we have endeavoured to interpose our votes, and failing, we transmit to after-times our names, in solemn protest on behalf of the parliamentary constitution of this realm, the liberty which it secured, the trade which it protected, the connection which it preserved, and the constitution which it supplied and fortified: this we feel ourselves called upon to do in support of our characters, our honour, and whatever is left to us worthy to be transmitted to our posterity.

Leinster,
Arran,
Mount Cashell,
Farnham,
Belmore, by proxy,
Massy, by proxy,
Strangford,
Granard,
Ludlow, by proxy,
Moira, by proxy, for the 8th, 10th, and 11th reasons,
Rd. Waterford and Lismore,
Powerscourt,
De Vesci,
Charlemont,
Kingston, by proxy,
Riversdale, by proxy,
Meath,
Lismore, by proxy,
Sunderlin, except for the 7th reason.

JUDKIN FITZGERALD'S CASE.

(*Abridged from* THE PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.)

Honourable Mr. Yelverton said, he should be one of the last men to refuse indemnity or protection to any deserving magistrate or loyal man, for acts warranted by justice or necessity, in putting down conspiracy or rebellion, but he could not sit silent and hear the falsehood attempted to be palmed on the house by this almighty sheriff, in the petition now on the table. The petition stated, that the judges who presided at that trial, who were Mr. Justice Chamberlain and Lord Yelverton, had given their opinion in point of law, that unless

Mr. Fitzgerald could produce the information on oath, on which he could justify his flagellation of the plaintiff Wright, he could not come under the provisions of the Indemnity Act. No such thing was ever said by either of the judges. He was present at the trial, and not a single tittle of evidence had come out in defence of Mr. Fitzgerald, nor was even a pretence pleaded that could found a scintilla of suspicion against the plaintiff Wright, to justify those unparalleled cruelties exercised upon him, for which the jury, a most respectable one, awarded £500 damages, and which the learned judges declared ought to have been considerably more than the sum claimed.

With the permission of the House, he would shortly state the facts, as they appeared on evidence of several most respectable witnesses, and from those facts he would appeal to the house, whether such sanguinary, wanton, and unparalleled cruelties were entitled to their sanction and indemnity?

The action brought by Mr. Wright was for assault and battery. It appeared that Mr. Wright was a teacher of the French language, of which he was employed as professor by two eminent boarding-schools at Clonmell, and in the families of several respectable gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood.

Mr. Wright had heard that Mr. Fitzgerald had received some charges of a seditious nature against him, and with a promptitude not very characteristic of conscious guilt, he immediately went to the house of Mr. Fitzgerald, whom he did not find at home, and afterwards to that of another magistrate, who was also out, for the purpose of surrendering himself for trial. He went again the same day, accompanied by a gentleman, to the house of Mr. Fitzgerald, and being shewn into his presence, explained the purpose of his coming, when Mr. Fitzgerald, drawing his sword, said: "Down on your knees, you rebellious scoundrel, and receive your sentence." In vain did the poor man protest his innocence; in vain did he implore trial, on his knees. Mr. Fitzgerald sentenced him first to be flogged, and then shot. The unfortunate man surrendered his keys, to have his papers searched, and expressed his readiness to suffer any punishment the proof of guilt could justify; but no—this was not agreeable to Mr. Fitzgerald's principles of jurisdiction; his mode was first to sentence, then punish, and afterwards investigate. His answer to the unfortunate man was: "What! you Carmelite rascal, do you dare to speak after sentence?" and then struck him, and ordered him to prison.

Next day this unhappy man was dragged to a ladder in Clonmell-street, to undergo his sentence. He knelt down in prayer, with his hat before his face. Mr. Fitzgerald came up, dragged his hat from him, and trampled on it, seized the man by the hair, dragged him to the earth, kicked him, and cut him across the forehead with his sword, and then had him stripped naked, tied up to the ladder, and ordered him fifty lashes.

Major Rial, an officer in the town, came up as the fifty lashes were completed, and asked Mr. F. the cause. Mr. F handed the major a note written in French, saying, he did not himself understand French,

though he understood Irish, but he (Major Rial) would find in the letter what would justify him in flogging the scoundrel to death.

Major Rial read the letter. He found it to be a note addressed to the victim, translated in these words:

"Sir,

"I am extremely sorry I cannot wait on you at the hour appointed, being unavoidably obliged to attend Sir Laurence Parsons.

"Yours,

"Baron de Clus."

Notwithstanding this translation, which Major Rial read to Mr. Fitzgerald, he ordered fifty lashes more to be inflicted, and with such peculiar severity, that, horrid to relate, the bowels of the bleeding victim could be perceived to be convulsed, and working through his wounds! Mr. Fitzgerald, finding he could not continue the application of his cat-o'nine-tails on that part, without cutting his way into his body, ordered the waistband of his breeches to be cut open, and fifty more lashes to be inflicted there. He then left the unfortunate man bleeding and suspended, while he went to the barrack to demand a file of men to come and shoot him; but being refused by the commanding officer, he came back and sought for a rope to hang him, but could not get one. He then ordered him to be cut down, and sent back to prison, where he was confined in a dark, small room, with no other furniture than a wretched pallet of straw, without covering, and there he remained six or seven days without medical assistance!

Gracious God! said Mr. Yelverton, will any man say that such a conduct is to be sanctioned and indemnified by this house? Are the laws to be supported by trampling on them? Is the man who could commit such barbarities, without the colour of justice or necessity, or even the shadow of just suspicion, to come for protection to this House? I feel an indignation on this subject that almost deprives me of utterance. I have before said, that I would be one of the last men to refuse every reasonable indemnity to loyal magistrates for acts done under the pressure of apparent justice or necessity for the suppression of rebellion, but I will never vote for protection and indemnity to a bloody tyrant, whose conduct, though it may have produced good in some instances, has been productive of infinitely more mischief, and on those grounds I shall give the petition every resistance in my power.

Mr. Edgeworth said, he would endeavour, as far as it was in his power, to repress that indignation, which he was taught in his early years to consider as one of the best guardians of virtue. He would calmly give his negative to this motion, believing it to be of most dangerous tendency.

With respect to the general character of the petitioner, he knew nothing of it but from what he heard in that house, and from what he had seen in the public prints. He would take it for granted that the petitioner's private character fully justified the eulogium which had been bestowed upon him by the noble lord, and that his public services had been as meritorious and as successful as the honourable and worthy

member (Mr. Holmes) had stated. But there were means in the power of the crown sufficiently ample to reward every useful exertion, and, as a member of that house, to interfere between the sentence of the law and its execution, was what he never could be reconciled to. A verdict had been given by a jury, with which two judges of the highest character had, in the most explicit manner, concurred. To interfere with that verdict was to call those judges to the bar of the House. The Indemnity Bill had gone as far as possible to protect magistrates; but, beyond the limits of that bill, to preclude any of his majesty's subjects from obtaining damages for personal injury, except where obvious mistake of judgment had occasioned those injuries, was so grossly unconstitutional, as to call upon every real friend to the safety of the kingdom to resist it. He could not foretel what proceedings might be grounded upon this motion; he should therefore oppose it in the first instance, and he could not sit down without observing, that the right honourable gentlemen on the treasury bench would serve their country better by leaving the execution of the laws to juries and judges, than by becoming partisans in support of any favourite system of men and measures.

Mr. Ormsby severely censured the honourable member, who had endeavoured to excite the feelings and commiseration of the house for the sore back of a fellow, who, he believed, would be found, on inquiry, to have very well deserved what he got; it was at least well known, that he had many bad connections, and associated with men of such principles as fully warranted the suspicion of his own.

Those who condemned the petitioner for severity to such criminals seemed to forget that loyal men could hope for no mercy who fell into their clutches. He trusted the House would extend ample protection to a man who had so well deserved it.

Colonel Bagwell (member for the county of Tipperary) said, that it was not his intention to have spoken to the question then before the House, but to let the petition quietly go to a committee, had it not been for what fell from the honourable member who spoke last. He was as ready as any person to give credit to the services rendered to the county of Tipperary by the activity of the petitioner, but he was shocked and concerned to hear the sufferings of an innocent and respectable man treated with levity and indifference. As insinuations were thrown out against the character of Mr. Wright, he felt it his duty to declare what had come within his knowledge respecting that unfortunate and much-abused man. He was present during the trial of the action brought by Mr. Wright against the petitioner, and it was but an act of common justice to say, that in his mind, not the remotest shade of suspicion attached to the character of the plaintiff in that case, nor did the investigation which took place on that occasion furnish the most distant justification for the severe and terrible punishment inflicted on him. A similar opinion of the unfortunate man's innocence and loyalty was expressed from the bench, by the revered characters who presided. As to the general character of Mr. Wright, it was most unexceptionable, in point of morality, religion, and politics;

and to that character, the best evidence was the very high estimation in which he was holden by the best and most respectable men in the town of Clonmell.

The question being put, the petition was referred to a committee.

On the 8th of April, Mr. Holmes reported from the committee, that the object of the inquiry committed to them could not be so well obtained in an open committee as it would be in a secret committee; the order was therefore discharged, and here the affair was dropped. Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald afterwards received a considerable pension for his active services in quelling the rebellion.

YEOMEN ATROCITIES.

In B. R. Mich. 1800, *Rex* v. *White* and *Goring*. In this term application was made to the Court of King's Bench for an information against Messrs. White and Goring, two magistrates of the county Tipperary. The application was grounded on an affidavit of Mr. another magistrate of the same county, and captain of a corps of yeomanry. His affidavit stated the loyalty and activity of the said magistrate and his corps, and that they were obstructed in their endeavours to preserve the peace of the most turbulent part of the country, and prevent a tendency to rebellion, by these two gentlemen.

Exculpatory affidavits were made by these two gentlemen, to which the court so far attended as to refuse the information. These affidavits were sworn on the 23rd of January, 1801; they remain of record in the Court of King's Bench, and contain, among many others, the following curious particulars.

That timber was cut and shaped into pike-handles, by the members of said corps of yeomanry and persons employed by them, which they afterwards pretended to discover, in consequence of secret information, but really in order to keep up an appearance of disturbance in the country. These facts were brought to light in consequence of the repentance and voluntary confession of persons concerned in the conspiracy.

It was sworn by these gentlemen, that the corps of yeomanry, in whose behalf this application was made, consisted of the indigent tenantry of their captain, who paid a rack-rent for lands holden of him, and had no other way of discharging their rent, but by their pay which the captain usually received, and retained in discharge of the rent due from these yeomen his tenants; and that they were kept on permanent duty, for the purpose of procuring this permanent pay. That there was no appearance of tumult or insurrection in the country, but that these persons circulated false reports of the disturbed situation of the country, in order to answer their own purposes; that perso

were taken up, detained in prison, and fined, under the Timber Act, for the concealment of these pike-handles, which were afterwards discovered to have been hidden by the procurement of the persons who found them. It was also asserted upon oath, in the same affidavits, that the magistrate, who made the application, arrested persons and detained them in his own house, where he and another magistrate, after dinner taking a glass of wine, and pretending to hold a petty sessions under the Insurrection Act, sentenced the prisoners to transportation; that these sentences were passed, and the parties sent to New Geneva, in order to be sent out of the country, without any examination of the prisoners, or confronting them with their accusers. That when these prisoners were afterwards, upon a representation made to government, and in consequence of an order from Lord Cornwallis, remanded back for a more regular investigation of their case, this corps, pretending to act as an escort, took the prisoners out of the route prescribed, to a different place from that ordered by the lord-lieutenant, where it was more difficult for them to undertake their justification. The affidavits sworn in this case are very voluminous, and contain various instances of the like nature, tending to illustate the oppressive conduct of country magistrates, and the means by which rash or interested men irritated the people, and provoked a disposition to disturbance, where it otherwise would not have existed.

The actual perpetration of particular facts of outrageous provocation was, perhaps, the least part of the evil. The impunity, connivance, or countenance from the magistrates, and the acquittals of the guilty by Orange juries and Orange courts-martial (as in the case of Wollaghan) in the few instances in which the offenders have been brought to trial, indicate the depth and malignancy of the wound, and loudly proclaim the necessity of a radical cure, ere the constitution can recover its native vigour and energy. In the spring assizes of 1801, at Clonmell, the case of *Doyle* v. *Fitzgerald* produced a degree of alarming provocation throughout that part of the country. The plaintiff in this cause was a respectable tradesman of Carrick-upon-Suyr, named Francis Doyle. The defendant was Mr. Fitzgerald (commonly called the *flogging sheriff*) of Tipperary, against whom a verdict of £500 had before been found, for a similar act of brutality. The action was brought for damages for the tort and injury done to the plaintiff in the following manner. The plaintiff, who was a young man of excellent character and untainted loyalty, was seized in the street by the defendant, in order to be flagellated. In vain did he protest his innocence, which was also supported by some of the most respectable inhabitants of the place. He begged to have Captain Jephson sent for, the commander of the yeomanry, of which he was a member. That was refused. He offered to go to instant execution, if the least trace of guilt appeared against him on inquiry. That was also refused. Bail was offered to any amount for his appearance. "No," says the sheriff; "I know by his face that he is a traitor—a Carmelite scoundrel." The plaintiff was tied to the whipping-post. He received one hundred lashes, till his ribs appeared; he then had his breeches let down, and received

On the 13th of October a court-martial, of whi
killen was the president, proceeded to the trial of
Middlewood, in the county of Wicklow, yeoman,
on the 1st of October instant, come to the house o
and then and there shooting and killing the said
which he was encouraged by Charles Fox and Jan
said county, yeomen; and the said James Fox w
with having discharged a loaded gun at Margaret
on the 1st October instant.

The prisoner being duly arraigned, pleaded not
in evidence, from the testimony of Mary Dogherty
county of Wicklow, that the prisoner came into he
and demanded if there were any bloody rebels the
nent's answering there was not, only a sick boy, t
ghan asked the boy, if he were Dogherty's eldest
the boy stood up, and told him he was. Wollagha
you dog, if you are, you are to die here." That
hope not. If you have any thing against me, br
touche, and give me a fair trial; and if you get an
give me the severity of the law." That Wollag
dog, I don't care for Latouche, you are to die here.
ponent said to Wollaghan (he then having the
hand): "For the love of God, spare my child's li
That Wollaghan replied: "No, you bloody whore,
band here, I would give him the same death." H
gun, but it did not go off; he snapped a second tin
off. Upon which a man of the name of Charles F

this." Deponent was at that instant holding up her son's head, when he fell, and died!

No attempt was made to contradict any part of this evidence, but a justification of the horrid murder was set up, as having been done under the order of the commanding officer, and this was sworn to by George Kennedy, corporal of the Mount Kennedy Yeomen, who deposed that Captain Armstrong, of the King's County Militia, who commanded at Mount Kennedy before and after Dogherty was shot, in consequence of the enormities and murders committed in that neighbourhood by day and by night, gave general orders, that any body of yeomanry going out (he would wish them not less than nine or ten, for their own safety), and, if they should meet with any rebels, whom they knew or suspected to be such, that they need not be at the trouble of bringing them in, but to shoot them on the spot. That he (the witness) communicated this to the corps, and, is very certain, in the hearing of the prisoner Wollaghan, who was a sober, faithful, and loyal yeoman, and, not degrading the rest of the corps, one of the best in it. That it was the practice of the corps to go out upon scouring parties, without orders, to protect their own property and that of their neighbours; and that he always looked upon it as an order, and practice of the corps, particularly after what Captain Armstrong had mentioned, and that the witness would himself, from his character, and the orders he had received, have thought himself justified in shooting the deceased.

This evidence in justification was confirmed by one private, one sergeant, and two lieutenants of yeomanry. Captain Archer, of the Newtown Mount Kennedy Yeomen, swore, that he had always found him a sober and diligent man; and, since his being a yeoman, ready to obey his officers, and looked upon him to be an acquisition to his corps. Captain Gore deposed, that he had known the prisoner about four months, and that he was one of the best attendants on his duty as a yeoman, and that he knew him to be a loyal and brave soldier, and never knew him to be guilty of any act of inhumanity. That it was the practice of the corps to scour the country with an officer, and verily believed they understood it was their duty to shoot any rebel they met with, or suspected to be such; and deponent had heard, that other corps had similar directions in other districts. Here the defence closed, and the court, after some deliberation, acquitted the prisoner. When the minutes of this court-martial, in the usual way, were laid before the lord-lieutenant, his Excellency was pleased to disapprove of the sentence, and conveyed his sentiments in the following letter to General Craig:—

"Sir, "Dublin Castle, 18th October, 1798.

"Having laid before the lord-lieutenant the proceedings of a general court-martial, held by your orders in Dublin Barracks, on Saturday, the 13th instant, of which Colonel the Earl of Enniskillen is president, I am directed to acquaint you, that his Excellency entirely disapproves of the sentence of the above court-martial, acquitting Hugh

Wollaghan of a cruel and deliberate murder, of which, by the ... evidence, he appears to have been guilty.

"Lord Cornwallis orders the court-martial to be immediately ... solved; and directs that Hugh Wollaghan shall be dismissed ... corps of yeomanry in which he served, and that he shall not ... ceived into any other corps of yeomanry in this kingdom.

"His Excellency further desires, that the above may be read ... president and the members of the court-martial, in open court.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"H. Taylor, &c.

"P.S. I am also directed, that a new court-martial may be ... diately convened for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought ... fore them, and that none of the officers who sat upon Hugh Wo... be admitted as members.

"Lieut. Gen Craig, &c. &c."

IRISH PARLIAMENT ANNUITANTS.

The following is the list of the annuities voted by the parliament ... Ireland to the several persons under-named, "for their respective lives ... to the amount affixed to their respective names," nett, without any de... duction or abatement whatsoever, as a compensation for their respective ... losses, by reason of the discontinuance of their emoluments or offices, ... officers or attendants of the two houses of parliament :—

John, earl of Clare, lord chancellor, speaker ...	£3,973	3	4
John, earl of Mayo, chairman of the committees ...	1,448	6	0
Edmond Henry, lord Glentworth, clerk of the crown in chancery	379	10	0
William Meek, Esq., clerk of the parliament ...	2,705	16	0
Thomas Lindsay, Esq., usher of the black rod ...	964	9	9
Edward Westby, Thomas Walker, William Horn, and S. King, Esqrs., masters in chancery, each	104	4	2
Joseph Gayer, Esq., deputy clerk of the parliament ...	631	13	4
Thomas Bourchier, Esq., deputy clerk of the crown in chancery	101	2	1
Joseph Gregg, Esq., clerk assistant	786	12	4
Joseph Griffith, Esq., reading clerk	293	3	1
Henry Minchin, Esq., serjeant-at-arms	314	2	2
Richard Cr. Smith, jun., Esq., committee clerk ...	231	6	0
Edward Fenner, Esq., journal clerk	287	7	6
B. Connor, Esq., yeoman usher	243	16	6
W. Walker, Esq., additional clerk	70	0	0
T. R. O'Flaherty, clerk in the parliament office ...	74	10	8

W. Corbet, doorkeeper to the speaker's chamber ...	£105	0	4
C. W. Jolly, J. Polden, P. Martin, W. Graham, P. Thompson, and G. Payn, doorkeepers, each ...	92	2	8
P. Lord, W. Cavendish, M. Quinan, and J. Tobin, messengers, each	91	13	9
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament house ...	877	18	9
Mary Foster, housekeeper	472	18	11
Mary Ann Foster, housemaid...	30	9	6
Sir Chichester Fortescue, Ulster king at-arms ...	290	19	5
Philip O'Brien, gatekeeper	42	6	8
Richard Taylor, keeper of the speaker's chamber ...	50	0	0
Henry Welborne, viscount Clifden, clerk of the council	181	13	4
Henry Upton, Esq., dep. ditto	104	8	11
Jo. Patrickson, Esq., dep. clerk of the council, usher of the council chamber, and solicitor for turnpike bills	421	9	5
Mr. Wm. M'Kay, assistant clerk of the council ...	100	17	0
John Ebbs and Elizabeth Grant, doorkeeper and council-office keeper	14	8	2
John Dwyer, Esq., sec. to the lord chancellor ...	29	2	8
John Beresford, Esq. purse-bearer to the lord chancellor	14	11	4
Andrew Bowen, water-porter	4	11	0
Right Honourable John Foster, speaker of the house of commons	5,083	3	4
Henry Alexander, Esq., chairman of the committees of supply and ways and means	500	0	0
Sir G. Fitzgerald Hill, Bart., clerk of the house ...	2,263	13	2½
Edward Cooke, Esq., clerk of the house in reversion	500	0	0
John M'Clintock and Wm. F. M'Clintock, Esqrs., serjeants-at-arms, including £100 on the civil list	1,200	0	0
Ed. Tresham, clerk assistant	594	6	10
G. F. Winstanley and Jonath. Rogers, committee clerks, each	250	0	0
Dr. Ellis, superin. engrossing clerk	140	0	0
C. H. Tandy, engrossing clerk	398	7	0
T. Richardson, assistant ditto	150	0	0
Wm. Ratferry, clerk in the chief clerk's office, clerk of the minutes, and clerk of the fees	470	0	0
H. Coddington, Esq., deputy serjeant-at-arms ...	350	0	0
James Corry, Esq., clerk of the journals and records	660	0	0
John Smith, assistant ditto	230	0	0
R. Connor, attending clerk	60	0	0
Mr. Hume, clerk of the brief	100	0	0
John Judd, assistant clerk in the chief clerk's office	63	6	8
J. L. Foster, Esq., speaker's secretary	10	0	5
G. Dunleavy, messenger	68	0	5
R. Burnside and R. Fleming, back doorkeeper, each	48	0	0
John Dogherty and D. Smith, messengers, each ...	46	0	0

L. Dunlevy, R. Grace, R. Garland, E. Byrne, D. Brenan, H. Gahan, J. Brown, A. Carson, P. Ferrall, J. Morley, G. Shirley, M. Dalton, and J. King, each	£36
J. Banen, ditto	51
W. Brown, distributor of votes	130
Sarah Connor, housekeeper	401
John Kennedy and John Walker, front doorkeepers, each	168
Mary Connor, house attendant	4
T. Seavers, fire-lighter	11
R. Watham, ditto	6
Lord Viscount Glentworth, clerk of the crown and hanaper	131
T. Bourchier, deputy ditto	52
John Beresford, Esq., purse-bearer to the lord chancellor	33
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament house ...	140
From 1797 to 1802, the cost of the large military force that was kept up in Ireland, estimated at £4,000,000 per annum	16,0
Purchase of the Irish parliament	1,5
Payment of claims of suffering loyalists	1,5
Secret service money, from 1797 to 1804	
Probable amount of pensions paid for services in suppression of the rebellion, and the carrying of the Union, from 1797 to 1842	1,0
Increased expense of legal proceedings and judicial tribunals	5
Additional expenditure in public offices, consequent on increased duties in 1798, and alterations in establishments attendant on the Union, the removal of parliamentary archives, and compensation of officers, servants, &c.	5
	£21,0

I am aware that the amount has been estimated at £30,000, some writers, and at nearly double that amount by others. "I counties," it has been said, "its suppression cost £52,000,000 would it have been, if it had extended to the other twenty-nine ties?"

I have set down the items which, I believe, constituted the the expenditure for the excitement, premature explosion, an guinary suppression of the rebellion, and for the corruption, pu and abolition of the Irish parliament; and that amount, though short of all the calculations I have seen on the subject, I have g the nearest approximation to the actual expenditure my own in have led to.—*Madden's History*, &c.

MILITARY AND FISCAL RETURNS.

ARMY.

October 3, 1799.

That 90,047 men be employed for land service, including 5,766 invalids, from 25th December, 1799, to 24th February, 1800 :—

For guards, garrisons, and other land forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, and in Holland	£510,596	0	0
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Minorca, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	166,480	0	0
For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others, on quartering soldiers ...	40,000	0	0
For expenses expected to be incurred in the barrack-master-general's department	120,000	0	0

February 13, 1800.

That 80,275 men be employed for land service, including 5,792 invalids, from 25th February, 1800 :—

For guards, garrisons, and other land forces in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney ...	2,337,159	8	8
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Portugal, Minorca, and other stations in the Mediterranean, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	1,004,480	13	6
For difference between the British and Irish pay of six regiments of foot for service abroad	42,901	19	0
For four troops of dragoons, and sixteen companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain for recruiting regiments serving in East India	24,558	3	8
For recruiting and contingencies for land forces, and extra feed for the cavalry	530,000	0	0
For general and staff officers, and officers of hospitals	105,054	7	11
For full pay to supernumerary officers	26,280	14	6
For allowance to the paymaster-general of the forces, commissary-general of the musters, &c.	105,747	3	6
For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others, on quartering soldiers ...	140,000	0	0
For allowance to the non-commissioned officers and private men of the land forces, in lieu of small beer	120,000	0	0
For reduced officers of land forces and marines ...	138,979	7	1
For allowances to reduced horse-guards	20	12	11
On account of officers late in the service of the states-general	1,000	0	0
Ditto, of reduced officers of British American forces	52,500	0	0

For allowances to several reduced officers of American forces	£7,500
For the in and out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, and the expenses of the hospital	143,310
For pensions to widows of officers of land forces ...	20,321
For expenses incurred, and expected to be incurred in the barrack-master-general's department ...	359,334
For foreign corps in the service of Great Britain ...	471,128
February 24.	
For extraordinary services of the army for 1800 ...	2,500,000
May 27.	
For the troops of the Elector of Bavaria, in the pay of Great Britain, pursuant to treaty	566,688
July 16.	
For the expense of a royal military asylum for the reception of the children of soldiers	25,000
	£9,558,951

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

October 3, 1799.	
For several corps of fencible cavalry, including the embodied provisional cavalry, from 25th December, 1799, to 24th February, 1800	92,635
For the embodied militia of Great Britain, the royal corps of miners of Cornwall and Devon, and several corps of fencible infantry, for ditto	232,998
February 13, 1800.	
For the embodied militia of Great Britain, the royal corps of miners of Cornwall and Devon, two regiments of Irish militia, and several corps of fencible infantry, from Feb. 25, to Dec. 24	1,306,121
For contingencies for the embodied militia, and corps of fencible infantry	50,000
For clothing for the embodied militia of Great Britain, the corps of miners, and regiments of Irish militia on the British establishment	127,061
For the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry ...	574,000
April 1.	
Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia	
Ditto, for allowances to adjutants, serjeant-majors, and serjeants of the militia, disembodied in pursuance of act of this session	
June 17.	
Ditto, for allowances to subaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace	
	£2,382,816

October 3, 1799.

For ordnance land-service, for the months of January and February, 1800	£350,000	0	0

February 18, 1800.

For ordnance land-service, for ten months, from 1st March to 31st December, 1800	1,127,960	13	3
Ditto, not provided for in 1798	33,671	11	5
Ditto, not provided for in 1799	184,324	13	3
	£1,695,956	17	11

Return of the number of men who have been raised for the service of the army since the commencement of the present war, to the 24th December, 1800, presented to the House of Commons.

Years.	Rank and File.	Years.	Rank and File.
1793 ...	17,038	1797 ...	16,096
1794 ...	38,562	1798 ...	21,457
1795 ...	40,463	1799 ...	41,316
1796 ...	16,336	To Nov. 1800 ...	17,124

Total ... 208,388.

Return of the number of men who have been discharged from the service of the army, on account of wounds, or bodily infirmity, since the commencement of the present war.

Years.	Rank and File.	Years.	Rank and File.
1793 ...	2,284	1797 ...	7,981
1794 ...	4,229	1798 ...	7,772
1795 ...	26,005	1799 ...	8,784
1796 ...	14,634	To Nov. 1800 ...	4,321

Total ... 75,910

Return of the number of men who have been killed in action, or who have died in the service of the army, since the commencement of the present war.

Years.	Rank and File.	Years.	Rank and File.
1793 ...	2,059	1797 ...	5,967
1794 ...	18,596	1798 ...	4,008
1795 ...	1,870	1799 ...	5,071
1796 ...	9,858	To Nov. 1800 ...	1,542

Total ... 48,971.

Return of the total number of effective rank and file actually serving in the pay of Great Britain, 24th December, 1800.

Total ... 168,082 rank and file.

An account of gold coined at his Majesty's Mint, from Michael 1796, to the present time, distinguishing the quantity coined in year.

Year.	Quantity coined in pounds weight.	Value.
1796—from Michaelmas ...	3,480 ...	£ 162,603 0
1797	42,810 ...	2,000,297 5
1798	63,510 ...	2,967,504 15
1799	9,630 ...	449,961 15
1800—to 20th November...	4,065 ...	189,937 2
Totals ...	123,495 ...	£5,770,303 17

HAWKESBURY, Mast

Mint-office, 20th November, 1800.

Return to an order of the House of Commons, for an account amount of the public funded debt of the kingdom, at the follo periods: viz. at the beginning of the years 1700, 1710, 1720, 1740, 1750, 1760, 1765, 1770, 1775, 1780, 1785, 1790, 1791, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, and 1800.

At the beginning of the years—

	Funded Debt.		Funded D
1730	£47,705,122	1791	£238,231
1740	44,072,024	1792	233,831
1750	72,178,898	1793	238,231
1760	88,341,268	1794	244,481
1765	127,564,821	1795	260,157

Amount of Bank of England Notes of Two Pounds and One Pound each.

	1797.	1798.	1799.	1800.
Dec. 25 to Mar. 25		£1,658,300	£1,627,250	£1,686,640
Mar. 25 to June 25	£ 990,850	1,933,830	1,601,570	1,722,800
June 25 to Sept. 25	1,066,750	1,821,490	1,604,580	1,855,540
Sept. 25 to Dec. 25	1,230,700	1,730,380	1,671,040	2,062,300

N.B. The amount of notes for the last quarter, in the year 1800, can only be made out to the 6th instead of the 25th of December.

WM. WALTON, Acct. Gen.

Bank of England, 15th December, 1800.

Supplies Granted by Parliament for the Year 1800.

NAVY.

October 1, 1799.

That 120,000 seamen be employed for two lunar months, commencing 1st January, 1800, including 22,696 marines:—

For wages for ditto	...£444,000	0	0
For victuals for ditto	456,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve	720,000	0	0
For ordnance sea service on board such ships ...	60,000	0	0

October 3.

For the ordinary establishment of the navy, for two lunar months, commencing 1st January, 1800 ...	121,510	0	0
For the extraordinary establishment of ditto ...	115,625	0	0

February 10, 1800.

That 110,000 seamen be employed for eleven lunar months, commencing 26th February, 1800, including 22,696 marines:—

For wages for ditto	...2,238,500	0	0
For victuals for ditto	...2,299,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve	3,630,000	0	0
For ordnance sea service on board such ships ...	302,500	0	0

February 13.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers, for eleven lunar months, commencing 26th February, 1800	685,429	13	11
For building and repairs of ships, and other extra works	656,615	0	0
For the probable expense of transport service, for one year, commencing 1st January, 1800 ...	...1,300,000	0	0
For the maintenance of prisoners of war in health ...	500,000	0	0
For the care and maintenance of sick prisoners of war	90,000	0	0
	£13,619,079	13	11

Average Prices of Corn for 1800.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
	s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*
January . . .	11 10	5 8	4 0	7 7
February . . .	12 8	6 0	4 2	7 8
March . . .	13 5	6 9	4 10	8 5
April	13 11	7 5	5 4	9 0
May	15 0	8 1	5 9	9 3
June	15 7	8 1	6 0	9 6
July	16 10	8 7	6 4	9 6
August . . .	12 11	6 11	4 10	8 3
September . .	12 11	6 10	4 1	8 1
October . . .	13 3	7 5	4 3	7 11
November . .	15 0	8 4	4 9	8 7
December . .	16 4	9 4	5 2	9 4
General Average	14 1	7 6	5 2	8 7

d instant consideration, is not whether they will resist a separation, ich it is our fixed determination to effect, but whether or not they ll drive us beyond separation—whether they will, by a sanguinary sistance, create a deadly national antipathy between the two coun- ies; or whether they will take the only means still left of driving ch a sentiment from our minds—a prompt, manly, and sagacious quiescence in our just and unalterable determination.

If the secrecy with which the present effort has been conducted hall have led our enemies to suppose that its extent must have been artial, a few days will undeceive them. That confidence, which was nce lost, by trusting to external support, and suffering our own means o be gradually undermined, has been again restored. We have been nutually pledged to each other to look only to our own strength, and hat the first introduction of a system of terror, the first attempt to exe- cute an individual in one county, should be the signal of insurrection n all. We have now, without the loss of a man, with our means of communication untouched, brought our plans to the moment when they are ripe for execution; and in the promptitude with which nineteen counties will come forward at once to execute them, it will be found that neither confidence nor communication are wanting to the people of Ireland.

In calling on our countrymen to come forward, we feel ourselves bound, at the same time, to justify our claim to their confidence by a precise declaration of our own views. We, therefore, solemnly declare, that our object is to establish a free and independent republic in Ire- land—that the pursuit of this object we will relinquish only with our lives—that we will never, unless at the express call of our country, abandon our post, until the acknowledgment of its independence is obtained from England—and that we will enter into no negotiation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the government of that country while a British army remains in Ireland. Such is the declaration which we call upon the people of Ireland to support; and we call first on that part of Ireland which was once paralyzed by the want of in- telligence, to shew that to that cause only was its inaction to be attri- buted—on that part of Ireland which was once foremost, by its forti- tude in suffering—on that part of Ireland which once offered to take the salvation of the country on itself—on that part of Ireland where the flame of liberty first glowed—we call upon THE NORTH to stand up and shake off their slumber and their oppression.

Men of Munster and Connaught! you have your instructions—we trust that you will execute them. The example of the rest of your countrymen is now before you, your own strength is unbroken. Five months ago you were eager to act without any other assistance; we now call upon you to shew, what you then declared you only wanted the opportunity of proving, that you possess the same love of liberty, and the same courage, with which the rest of your countrymen are animated.

We now turn to that portion of our countrymen whose prejudices

we had rather evercome by a frank declaration of our intentions, th conquer their persons in the field.

* * * * * * *

Conformably to the above proclamation, the provisional governm of Ireland decree as follows:—

1. From the date and promulgation hereof, tithes are for ever ab lished, and church lands are the property of the nation.

2. From the same date, all transfers of landed property are proh bited, each person holding what he now possesses, on paying his re until the national government is established, the national will declar and the courts of justice organized.

3. From the same date, all transfers of bonds, debentures, and s public securities are, in like manner and form, forbidden, and declar void, for the same time, and for the same reasons.

4. The Irish generals commanding districts shall seize such of t partisans of England as may serve for hostages, and shall apprize t English commander opposed to them, that a strict retaliation shall tak place, if any outrages contrary to the laws of war shall be committ by the troops under his command, or by the partisans of England the district which he occupies.

5. That the Irish generals are to treat (except where retaliati makes it necessary) the English troops who may fall into their hand or such Irish as serve in the regular forces of England, and who sha have acted conformably to the laws of war, as prisoners of war; b all Irish militia, yeomen, or volunteer corps, or bodies of Irish, or i dividuals, who, fourteen days from the promulgation and date here shall be found in arms, shall be considered as rebels, committed f trial, and their properties confiscated.

6. The generals are to assemble courts-martial, who are to be swo to administer justice; who are not to condemn without sufficient ev dence, and before whom all military offenders are to be sent instant for trial.

7. No man is to suffer death by their sentence, except for mutiny the sentences of such others as are judged worthy of death shall n be put in execution until the provisional government declares its wil nor are courts-martial, on any pretence, to sentence; nor is any of cer to suffer the punishment of flogging, or any species of torture to inflicted.

8. The generals are to enforce the strictest discipline, and to sen offenders immediately before courts-martial; and are enjoined to cha away from the Irish armies all such as shall disgrace themselves b being drunk in presence of the enemy.

9. The generals are to apprize their respective armies, that all mili tary stores, arms, or ammunition, belonging to the English govern ment, be the property of the captors, and the value is to be divide equally, without respect of rank, between them; except that th widows, orphans, parents, or other heirs of such as gloriously fall i the attack, shall be entitled to a double share.

10. As the English nation has made war on Ireland, all English property, in ships or otherwise, is subject to the same rule, and all transfer of them is forbidden, and declared void, in the like manner as is expressed in Nos. 2 and 3.

11. The generals of the different districts are hereby empowered to confer rank up to colonels, inclusive, on such as they conceive to merit it from the nation, but are not to make more colonels than one for fifteen hundred men, nor more lieutenant-colonels than one for every thousand men.

12. The generals shall seize on all sums of public money in the custom-houses in their districts, or in the hands of the different collectors, county treasurers, or other revenue officers, whom they shall render responsible for the sums in their hands. The generals shall pass receipts for the amount, and account to the provisional government for the expenditure.

13. When the people elect their officers, up to the colonels, the general is bound to confirm it. No officer can be broke but by sentence of a court-martial.

14. The generals shall correspond with the provisional government, to whom they shall give details of all their operations; they are to correspond with the neighbouring generals, to whom they are to transmit all necessary intelligence, and to co-operate with them.

15. The generals commanding in each county shall, as soon as it is cleared of the enemy, assemble the county committee, who shall be elected conformably to the constitution of United Irishmen. All the requisitions necessary for the army shall be made, in writing, by the generals to the committee, who are hereby empowered and enjoined to pass their receipts for each article to the owners, to the end that they may receive their full value from the nation.

16. The county committee is charged with the civil direction of the county, the care of the national property, and the preservation of order and justice in the county; for which purpose a county committee are to appoint a high-sheriff, and one or more sub-sheriffs, to execute their orders; a sufficient number of justices of the peace for the county, a high and sufficient number of petty constables in each barony, who are respectively charged with the duties now performed by these magistrates.

17. The county of Cork, on account of its extent, is to be divided, conformably to the boundaries for raising the militia, into the counties of North and South Cork, for each of which a county constable, high sheriff, and all magistrates above directed, are to be appointed.

18. The county committee are hereby empowered and enjoined to issue warrants to apprehend such persons as it shall appear, on sufficient evidence, perpetrated murder, torture, or other breaches of the acknowledged laws of war and morality, on the people, to the end that they may be tried for those offences, so soon as the competent courts of justice are established by the nation.

19. The county committee shall cause the sheriff or his officers to seize on all the personal and real property of such persons, to put seals

on their effects, to appoint proper persons to preserve all such property until the national courts of justice shall have decided on the fate of its proprietors.

20. The county committee shall act in like manner with all state and church lands, parochial estates, and all public lands and edifices.

21. The county committee shall, in the interim, receive all the rents and debts of such persons and estates, and shall give receipts for the same; shall transmit to the provisional government an exact account of their value, extent, and amount, and receive the directions of the provisional government thereon.

22. They shall appoint some proper house in the county, where the sheriff is permanently to reside, and where the county committee shall assemble; they shall cause all the records and papers of the county to be there transferred, arranged, and kept, and the orders of government are there to be transmitted and received.

23. The county committee is hereby empowered to pay, out of these effects or by assessment, reasonable salaries for themselves, the sheriff, justices, and other magistrates whom they shall appoint.

24. They shall keep a written journal of all their proceedings, signed each day by the members of the committee, or a sufficient number of them, for the inspection of government.

25. The county committee shall correspond with government on all the subjects with which they are charged, and transmit to the general of the district such information as they may conceive useful to the public.

26. The county committee shall take care that the state prisoners, however great their offences, shall be treated with humanity, and allow them a sufficient support, to the end that all the world may know that the Irish nation is not actuated by the spirit of revenge, but of justice.

27. The provisional government, wishing to commit, as soon as possible, the sovereign authority to the people, direct that each county and city shall elect, agreeably to the constitution of United Irishmen, representatives to meet in Dublin; to whom, the moment they assemble, the provisional government will resign its functions; and, without presuming to dictate to the people, they beg to suggest, that, for the important purpose to which these electors are called, integrity of character should be the first object.

28. The number of representatives being arbitrary, the provisional government have adopted that of the late House of Commons, three hundred; and, according to the best return of the population of the cities and counties, the following numbers are to be returned from each: Antrim 13, Armagh 9, Belfast town 1, Carlow 3, Cavan 7, Clare 8, Cork county north 14, Cork county south 14, Cork city 6, Donnegal 10, Down 16, Drogheda 1, Dublin county 4, Dublin city 14, Fermanagh 5, Galway 10, Kerry 9, Kildare 4, Kilkenny 7, King's county 6, Leitrim 5, Limerick county 10, Limerick city 3, Londonderry 9, Longford 4, Louth 4, Mayo 12, Meath 9, Monaghan 9, Queen's county 6, Roscommon 8, Sligo 6, Tipperary 13, Tyrone 14, Waterford county 6, Waterford city 2, Westmeath 5, Wexford 9, Wicklow 5.

29. In the cities the same sort of regulations as in the counties shall be adopted; the city committee shall appoint one or more sheriffs, as they think proper, and shall take possession of all the public and corporation properties in their jurisdiction, in like manner as is directed for counties.

30. The provisional government strictly exhort and enjoin all magistrates, officers, civil and military, and the whole of the nation, to cause the laws of morality to be enforced and respected, and to execute, as far as in them lies, justice with mercy; by which alone liberty can be established, and the blessings of Divine Providence secured.

Citizens of Dublin! we require your aid. Necessary secrecy has prevented to many of you notice of our plan; but the erection of our national standard, the sacred, though long-degraded green, will be found a sufficient call. To arms, and rally round it, every man in whose breast exists a spark of patriotism, or sense of duty. Avail yourselves of your local advantages; in a city, each street becomes a defile and each house a battery; impede the march of your oppressors; charge them with the arms of the brave—the pike; and from your windows and roofs hurl stones, bricks, bottles, and all other convenient implements, on the heads of the satellites of your tyrant—the mercenary, the sanguinary soldiery of England.

Orangemen! add not to the catalogue of your follies and crimes; already have you been duped to the ruin of your country in the legislative union with its ———; attempt not an opposition which will carry with it your inevitable destruction; return from the paths of delusion, return to the arms of your countrymen, who will receive and hail your repentance.

Countrymen of all descriptions! let us act with union and concert; all sects—Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian—are equally and indiscriminately embraced in the benevolence of our object; repress, prevent, and discourage excesses, pillage, and intoxication; let each man do his duty, and remember that, during public agitation, inaction becomes a crime: be no other competition known than that of doing good; remember against whom you fight—your oppressors for six hundred years; remember their massacres, their tortures; remember your murdered friends, your burned houses, your violated females; keep in mind your country, to whom we are now giving her high rank among nations; and in the honest terror of feeling, let us all exclaim, that as, in the hour of her trial, we serve this country, so may God serve us in that which will be last of all!

FINIS.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.



